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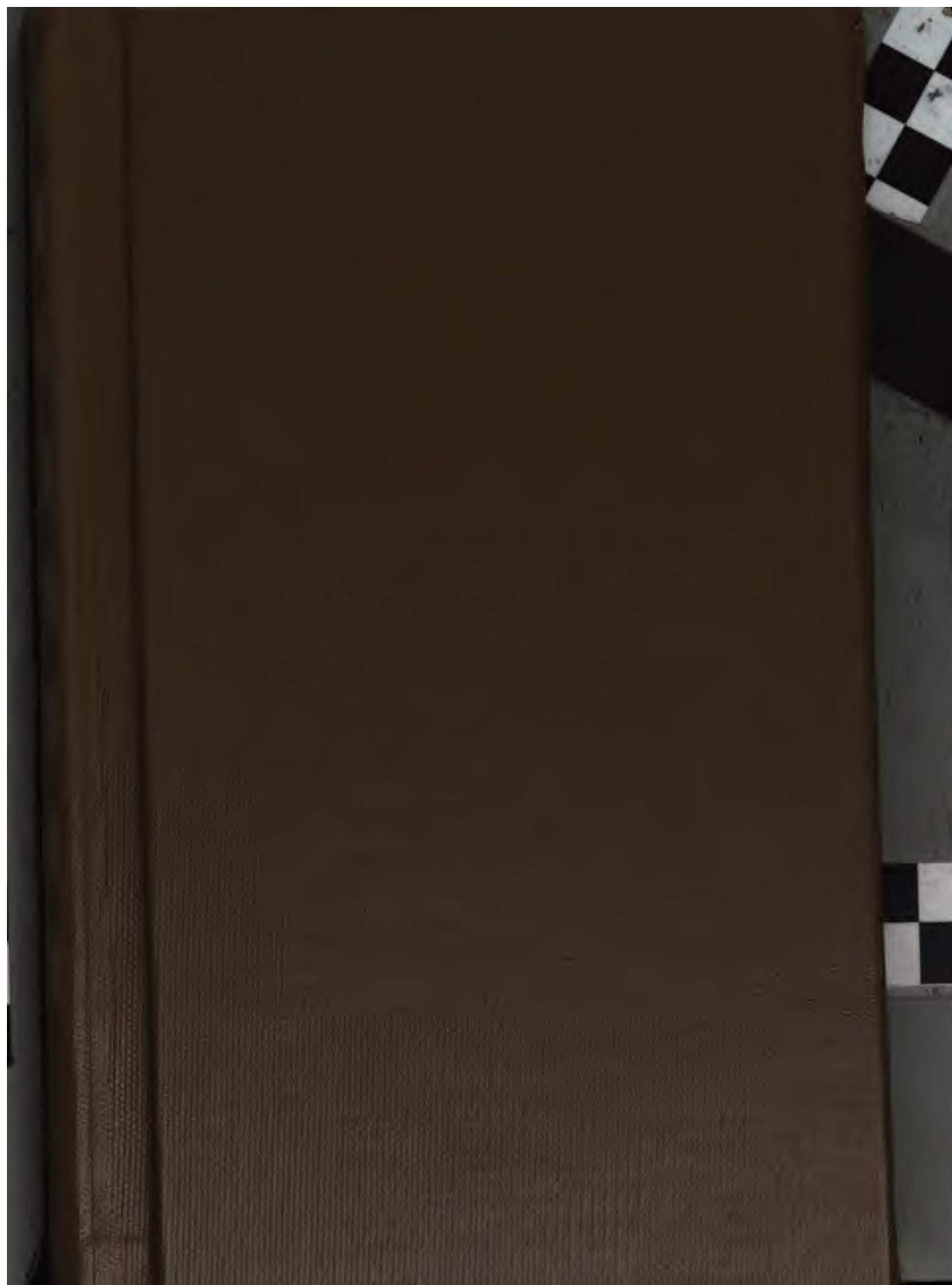
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THE  
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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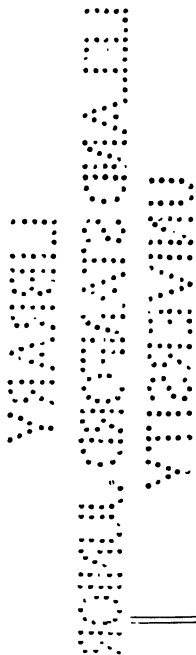
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QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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ART. I.—*The House of Commons.* By Charles R. Dod, Esq.  
London. 1832-53.

A GOOD many years have elapsed since the attention of the country was very earnestly fixed upon the House of Commons, and during that period its place of meeting has been entirely changed, and some alterations have been introduced into its customs. As the generation which has arisen since 1832 is one which especially clamours for 'facts,' and is hardly satisfied to take a pin without being conducted through every room of the manufactory, and witnessing the process of wire-drawing, clipping, bead-twisting, silvering, and sorting, let us so far fall into the habit of the day as to conduct Young England through the principal part of the Manufactory of Statute Law.

The manufactory itself, as is generally known, is situate on the left bank of the Thames, close to the foot of the now doomed Westminster Bridge. It is a magnificent pile, of enormous extent, covering in fact nearly eight acres, and was erected to replace the parliamentary buildings which were consumed by fire on the 16th of October, 1834. There are nearly as many opinions on the character of the edifice as there are in regard to what goes on within its walls. Its Gothic architecture delights those who see in it a stone embodiment of our Constitution—the slow, irregular, but picturesque growth of ages; but, on the contrary, excites the animadversion of others, who conceive that a national building should be the type of a national civilisation, or who, more probably rejecting any such sentimentality, simply prefer the comfortable apartments and well-fitting windows of our modern houses to the imposing chambers and obscuring lattices of our ancestors. The Earl of Ellenborough's proverbial simplicity of taste, which is conspicuous in the chaste and closely-reasoned speeches that have long made him a principal ornament of the distinguished assembly to which he belongs, recently induced his Lordship to say that 'he should have liked to have seen a more severe style of architecture adopted—one which would have been more fitting for the purpose to which it was to be devoted, and which should have had stamped upon it the appearance of that



eternity which we all desire our institutions should possess.' And Lord Brougham, while paying a hearty tribute to the artistic skill displayed in the building, has 'always been of opinion that it was barbarous in the extreme to erect a Gothic structure for parliamentary purposes in the middle of the nineteenth century, and would infinitely have preferred some more sober style.' On both sides of this subject, as on every other, a great many strong and sensible things may be said. Those who have lost themselves in Sir Charles Barry's labyrinths—

' Whose wandering ways and many a winding fold  
Involve the weary feet, without redress,  
In a round error, which denies recess '—

who have shivered in his lofty chambers, and murmured at the early darkness of his cells, have often wished that the multifold magnificence of the New Palace had been exchanged for the convenience and comfort of a modern structure, where the feudal system had been less thought of than easy communication and practical accommodation. On the other hand, those whom Lord Willoughby d'Eresby's cards have admitted to the House of Lords on the day when her Majesty attends to open or to close the sitting, and who have witnessed the splendid and significant spectacle which is afforded upon such an occasion, warmly contend that no architectural arrangement could offer so fit a setting for the scene as the gilded and painted roof, the coloured windows gleaming with royal effigies, the illuminated heraldry, and the alternating glow and sparkle of that glittering chamber.

There are malcontents of another kind, who allow the propriety of Gothic, but who raise objections to the way in which the subject has been treated. They allege, for instance, that the river front of the manufactory is a mistake, inasmuch as it is a long unbroken frontage in a style which is beautiful chiefly from its breaks and variations, and that, seen from the Thames, the façade reminds the irreverent of a Birmingham steel fender, the small turrets at the corners doing duty for the places where the fire-irons repose. But, while admitting that there may be some force in various objections of detail which are urged to the edifice as seen at present, we must contend that no final judgment ought to be passed until the completion of the building permits the architect to say that, having at length done justice to himself, he demands it of the spectator. We believe that it is impossible to estimate by anticipation the effect of the grandest feature of the work, the colossal Victoria tower; and at the slow rate at which its richness creeps skyward, six or seven years must still elapse before the crowning stone is laid. This gigantic column, aided by the effect of the graceful clock-tower, may, and probably

probably will, so dwarf details into insignificance, that fault-finders will thenceforth be ashamed of their vocation. Meantime, the only word for Sir Charles Barry is—*excelsior*.

But it is to a single chamber in this mighty pile that we have to conduct the young Englishman, who, having seen in the outside world innumerable specimens of the way his country's laws are broken, has a laudable curiosity to see how they are made. We might begin with a pleasant picture of that youthful inquirer himself, and imagine him to be an ingenuous youth, of agreeable countenance, and country education, who has a befitting veneration for the British Constitution, for patriotism, and for statesmanship, and who has committed to his plastic memory the best passages from Demosthenes, Cicero, and Chatham, and in whom not even the scenes at the elections for the borough near his own quiet home have been able to shake the abstract reverence in which he holds the collective wisdom of the nation. But an Ingenuus of this kind is not easily found in these days of precocity. There was a poor old woman, nearly blind, who used to wander about Smyrna, with one thought only to trouble her fast waning intellect, which was evinced in the ever-recurring moan:—‘Where are all the children gone? There are no children now.’ With much less melancholy note—for we believe the hearts of the youth of England to be as sound and as noble as ever—we may ask, ‘Where are all the boys gone?’ Railway communication, popular literature, and adventurous tailors do wonders for the rising generation, and there seem to be no boys. One day you are helping a flaxen-curled child to turn summersaults on a grass plot, or to put together a dissected puzzle of Joseph, and next time you meet, behold a young gentleman in an evening dress, with a faultless cravat, and a grave smile, who asks you, with some concern, whether it is really to be Madame Grisi's last season. So, if we take Ingenuus with us to the House, it is not in the hope that he will meet many of his kind in the galleries or the lobbies.

As Parliament usually meets at the end of January or the beginning of February, to rise about the second week in August (the accession and fall of the late Derby administration temporarily deranged the practice), it may be held to be an afternoon towards the middle of the session, some time in the month of May. We enter the Hall, remarking as we go that Barry's adaptation of his design to the purpose not only of preserving the glorious hall but of making it a grand feature of the Palace deserves all plaudit. There is a long curved line of idle people, drawn up from the door to the ‘Members' entrance,’ broken through the left side of the hall, and they stand there to see the members go



in, while another detachment wait outside in the air to behold the senators come up in their carriages or on their horses. But we will not linger here, agreeable as it may be to gaze upon the notabilities of the House, or the graceful figures and pleasant faces of less known representatives, but will mount the steps at the upper end of Westminster Hall, and turn to the left. This is St. Stephen's porch; and it leads us into St. Stephen's Hall, of which we have only time to say as we traverse it that it stands upon the site of St. Stephen's Chapel, words so long the penny-a-liner's synonyme for the House of Commons. The statues are those of Hampden, Falkland, Clarendon, and Walpole, and eight other worthies are to share the proud distinction. Enter this noble central octagon hall, into which the electric telegraph is laid, with wires to the clubs, so that a man may save his dinner and his country too, by keeping his eye on the regularly transmitted messages: '9.30. *Colonial Churches. Mr. Nimbus, still. Is reading a great number of extracts from Commissioners' Reports. House very empty.*' Or, '11.45. *Conduct of Ministers. Mr. Disraeli just up. Is taunting the Government with having been beaten seven times in eight days. House crowded.*' We are between two corridors. That to the right leads to the House of Lords, that to the left, along which we are to go, to the House of Commons. Thus, at a prorogation, the Queen on her throne and the Speaker in his chair face each other at a distance of some four hundred and fifty feet, and the eagerness of the Commons in their race from their own House to the bar of the Lords has more than once amused their Sovereign Lady. It used indeed to be an open race, but the start is now so managed that the Speaker and the parliamentary leaders first 'touch wood,' as schoolboys say.

Through the corridor we enter the Commons' Lobby. Here Ingenuus will perceive considerable bustle. Members are perpetually coming in and out, and as the doors swing open he gets a momentary view of the Speaker actively presiding over the House. Of the people in the lobby some want orders for the gallery, some wish to know whether certain petitions have been presented, or certain questions asked, and those who are waiting for the Irish representatives are probably either gentlemen who correspond with the Dublin newspapers, and have come to get the latest political intelligence, or Hibernian adventurers who 'depend' upon their friends to obtain them some place or other, 'and in the mane time to lind them a thrifle.' The good nature of the Irish members is sorely taxed by this class of hangers-on, who stand here fidgeting and smirking to catch the patron's eye while he is talking to more distinguished acquaintances; but, on the  
other

other hand, the poor fellows are most reliable vassals, and their 'Sure I will,' on being asked to undertake any service, is a pledge always redeemed, unlike many another pledge to which they are frequently driven while waiting the emoluments of office. There is a post-office in this lobby for the convenience of members, which affords great facilities as regards hours, a fact, *Ingenuus*, which you will do well to conceal from your amiable wife (should you marry and settle in Parliament), as the old excuse for not writing to her—that you had to be down early at the House—is, you will perceive, untenable, if the truth be known to her.

A stranger is usually sent to the Strangers' Gallery, or, under more favourable circumstances, to the gallery below it, to which the Speaker's name is given. It is probable that before the night is over we may find it desirable to ascend to the former, but for the present, thanks to the agency of a member, we can enter the body of the House, and sit in one of those pens, or pews, by the side of the door. These are privileged places: members who require cramming by well-informed outsiders put their tutors here; here, too, are to be seen strangers who are personally interested in a discussion, as Baron Rothschild during the Jew debate—the London sheriffs in red gowns, when they bring up a civic petition—and on a field night still more illustrious visitors.

Behold yourself, *Ingenuus*, at last, in the principal chamber of the manufactory of statute law. The apartment itself is not very imposing, but the dark oak and dark green benches give it a good business-like aspect. The chamber, as Sir Charles Barry planned it, was far more handsome, and not an unworthy working-day companion to the House of Lords. Instead of that roof, which looks like the inside bottom of a huge barge, and which slopes at a rapid and unsightly angle to the windows, which are mean, there was once a fine room here. An experimental sitting, however, was held on the morning of Thursday, the 3rd of May, 1850, and, after this and some subsequent meetings, it was found that the fine room would not do. The principle of acoustics had not been studied, and Opposition members were incessantly rising and attacking clauses which the Government had struck out ten minutes before, while the supporters of Ministers were defying their antagonists to divide on amendments of which they had announced the withdrawal. It was felt that either the architectural beauty of the chamber must be sacrificed, or pantomime and the speaking trumpet must be introduced into the British Constitution. Sir Charles Barry haunted the House in sorrow, as every successive debate more and more convinced him that his design would be disfigured; and though, no doubt, he believed in his heart that the Commons could hear quite as much



much as was good for them, he was obliged to give way. Let us record therefore, in justice to him, that on the date we have mentioned this was a bold and well-proportioned chamber, with a lofty ceiling, tall windows, and a mass of Gothic tracery in white stone. The only drawback was that it was a place for debate, and that no debate could be heard. The barge roof was put on, the lowest division of the windows was alone left, and a still greater ruin was wrought, which is not visible from this part of the House. The end of the chamber on the gallery floor was occupied by a beautiful Gothic screen, whose tracery completed the character of the apartment. The barge roof has now hidden all the ornamental part of this screen, and the lower portion is a formal glazed partition, behind which strangers go to their gallery.

This then is the room in which laws are made for some hundred and forty millions of people, and in which through ages to come, in all human probability, laws will continue to be made for Britain and her dependencies. Ingenuus naturally supposes that the inauguration of such a building, the first piece of legislative business transacted in it, would be of an important kind, the fact being that the first petition presented was from an Irish provincial town about an impost which not one person in five hundred knows anything about, the first speech delivered was by Mr. Wilson Patten upon formalities connected with the obtaining local acts, and the first division was upon the question whether Mr. A. Hastie should or should not be excused from attending a Committee. The numbers may be worth mentioning as showing the attendance,—they were 183 to 41. Even the first formal debate was upon no more imposing subject than an Irish Elections Bill. Such is the sensible and business-like way in which Englishmen are accustomed to manage serious affairs.

Opposite to Ingenuus sits the Speaker, Mr. Shaw Lefevre, an able man, whom everybody likes. Mr. Serjeant Yelverton being, in Queen Elizabeth's time, nominated to the office, rose and with much mock modesty disavowed his possession of any qualifications for the chair, 'for,' he said, 'he that supplieth this place ought to be a man big and comely, stately and well spoken, his voice great, his courage majestic, his nature haughty, and his purse plentiful and heavy.' The 'haughtiness' alluded to by Yelverton may be supposed to have meant loftiness, rather than the objectionable quality now implied in the word, and the whole description may be fairly applied to the present First Commoner. He was originally elected Speaker in 1839 on the retirement of Mr. Abercromby, upon which occasion he was chosen by 317 votes against 299 given for Mr. Goulburn. Since that time he has

has been thrice re-elected without opposition. When in active politics the right hon. gentleman voted for short Parliaments. Possibly his experience, in the chair, of the time it takes to drill a political recruit into a practical statesman may have induced the gallant Lieutenant-Colonel of the Hampshire Yeomanry to re-consider the question. To his right—and to our young friend's left—sit the Ministers on the foremost bench in front of a huge table. That is Lord John Russell with the large hat. On one side of him sits Mr. Gladstone in black, and beyond is Lord Palmerston; on the other side of him are the lawyers and Sir James Graham. They are backed by the regular supporters of Government. Fronting them sit Her Majesty's Opposition: Mr. Disraeli, bounded by Sir John Pakington on this side and Mr. Walpole on the other, forms the centre, and beyond the latter gentleman is Mr. Henley. The Conservative Opposition fill the benches behind. Two gangways occur, one on each side of the House, and below these and nearer to Ingenuus, on the Government side, sit the Manchester school, and, on the front row, men of some mark. The good Sir Robert Inglis used to occupy one of these seats. His successor, Sir William Heathcote, sits on one of the back rows opposite, near the Irish ultramontane party, of whom Mr. Lucas, an Englishman, is the only one of any real parliamentary talent. Some of the Irish members are, below the gangway, on the Government side of the House—the O'Connells for instance, and others. The galleries along the sides of the House are for the members, who sleep there a good deal, and the gallery behind the Speaker is exclusively devoted to the members of the press. The brass grating above the reporters' sanctum conceals a row of very comfortable nooks in which, by favour of the Serjeant-at-Arms, ladies are placed. Little can be seen of them, a white handkerchief or a bright ribbon just making itself visible in the gloom, but they can both see and hear very well; and it would be better if they confined themselves to these two gratifications, instead of talking and laughing so emphatically. The putting them behind a grating, which really excludes them from the chamber, may perhaps be held their justification for considering that they are entitled to comport themselves as they please. Ladies are admitted into the House of Lords, and conduct themselves with a decorum which proves that the Commons might have ventured on a similar courtesy.

Almost every member is armed with a document of which he appears anxious to be rid as soon as possible. This is the time for presenting petitions. Ingenuus has seen the process of getting up a petition in his quiet country house, and remembers the pains that were bestowed upon the phraseology, the grave discussions  
whether



whether it might not seem more respectful to the Commons to use the word 'regret' instead of 'deplore,' and what a struggle there was to get the phrase 'Roman Catholic brethren' inserted instead of 'Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen,' and how the curates opposed it and the surgeon and lawyer supported it, and how, after a long squabble, they compromised with the 'Roman Catholic population of these islands.' How beautifully the petition was engrossed on parchment by one of Mr. Pounce's clerks, and how solemnly the leading signatures were affixed. How Mr. Hairsplit, the retired and serious attorney, signed, but affixed a protest that he did so in a sense only, and added several references to texts, that the House of Commons might look them up and quite understand his motives. How Mr. Quaver, the nervous gentleman, signed, but immediately afterwards wrote a long letter withdrawing his signature, and ultimately came to the post-office to affix it again, just as the petition was going away. And Ingenuus recollects, no doubt, the rest of the fidgeting, and hesitation, and self-complacency, and pomposity with which the various other petitioners, according to their natures, performed the important duty, and how, finally, the solemn document was forwarded to the county member, with letters, one to his club, the other to his private house, begging him instantly to acknowledge it, and to present it the first practicable moment. Now listen, for here comes a petition which has been prepared with similar awful care.

'Mr. Jones,' cries the Speaker.

Up gets Mr. Jones. 'A petition, Sir, from the inhabitants of (name utterly inaudible), praying that the House will (several words utterly inaudible) Roman Catholics.' And Mr. Jones hurries up with the document while the Speaker is putting the formal question that it do lie upon the table, and a clerk seizes it and rams it into a carpet bag, and when the bag is quite full of petitions it is carried out of the House, and it is our firm belief that not one member ever read your petition, Ingenuus, or looked out one of Mr. Hairsplit's texts, but that it was hurried up and carried out in precisely the same ignominious way. See how fast the process is going on, and how the members run up, throw down their petitions, and run back.

But this does not prevent petitions from being sent up by the thousand. Look into the papers to-morrow morning and you will see a list, a column long, in which the requisitions of the United Kingdom are specified with great precision. It may be observed that in the inverse proportion to the insignificance of the petitioners is the magnitude of the demands they make. The teachers and children of the Primitive Methodist (Anglicè, Ranters)

Sunday

Sunday School of Aberdwyllenthewyddyl, North Wales, petition for the abolition of the Church of England, the expulsion of the Bishops from the House of Lords, and the instant withdrawal of our armies from the cause of the infidel Mahometans. A society called the Inherent-Manly-Right-Assertion Association, meeting at the Freethinkers' Casino (dancing after debates), Clerkenwell Green, submit a plan for remodelling the Constitution, giving every man of twenty-one a vote, and abolishing all taxes except on landed property. The Mechanics' Institute and Literary Forum of a Manchester suburb require a new system of Municipal Corporations, of which 'skilled labour' is to be the basis, and which shall furnish every man with such a trade as he may select, buy him tools, and advance him capital to begin with. It will be admitted that the persons who thus 'humbly pray the honourable House' receive no great injustice at its hands. Then again it has been of late years the fashion to estimate the feeling of the country by the number of petitions and signatures, instead of weighing the character, education, and position of the petitioners; consequently it is a point, when a political battle is being fought, to bring up these documents by hundreds, and members may be seen rising with large bundles. 'I have, Sir, one hundred and sixty-three petitions from parishes in Yorkshire, against the proposed — tax;' or one of enormous bulk will be heaved up: 'A petition, Sir, with 17,191 signatures, from inhabitants of the manufacturing districts, against compulsory vaccination.' For the Reform Bill of the present year, there were *eleven* petitions, of which *four* only were absolutely in favour of a measure so much demanded by the nation. As to the miscellaneous subjects in which the aid of Parliament is prayed, the list of a single night's petitions shows that the celebrated simile of the elephant's trunk, that can pick up a pin or root up an oak, precisely indicates the popular notion of the powers of the House of Commons. On the self-same night it is prayed to against church rates, against poor rates, against highway rates, against direct taxes, against indirect taxes, against the police, against interments in towns, against the closing of burial-grounds, against public-houses, against the licensing system, against explosions in mines, against Temple Bar, against paper duties, against the war with Russia, against Lord Aberdeen, against the Court of Chancery, against tenants having to pay rent in Ireland, against keeping Sunday, against working over-hours; that the master of Killybolscoyne workhouse may be discharged; that the British Museum may be open seven days in the week; that the classics be no longer taught in public schools; that the brewers may be deprived of their monopoly; that British and not foreign



foreign music may be performed at Her Majesty's dinner parties; that third-class railway carriages may be made as luxurious as first-class; that primogeniture may be abolished; that a man may be at liberty to marry his grandmother; and that no person shall be hanged under any circumstances whatever.

Ingenuus will probably ask how this list is obtained, for he finds that it is quite impossible to hear what is said at the presentation, and he sees that the reporters are talking to one another and, apparently, taking few notes or none. They are saved this trouble by an officer of the House, who obtains from any member who desires that it should be known that he has discharged his trust, a memorandum of his name, that of the petitioning locality, and the purport of the prayer. The list thus made out is handed to the leading newspapers.

But now comes a more stirring time. Questions are to be asked, and the Ministers are to answer them. There is a certain document, called 'the paper,' which is in every one's hand, and which is the programme of the business of the evening—a parliamentary play-bill. It is printed every day, and retains the Latin heading '*Saturnii, 29 die Aprilis 1854,*' supposing that such Saturday were the day of sitting: Saturdays, however, are seldom invaded until late in the session. On this paper, after the orders of the day, comes a list of questions of some such description as the following:

Mr. Lucas. To ask the First Lord of the Admiralty whether he has heard the report that a midshipman of H. M. S. *Roarer*, off the West India coast, remarked to a companion that the image of the Virgin in one of the Catholic churches at the Havana reminded him of the black doll over a marine store shop, and whether such midshipman is still retained in Her Majesty's service.

Mr. Williams. To ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether the sums of money which he is perpetually advertising as receipts from Tender Consciences are really received, and if so, what is done with the money; and whether any instructions are given to the police to trace the senders, who, having obviously long pursued a dishonest career, seek to quiet their self-reproaches by such reimbursements.

Mr. F. French. To ask Lord John Russell whether he has any objection to explain to the House the whole designs of our Government in the conduct of the war, and to produce copies of all the secret instructions given to our commanders.

But all the questions are not placed upon the paper. Of some the interrogator gives private notice to the minister whom he designs to question, and others are asked without notice, either

on

on the ground that the events occasioning them (as the arrival of tidings of a battle) have only just occurred, or in the hope that no preparatory notice will be required. It is hardly necessary to say that the form of the answer depends at least as much on the character of the respondent as upon the nature of the subject. As regards the present Cabinet the difference is considerable. Even if Lord John Russell intends to reply to the question at all, he usually speaks in rather an under voice, and is moving from the table to sit down before he has quite done, by which means his last words are often lost. With attention, however, and if not very far off, you can make out his meaning; but if it is a case in which he does not particularly care about being heard and reported, the articulation is most artistically confused. As a rule, and unless the proposed question be a means of enabling the Government to state what it wishes should be known, Lord John Russell, doubtless without intending it, contrives to convey the impression that the interrogating a Minister of the Crown is, after all, rather taking a liberty. Not so Lord Palmerston. He springs to his feet, as if quite glad to have an opportunity of satisfying so very reasonable a curiosity as that of the honourable member who has asked the question. He then states the matter his own way, makes the House feel that everything is quite right, or if otherwise, that it is not Lord Palmerston's fault, and adroitly seasons the explanation with some jocose but good-natured allusion to the querist, which calls up a laugh. No man, however, can give, upon a serious question, a better weighed or manlier reply than the Home Secretary; but he well understands the art of silencing those whom his friend Mr. Canning used to call the yelpers. The Chancellor of the Exchequer is grave enough. He poises himself upon the green box, and points his finger, as one who is not going to let you off until you quite understand the subject, and then he explains it to you at such length and with such a *copia verborum* that you feel quite ashamed of the unreasonable trouble you have given to a man who has so much else to attend to. He presents you with such an elaborate essay on the matter, looking at it in various lights, and analyzing its various bearings, doing it withal in so pleasant a voice and with so gentlemanly a manner, that you receive the address as a personal compliment. His answers contrast a good deal with those of Lord Palmerston. Supposing each minister were asked what day the session would be over, the Viscount would reply, that it was the intention of Her Majesty to close the session on the 18th of August. Mr. Gladstone would possibly premise that inasmuch as it was for Her Majesty to decide upon the day which would be most acceptable to herself, it was scarcely compatible



patible with Parliamentary etiquette to ask her ministers to anticipate such decision ; but presuming that he quite understood the purport of the right honourable gentleman's question, of which he was not entirely assured, the completion of the duties of the House of Commons, and the formal termination of the sitting of the Legislature, being two distinct things, he would say that Her Majesty's Ministers had represented to the Queen that the former would probably be accomplished about the 18th of August, and that such day would not be unfavourable for the latter, and therefore, if the Sovereign should be pleased to ratify that view of the case, the day he had named would probably be that inquired after by the right honourable gentleman. Sir James Graham's long experience and shrewd practical habit of mind enable him to give one of the best answers which is heard in Parliament ; but the low voice in which he usually replies prevents the House from having the full advantage of his information. The law answers of the Cabinet are given by the Attorney-General with promptness and clearness, and by the Solicitor-General with more elaboration, and with a precision most acceptable in print, but marred into apparent pedantry to the ear, by the singular delivery of this accomplished lawyer.

Petitions and questions having been disposed of, and notices of motion given—that is, members having announced that on a certain day they intend to move for leave to bring in a bill, or for the appointment of a Committee, or that a certain resolution be agreed to—what comes next ? This is a Government night, which means that the business of the nation, as administered by the Government, is discussed before private members are entitled to be heard. The difference is enormous. For example, on Tuesday, which was not such a night, and private members had a right to begin the evening with their own subjects in the order in which they stood on the paper for that *Dies Martis*, a melancholy event occurred. Two liberal members, both patriots of great merit, and both dreadful bores, had motions on the paper. The subjects were very important. Ingenuus would have felt that out of the 654 members of the House, at least 650 should have attended, and if the other four were ill, they should have sent medical certificates.

1. Mr. Proser. To call the attention of the House to the want of educational provision for the humbler classes.

2. Mr. Droner. To call the attention of the House to the circumstances attending the arrest of a Jew pedlar, called Moses Shobbus, who on the 27th of March last was taken into custody at Ditchford fair while pursuing his regular and licensed business, and who was committed by Colonel Baffy and the Rev.

Peter



Peter Brown, magistrates, to the county gaol on a charge of embezzlement, of which he has been ascertained to be innocent.

To constitute a House, there must be forty members present, including the Speaker, and when he took his chair at four o'clock, and began counting with his three-cornered hat, there were but twenty-three. It is even said that members who had come down to the House had not only refused to go in themselves, but had prevented others from entering until the counting was over. At least so Mr. Proser asserted, when on another night he adverted with patriotic wrath to the subject, and desired that Government would give him one of their own nights for his discourse, a proposition which was very unfavourably received. It may be well to add that undue blame must not attach to Parliament for this and similar occurrences. It was felt that Mr. Proser was of all men the most unfitted to deal usefully with a great subject; it was known that he had taken it up for the sake of promoting his own reputation, and it was foreseen that after a couple of hours or more of dreariness, citation from blue-books, and common-place oratory, Mr. Proser would have sat down, and been told by a member of the Ministry that his good intentions were appreciated, and that the facts he stated were admitted, but that the subject must be dealt with by Government, and not by a private member. These considerations it might be felt justified the no-house as regarded Mr. Proser; but how 654 members, less 23, could stay away when such a case as that of Moses Shobbus called for their indignation, Ingenius must discover for himself.

There was no fear of such a catastrophe to-night, for it is, as we have said, a Government night, and the Secretary to the Treasury, that restless, pleasant-looking person, who is here, there, and everywhere (his appearance has reminded somebody of Napoleon, with a tight boot on his mind), has seen to his duty. 'The clerk will now proceed to read the orders of the day,' says Mr. Shaw Lefevre. Supposing it were possible to 'take' them all, there would be a goodly night's work before us; but the fact is that the time will be almost exclusively occupied with a discussion on the second:

1. Ways and Means.

2. Criminals' Enfranchisement Bill. Second reading.

The homely sounding phrase 'Ways and Means,' which is the first item in the list, implies the machinery by which the funds are raised for meeting the national expenditure. In a Committee of Ways and Means the Chancellor of the Exchequer makes his proposals for taxation, and when the Committee has agreed to resolutions in favour of his propositions, they are re-cast, as bills,

bills, and are regularly passed by both Houses, the hereditary legislature having the right to throw them out altogether, but not to alter them. This Committee is frequently the arena of a grand battle, but to-night it will not occupy more than five minutes, a merely formal vote being taken. Mr. Hume, however, interrupts, in order to ask the Chancellor of the Exchequer whether he has introduced his promised alteration as to certain drawbacks, and the Chancellor courteously assures him that the subject has not been forgotten, but that some technical difficulty has prevented the blanks from being as yet filled up. Mr. Hume complains that this is really sadly irregular—here is another stage passed through, and nobody knows what he is voting—but, though disapproving, allows the matter to pass. The gentleman in wig and gown comes round to the front of the table, lifts up the mace, and restores it to its place; for when the House is in Committee the mace is off the table, but when the Speaker resumes his chair the emblem of dignity is again laid before him. But perhaps the most amusing ceremony in which ‘the Bauble’ figures is when a Master in Chancery comes with a message from the Lords. The Serjeant-at-Arms goes reverently up to the Speaker and announces the fact, and the Speaker kindly lends him the mace, that he may receive the Master in a more imposing manner. Armed with—almost staggering under the gilded load—the Serjeant walks down the House to fetch the Master. The pair form in line, and come marching up to the table, the Master being more splendid in regard to costume, but the Serjeant borrowing the reflected glory of the mace. They bow at various stages of the journey, and the Master having arrived, delivers the message of the Lords, the Serjeant standing by him with his grand weapon, and looking as if he were ready to castigate him on the spot if he should show any lack of reverence. Then they retreat, *pari passu*, bowing whenever it occurs to them, and in this retrograde movement the Serjeant has an advantage, his legs being unincumbered, whereas the heels of the other are in Chancery, and his gown is traitorous. However, we have never seen a Master fall down, and perhaps the dexterity of the official is due to long rehearsals. Finally, the Serjeant having seen his companion back to the bar, comes up again with more reverences to return the Speaker his mace, and then bows himself back to his own chair, after these six promenades. Strangers do not always look respectfully upon this ceremonial, but nothing is so wholesome as etiquette between neighbours.

But now comes the real battle of the evening. The second reading of the Criminals’ Enfranchisement Bill is called. The process



process of considering an act of parliament is this:—The measure, if an important Government one, is probably recommended, either specifically or by implication, in the Speech from the Throne. Early in the Session the leader of the House usually announces the order in which the propositions will be introduced. He mentions that on a certain day he shall move for leave to bring in a bill for conferring the electoral franchise on certain criminals. A *hear, hear*, usually follows from his own side of the House, echoed by another from the opposition in a tone which intimates that there will be something to say against the measure. The notice duly appears in the paper, and on the appointed night the Minister explains the nature of his bill. Unless a very important principle is involved in the measure, and one which is patent at first glance, it is usual, after a brief discussion, which almost takes on the part of the opposition the nature of a provisional protest, to allow the bill to be introduced. But there are frequent and significant exceptions to this rule. Supposing, however, that as in the present case, the bill was duly introduced and read a first time (*that reading being a form*), the question is fought out upon the second reading. It may be convenient to add here, that if the second reading be carried, the bill is subsequently discussed in Committee, clause by clause, and this process frequently occupies many sittings, any member being at liberty to propose amendments,—debates and divisions often taking place on each. Sometimes those who could not defeat a measure on the second reading, succeed in so modifying it in Committee as to deprive it of much of its original and, to them, objectionable character. The bill is printed in a form which affords every assistance for reference. Not only the pages and clauses, but the lines being numbered at intervals, like those of a classic poet, and a synopsis being prefixed as an index, it is not difficult for a legislator of ordinary intelligence and power of attention to know what is going on in Committee. Nevertheless blunders do occur, and members rise and proceed to discuss clauses which, as they are presently informed with some good-natured tartness by their chairman, have been agreed to already, or have not been reached. Finally, the bill gets through Committee, it is ‘reported’ with amendments to the Speaker, it is ‘considered, as amended,’ and, if the House agrees to the measure as thus altered, it is set down for a third reading. It is even now open to fresh alterations; but supposing that it is at length deemed a perfect piece of parliamentary workmanship, or those who are still dissatisfied despair of further improvement, the question is put ‘that the bill do pass.’ It has then to be christened, and we have heard disputes among the sponsors,  
some

some declaring that the original name ought to be retained, and some asserting that the nature of the measure has been so totally changed that in common consistency it must have a new title. When the bill is named, the House of Commons has done with it. As we are reminded by Mr. Dod (the author of the trim and accurate little volume, which, re-edited year by year, has been the Parliamentary Hand-book since the Reform Bill Lord John *did* pass), there may be *seven* divisions taken on a bill, exclusively of divisions on the question what days the bill should be discussed, and on questions of adjournment of debate, and exclusively also of proceedings in Committee and on amendments. These seven epochs in the life of a law are, 1st, on the second reading; 2nd, that the bill be committed; 3rd, that the report of the Committee be received; or 4th, that the bill be recommitted; 5th, that it be read a third time; 6th, that it do pass; 7th, on the title. This list excludes the possible division on the very first stage, when, as we have said, the bill may be eliminated, or thrust away from the parliamentary threshold.

The Criminals' Enfranchisement Bill, for giving votes in parliamentary elections to certain convicts, is a scheme of the Government for meeting a demand which has been rather clamorously urged by some of its supporters, and although the Ministry may not expect or even desire to pass the measure, they must at least go through the necessary formalities. It may be regarded as a type of a genus of propositions on which the course of Parliament is usually similar. An *habitué* could almost improvise the debate which will take place, and notwithstanding that we select an extreme and fictitious case, we believe that those who have been accustomed to listen to the discussions in the Commons, will not the less readily recognise that it is no inaccurate epitome of the hacknied style of argument which is reproduced session after session by some of the standing speakers of the House. The debate will therefore be a bore to old members, but to the new men it will be improving, as showing how easily and plausibly almost anything can be opposed or supported by trained advocates.

The leader of the House—he happens at this time to be a Whig nobleman, with an historical name—on hearing the order of the day, merely moves that the bill be read a second time. He makes no speech now, but reserves himself for the reply. The question is put, and an opposition speaker rises to begin the debate. The Speaker calls to him by name. It is Sir Frederic Thesiger, who has put on the paper a notice, that on the second reading of this bill being moved, he shall move as an amendment that it be read a second time that day six months. His seat is in  
the



the front opposition row—he was Lord Derby's Attorney-General—and he moors himself to one of the two green buoys which lie right and left of the Speaker, and which are full of Testaments, and cards on which the Members' oaths are printed. The lawyers usually speak well, but they all speak too long, the common law bar being, however, less prolix than the Chancery. Sir Frederic is an able and a fluent advocate, who does full justice to his brief; but though he is by no means one of the most lengthy, and though his impressive manner prevents his losing your attention, he would be more effective if he condensed his speeches. He is now delivering a damaging address, hacking the bill to pieces in a merciless manner, and urging against it the slight objections; first, that it is utterly unconstitutional; secondly, that it is inconsistent with other legislation; thirdly, that it is exceedingly absurd; and lastly, that it cannot possibly work. There is a great appearance of earnestness about him, and he seems most desirous to convince the author of the bill (the 'noble lord,' with a curious emphasis on the noun) of its extreme badness. When he sits down he has forestalled and exhausted most of the objections which subsequent speakers will take to the bill, and refuted by anticipation not a few of the pleas in its favour. As soon as he has done (and he has been speaking nearly two hours), the Members wait to hear who comes next, and finding that a gentleman of very enduring powers of talk gets up on the Ministerial side, there is a simultaneous up-rising and departure, and the House, in which there were just before three hundred and fifty members, now contains perhaps sixty. The Conservative benches are nearly deserted, most of the Irishmen are gone, and a large number of the supporters of Government. The only part of the House which shows anything like a cluster of members is behind the bench where the Administration sits, or rather sat, for the Ministers have also departed, except two, who mount guard. Where are they all gone? Gone for that which the ingenious Dr. Doran contends derived its name from a corruption of the words indicating the time at which in old Norman days it was taken—Dinner, or *dixième-heure*. All those carriages, and cabs, and broughams, and glistening steeds, that waited in compact array in Palace Yard, are hurrying away with legislators; some hastening to their homes, some to the clubs. There are refectories too in the House itself, where the wine is better than the cookery, and wires laid to all the important parts of the building will warn you, should your party need your presence as a talker or a voter.

But the member who has got up to answer Sir Frederic, and who enacts what is irreverently called 'dinner-bell,' bears this rude-

ness on the part of the House so patiently, waits so composedly until the noise of departing members is over, and then addresses himself to his work so prosily, that it would be unkind to name him. He sends up a glance at intervals to the representatives of the press, but they know better than to give him more than about a couple of lines every ten minutes; and you may now and then see a reporter, when relieved by his colleague, give the latter a congratulatory nod as he takes his seat to hint that the duties of the moment are not very heavy. This speaker, who commenced about half-past seven, prosed on until a quarter to nine. The Speaker selects an opposition bore to follow, for the breed is plentiful; and some of the class have made a hasty dinner, and come back, in the hope of getting a hearing while the great-guns are away. Two or three speakers of no great mark thus draggle on the debate till ten o'clock.

The House, which met in a blazing afternoon, has sat out the sun, and the chamber was in a pleasant *demi-jour*, just light enough to be comfortable to the eyes, when one of the bores began to read documents; but as he was reading the paper very badly, the Speaker took compassion on him, and the faintest little tingle of a bell was heard. Before its sound had ceased, the House was filled with the pleasantest artificial light in the world. The flat central portion of the barge ceiling was removed by the last experimentalists on the lighting of the apartment, and its place supplied with those sixty-four squares of ground-glass, slightly painted with the floral ornaments which decorate the rest of the roof. Above this is a system of Bude lights which kindle up in a moment, and thus, although not a lamp or a spark of fire is seen, there is sent down a supply of cool, mild, soft light, very comforting to the eyes of sexagenarians. There is another device which escapes general notice. The light we have mentioned, being above the roof, does not illuminate it; but several carved and adorned pendants, which hang down from the ceiling, bear bright lights, quite invisible to the House, and throw up their flame upon the painted roof, that would otherwise be in gloom. If Parliaments should exist a hundred years hence, we disbelieve, making all reverent allowance for the march of improvement, that the House of Commons will be better lighted in 1954 than it is in 1854; and, we having sat in that Chamber through hundreds of weary nights, our gratitude for the present system may be accepted as a testimony to its merit.

Ten o'clock, and no one, except the bores, has followed the distinguished advocate. We may make an exception in favour of a middle-aged gentleman, but a very young member, who has delivered his maiden speech, and managed to settle his rank in the



the senate for the rest of his legislative life. He is a dull, good sort of tradesman, who was making his fortune by honest, plodding industry when somebody was inconsiderate enough to die and leave him a legacy; and, being much respected in his native borough, he has managed to get himself returned. He has put on a very fine waistcoat, and has learned his speech very perfectly, especially the introductory sentence, in which he states that he had no intention of addressing the House that evening, but feels it his duty to his constituents to answer the remarks of the preceding speaker, a promise which he does not attempt to keep. The studied paragraphs come out very rollingly and neatly up to a certain point, when his memory fails him (he bitterly remembers how, in rehearsing before the glass, he *always* broke down at that fine image of the onward wave of enlightenment sweeping bigotry into the vortex of forgetfulness), and he begins to stammer and pause. The House, with the instinct of gentlemen, give a cheer to the struggling man; but this kindness flusters him the more—he looks helpless, and then he nervously extracts a small paper from his pocket, and, standing sideways, looks at it stealthily. He is too much agitated however to recover his lost clue; a few more sentences begun and not ended, and he ‘will not intrude any longer upon the attention of the House.’ Another slight, encouraging cheer, and he sits down very hot, and begins energetically to explain to the honourable members right and left what he intended to say, and how he came to forget it; and, having thus consoled them, he rushes out of the House in much discomfort. He fully expects that a failure which seemed so dreadful to himself will be eagerly pounced upon by everybody else, and half fears to open his newspaper next morning lest he should find the leader beginning, ‘Of all the ridiculous exhibitions of imbecility which the House of Commons has ever witnessed, last night afforded,’ &c. But he is not assailed by the editor; and it is with a grateful heart that he reads in the reporting column, that Mr. Boggle briefly supported the second reading of the bill. All maiden speeches are not like this; and few things are more pleasant than to hear the young inheritor of a distinguished name show himself worthy of it, by a modest but spirited inauguration of his parliamentary career, or to listen to an earnest, practical, self-made senator, who rises for the first time, and, believing that he is talking on serious business to serious men, discards the idea of speech-making, and delivers his opinion as coolly and rationally to the House of Commons as he would have done to his board of directors or his commercial associates.

But the House has filled up again, the curtains are drawn,



the much-enduring Speaker has taken his few minutes of refreshment, strangers have stretched their legs, and wondered to whom the right honourable gentleman called on leaving the chair, a doubt now solved by his inviting Mr. Henry Drummond to rise. The fine bald head and intellectual features of that eccentric speaker are seen to advantage, as he occupies a corner of the front bench, below the Ministerial gangway, and he steps forward upon the floor. The House always listens to him, for they are sure of something quaint and amusing, and are almost equally sure of something which will hit very hard. He has not much to say about the Criminals' Enfranchisement Bill—it is all a part of the modern system of taking thought for scoundrels, instead of against them, as our ancestors used to do; but he wishes to know why the proposed enfranchisement is restricted to those who have been guilty of offences against property? Why is not the right of voting given to those who have committed crimes against the person? Does the noble lord, the victim of Manchester, mean to say that Mammon is more sacred than human life? And down sits Mr. Drummond, with a mischievous glance at the cotton gentlemen behind him. Sir John Pakington rises next, at the opposition green-box. His exordium is perhaps a little more solemn than is necessary; and that apology for troubling the House is certainly needless from a man who will as certainly inform it. After that you have excellent sense, and a view of the case derived from experience. He has been chairman of quarter-sessions—he knows a great deal about our criminals, and he has long directed his attention to the educational problem. His objections to the bill are derived from his conviction that it will be mischievous; for, though not undervaluing constitutional theories, he tells you that he conceives we have a right to apply a more practical test than that of mere symmetry. You are going to give criminality a *status*, with rights and privileges, and you will encourage claimants for such honours, while breaking down the wholesome rule, that social advantages shall accompany moral conduct. Several barristers who have obtained their own consent to be Solicitors-General in due time, rise to win their spurs by a reply; but the gentleman who has beaten them in the race will save them the trouble. Mr. Solicitor admits that the question of morals is the all-important one, but remarks that a system which tends to render the vicious hopeless is in itself highly immoral. Sir Richard is a courageous speaker, despite his mincing manner, and taking a bold view of his case, he enlarges with great tact upon the cruelty which thrusts back an erring man from all the advantages of society, and the impolicy which thereby arms him against it. He disdains to meet a speech upon the principle of  
a measure

a measure with anything else than principles, while smaller advocates imagine it a feat to lead the House away from principle to detail, and cite long arrays of figures to show that out of 2571 criminals convicted between September and July, only 1233 had ever been on any poll-book at all, and of these 289 had been struck out by the revising barrister.

Sir Richard's speech calls up Mr. Henley, who speaks very shrewdly in a tone of good-natured grumbling. He demolishes the Government theory after the Socratic method, and in colloquial fashion inquires whether they mean to tell him that a thief ought to stand at the polling-booth and register a vote which shall have equal weight with that of an honest man. Nor can he avoid a quiet fling at gentlemen opposite, and he informs the advocates of the ballot that they ought to go one step further, and put the disreputable voter into an envelope as well as the cowardly vote. Up, in great readiness, springs Mr. Bright, who asserts that, if the ballot had been law years ago, we should have had no criminals, because the people would have elected members who would have promoted education; and the hon. member is not of old Richard Baxter's opinion, who says, 'We mistake men's diseases when we think nothing more is necessary to cure them than the evidence of truth.' He takes this opportunity of showing that we spend ten times as much money in gaols as in schools, and of expressing his belief that if newspapers were made cheap—newspapers, of course, that express the views of Manchester, for the hon. member's notions of dictatorship in such matters are said to be decided—we should do away with one great cause of crime among the working classes, namely, their lack of means to know what is going on in Parliament. Several Irish members rise, and the one selected by the Speaker complains that Ireland is excluded from the operation of the bill, which is a crying injustice, as Ireland contributes at least her share of criminals to the gaol returns of the United Kingdom. Had the bill been a Conservative one, he could have traced in the exclusion the bigoted hatred of ultra-Protestants to those who might be supposed to be influenced by the teaching of the Catholic clergy; but, coming from the champion of civil and religious liberty, he cannot comprehend it. This offers an excellent opportunity for a diatribe against the system of gaol chaplains, which the hon. member contends is most oppressive as regards Catholics, and he reads a variety of papers to illustrate the case of a poor Irish felon, named Patrick M'Murtagh, who, being confined in an English prison for murder, had woke horror-stricken from his sleep and demanded the instant presence of his priest. The hour being midnight, the governor of the prison refused to send for the clergyman until the morning;  
and



and this frightful case of persecution had been discussed in all the Irish papers, a Roman Catholic bishop had set a great  $\times$  against it, and now it was brought before the British legislature. No Irish representative ever speaks without being followed and contradicted by another, the process going on until the House interferes, and accordingly an honourable and legal member, who happened to have prosecuted M'Murtagh, has his version of the story, and an allegation that, if the priest had been sent for, he was too tipsy to come. This brings up Mr. Lucas, who declares his disbelief that any Catholic priest ever got tipsy, and adds, that this is not a question in which a Catholic can take much interest, because no Catholic ever was a criminal. Mr. Whiteside must answer this, and, without the slightest wish to impugn the veracity of Mr. Lucas, enumerates ten cases in which he has himself convicted Papists, and transported them; and adds that, in his Italian travels, he has seen many priests who had all the marks of having passed a very convivial evening. Mr. John Fitzgerald protests rather pathetically that 'the terrums applied by the honourable and learned member to the clergymen of his (Mr. Fitzgerald's) church are calculated to make Catholics rise in arrums against such treatment, besides that they are not the least in the wurrald necessary in a discussion on this beel.' This latter remark would perhaps apply to a good deal else that has been said, and the House is of the same opinion, for there are impatient cries of 'Question;' and, on another Irish member rising to confute Mr. Fitzgerald, the exclamations grow so loud that Ireland feels she has had all the share of the debate she is likely to get that night.

But it is now late, and the Leader of the Commons, glancing round and satisfying himself that nobody else wants to speak whom the House wants to hear, touches his hat. 'Lord John Russell,' says the Speaker. There is a cry of 'Order, order,'—men address themselves to listen, and cough, that they may have done with that English preliminary. Some slip up into the gallery, and hasten round so as to get opposite to Lord John. The reporters, who have been taking it easily, now look out for real work, and his lordship lays his hat upon the table and begins. He confesses that he might have felt some difficulty in dealing with the multiplied objections which had been made to his bill if, fortunately, many of them did not answer others, and the rest refute themselves. But he does proceed to 'take all their points in his target,' and deals with them with no small adroitness. He is happier, however, at demonstrating the weakness and inconsistency of an antagonist than in establishing a proposition of his own—a characteristic supposed to be especially Whiggish. He therefore



therefore dwells on the various objections, and, with a 'Well, then,' either effects a *reductio ad absurdum* in each case, or imagines himself to have done so. He next shows that the Government, having inserted in the Royal Speech a recommendation that extension of the suffrage to persons at present unqualified should be considered, it was strictly in accordance with precedent to introduce this measure. He refers to various historical cases in which ministers, especially Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville, have brought in similar bills, at exactly the same distance from the beginning of the session as the present time; and, if the House escapes a reference to Magna Charta, it will hardly get off without a mention of Lord Somers. He warms a little as he gets on, refers to his own successes in extending the franchise; and though he is obleeged (he retains some old phrases and old sounds, appoints debates for to-morrow se'nnight, and speaks of Room when alluding to the Scarlet Lady) to admit that this is not a large measure, it is, he contends, a safe, a just, and a constitutional one. He relies upon the support of the House in carrying out a policy which tends to the establishment of our institutions on a broader basis, and to enable the country the better to carry out the great duty committed to her by Providence—a peroration so often repeated that it might almost be kept stereotyped at Messrs. Hansard's. His lordship takes his hat from the table and sits down, and some people think that the minister having replied, the debate ought to be over, and the verdict taken. Mr. Disraeli is of a different opinion, and has established for himself a precedent of always replying upon the Government. He begins very distinctly, but very quietly. Perhaps the art of compelling a hearer to listen to every word spoken by an orator was never carried to higher perfection—we do not refer to the internal power of his oratory, but to its manner. He had not intended to speak (he is frequently in this case), but—there is some reason why he should. If a tax question is on, he thinks it would be disrespectful to the sovereign, as he has been Chancellor of the Exchequer, if he did not offer a few observations. If a privilege question, of course, one who had led the House of Commons may naturally be expected to take an interest in a subject affecting its rights. If there be no other reason for frustrating his own intention to avail himself (as the Frenchman said) of a great opportunity of holding his tongue, it is to be found in the strange and unexampled doctrine of the noble lord. The well-prepared attack is then delivered. The House is requested to go back a few months. The history of the session is traced, sarcastic comments upon each legislative act or attempt enlivening the story, and complaints of long-forgotten personalities

sonalities coming up like new grievances, but so dexterously introduced that the hearer who relishes what he affects to condemn is inwardly glad they have rankled so long. Then the measure before the House is shown not to be a mere isolated endeavour to capitalise a little popularity by pandering to a party whim, but a link in a long chain of unconstitutional practices, for which impeachment would be so much too mild a treatment that he will not even propose a vote of want of confidence. Towards the end of his speeches, Mr. Disraeli gets very loud, but his voice takes a purely artistic tone—passion has nothing to do with it—and he drops from an angry clamour to a smooth colloquialism just as cleverly as Mr. Macready used to do in *Lord Townley*, when, in the scene where he is upbraiding his wife, a servant enters, and the highly-bred man, not choosing that a menial should witness his anger, forces his voice down into the gentlest, ‘Desire Mr. Manly to walk upstairs.’ But that last taunt sounds like a termination—or is there another bang in the squib?—yes, one more, and with a capitally constructed closing sentence, of which the last syllable rings as distinctly in the ear as the first, the leader of her Majesty’s Opposition sits down. There are loud cries for a division, but the gallant Colonel Sibthorp will be heard, and the House humours him, knowing that he will be brief. He has nothing to say, except that he considers the ministry to be the most shuffling, vacillating, contemptible gang—yes, sir, gang—ever assembled, and that *timet Danaos et dona ferentes*. The Speaker then proceeds to put the question.

Although the old rule of turning strangers out of the House during the mystic process of division has been rescinded, it is with an exception as regards those who sit in the Speaker’s gallery, and who might cause inconvenience by getting among the Members. So, that declaration, ‘Strangers must withdraw,’ though a *brutum fulmen* for the strangers above, turns Ingenuus out. He must therefore hasten upstairs and watch the proceedings from the privileged gallery.

There is a sand-glass on the Speaker’s table, and this is turned over when the debate concludes, and during the two minutes that the sand is running, members, duly warned, hurry up from the library, smoking-rooms, dining-rooms, and the Thames promenade, where, at high-water, and when the wind does not bring over the reek of those foul manufactories, a senator’s lounge is not unpleasant—the accessories of the scene being the sparkling lights, plashing river, and a good cigar. The time is up, everybody has been whipped in, and see how the bar is crammed, and how the foremost ranks press forward towards the centre of the House.

The



The Speaker orders the door to be closed. He then puts the question. Its form is mystic, as are many things here, but there is no great danger of a mistake, whippers-in being alert, and Members knowing the advantage of following their leaders. The proposal was, that the Criminals' Enfranchisement Bill should be read a second time. Sir F. Thesiger's amendment was, that instead of the words 'a second time,' there should be inserted 'this day six months.' The *question* is, whether the words proposed to be left out, namely, 'a second time,' shall stand. 'Those who are of that opinion say Aye.'

'Aye,' say a great many voices on the Government side.

'Those who are of a contrary opinion say No.'

'No!' comes in thunder from the Opposition, who have better lungs than the Ministerialists. The Speaker then casually remarks,

'I think the Ayes have it.'

He is, however, instantly and flatly contradicted by various Noes, and without contesting the point, he exclaims—

'The Ayes to the right, the Noes to the left.'

All the Members come down from their seats and the floor is crowded. They are making their way, slowly, to the lobbies appropriated for them. The Speaker nominates two tellers on each side, whose business it is to ascertain the numbers—a couple of Government men, and the mover and seconder of the amendment. While the House is clearing, the four tellers linger and exchange jokes. A Member is taking the opposite side to that of his party, and a teller calls after him that he is going the wrong way. A young gentleman with a large paletot has arrived in a Highland dress, from some masked ball, and one of the four, as he passes, invites him to take off the paletot in order to delight the Speaker's eyes with a view of his costume. As soon as the House is reported clear, the tellers follow to do their work.

Now the Members, having voted, begin to re-enter in single file, and return to their seats. A clerk in wig and gown goes to the Opposition green box to be ready to take the numbers. Sir Frederic Thesiger comes in, looking quite triumphant, walks up to the clerk and speaks—a sensation round the House, and then a tremendous Opposition cheer. Enter Mr. Hayter, the Secretary to the Treasury, not looking quite so well pleased, and he also approaches the clerk. The four tellers then form in line, and retire, backing. As they do so their position indicates the victory. The right hand man of the four belongs to the winning side, and in that station is the tall form of Sir Frederic Thesiger. Another tremendous Opposition cheer, and the four go bowing up to the table, and Sir Frederic reads from a paper—  
'The



'The Ayes to the right were 220, the Noes to the left 234.' Terrific cheering, Government beaten by 14, and the Criminals' Enfranchisement Bill lost.

For a few minutes business is suspended, members laugh over the victory and defeat, and Ministers are seen in converse. Ingenuus may suppose that they are consoling one another under the painful catastrophe; but it is more probable that they are arranging what other business shall be taken that night. The door having been re-opened, members depart, though so large a House usually leaves a pretty large fragment up to the time of adjournment.

The other orders are now read by the Speaker.

If there is an Irish Bill on the list, seven Members of the Emerald Isle will start up with protests against proceeding with Irish business at that unseasonable hour, and it is just as probable that if they had not protested the measure would have been postponed. But when Lord Palmerston moves the second reading of the 'Thames Purification Bill,' and Mr. Somebody, whose friend is the owner of filthy works which befoul the river, is sure that the Home Secretary will not press so important a measure at such an hour, the Viscount is justly obdurate, and says that the smell is horrible, and that London cries out for vengeance. Some matter-of-course bill will next go through Committee with inconceivable rapidity, the clerk who lifts up the mace not thinking it worth while to put it down, but merely holding it off the table until Mr. Bouverie has rattled through the clauses (there are but three), and then replaces it. The paper being exhausted, various Members of the Government walk to the end of the House, and are called to by name.

'Sir James Graham.'

'Papers, Sir, by command of Her Majesty.'

'Bring them up.' And Sir James bows and deposits the papers, which are for the information of the House. The same ceremony is performed in the case of a bill. The clock now says III, and Mr. James Wilson takes off his hat, and remarks—

'I move that this House do now adjourn.'

The Speaker catches at his robe, and, with a bow, descends and disappears, and the Members rush to the door. The strangers have dribbled away long ago, except two or three, who wish to see the very last of it, and the wearied reporters are hurrying up their note-books, and starting off for their respective newspapers. Ingenuus is glad that he has witnessed the scene, but does not want to come again—at least such is the sentiment we have often heard from similar visitants.

More lively, if less conventionally dignified, are the very important

important discussions that take place in Committee of the whole House. Had the second reading of the Criminals' Enfranchisement Bill been carried, the Committee would have been its next stage; but *the* reading having been lost, there is an end of the present attempt upon the Constitution. We have described the mode of procedure in a committee on a bill; but there are various kinds of sittings of this nature; such, for instance, as the Committee of Supply. This deals with the estimates, which comprise a vast variety of subjects, including the entire expenses of the Army, the Navy, the Ordnance, and the Civil Service. It is obvious that with such topics to discuss there must be a world of small talk expended along with the public money, especially as members have a right to be heard in Committee as often as they please. On the other hand there is not much 'set speaking,' though a senator will sometimes leave the conversational tone in which all real business is done, and grow didactic and declamatory. In battling over these accounts, topics must arise on which the least informed and least fluent member can contribute an opinion or a fact. On the Civil Estimates, and especially on that ample field, the Miscellaneous Estimates, the talkers pop up and down incessantly. Every item is *apropos* to something which has lain in somebody's mind, and of which he must now be relieved. On the Army and Navy Estimates the gentlemen connected with those professions are usually heard with advantage, a few garrulous and crotchety officers excepted; but on these subjects there are also lay members, and especially reformers, who utter a good deal of plausible matter, which gives great umbrage to the men of routine. The Speaker is exempt from the endurance of this gossiping audit; and at present the Honourable Edward Bouverie, Chairman of Committees, presides, due compensation being made to him for his pains.

The going into supply is a favourite opportunity for a member with a grievance or a whim; and it is competent to any one to 'call attention' to the fact that an insufficient provision of umbrellas was made on board Waterman No. 12, the last time the House of Commons accompanied the Queen to a launch; or to the desirability of establishing a circulating library for the recreation of the felons in the model prisons, and for having occasional theatrical performances and promenade concerts for their comfort. We have known a whole night, which was destined for the estimates, occupied by such discussions; and then, when twelve o'clock came, Mr. Hume very properly objected to opening a new debate, and expending public money, at a time when the House was too weary to be on the alert. There is, however, a limitation to the number of such interruptions, though of course  
their



their length cannot be prescribed; and among recent suggestions, prompted by the inconvenience which is produced by this interference with public business, is one for abolishing the system altogether. But supposing that the gentlemen with notices give way to the public appeal of a minister, or to the private blandishment of a Secretary to the Treasury, or that the questions so interpolated have been disposed of, the mace descends from the table, the House goes into a Committee of Supply, and the report next day would read thus:—

The first vote proposed was, that the sum of 135,863*l.* be granted to her Majesty to defray the expenses of the royal palaces.

Mr. Wise wished to know why the front of Buckingham Palace had been painted. It looked very ugly; and painting stone was quite ridiculous.

Sir William Molesworth said that the process had been rendered necessary, because the stone-work had suffered from weather.

Mr. Hume said that was no answer. Bad materials must have been furnished; and there must have been somebody on duty to see that the materials were good. Whose business was it?

Lord Seymour said that stone was a very hard thing (a laugh) to get good.

Mr. Williams said that was because application was not made in the right quarter. Private individuals could get good articles; but Government had the monopoly of being ill served.

An honourable member said that his house was built of very good stone.

Mr. Wilson said that he was very glad to hear it, he was sure; but honourable members would see that this was no reason why her Majesty should not have the necessary repairs executed.

The vote was agreed to.

Mr. Bouverie.—Order, order. The next vote was that 66,585*l.* should be granted for keeping in repair the lodges, fences, roads, and paths in the royal parks and pleasure-grounds.

An honourable member took this opportunity of calling attention to the disgraceful fact, that he saw a boy in St. James's Park, on Thursday last, pitching little pebbles into the mouth of the great mortar. A policeman was standing at Storey's Gate, but did not interfere. Now, at a time like this, when we were spending millions on our ordnance, he thought that this neglect was, to say the least of it, very inconsistent.

Sir William Molesworth said that unluckily the mortar could hardly be called a public statue, and therefore the new Act for the Protection of the Statues did not allow him to interfere; but the police should be spoken to. Another



Another honourable member wished to know whether the public had a right to the chestnuts that fell from the trees in Bushy Park. He mentioned this, because in riding through the park he had frequently seen numbers of pic-nic parties collecting them in large numbers, and carrying them away in pocket-handkerchiefs. He did not intend to move any amendment, but wished the Government to be aware of the fact.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer said that Government had to thank the honourable member for bringing the subject forward. Difficulty had arisen in legislating on the subject, on account of the articles in question being entirely useless to everybody; but the ranger had taken the matter into consideration, and he hoped that ere long a satisfactory regulation would be affixed on the park-gates.

The vote was agreed to.

This kind of small-talk, with frequently far more puerile variations, usually lasts for five or six hours, and is renewed, *de nocte in noctem*, until the estimates are gone through. It is hardly necessary to add that not a twentieth part of what is said is given in the newspapers, which condense the observations made in Committee in a mode which it would be very desirable to adopt in regard to the formal debates. It is not to be denied, however, that these desultory discussions are of great advantage. In addition to the check which they impose upon any recklessness or jobbery on the part of the administration, they afford a very convenient opportunity for forcing upon the attention of Parliament suggestions of real utility, but which are of too small or special a character to be brought forward in an isolated shape; and although the parliamentary privilege of unlimited gossip is exercised to the utmost upon these occasions, it would be very undesirable that the House, in a sudden fit of impatience, should seek to curtail its estimate colloquies.

In the corner of New Palace Yard, beyond Star Chamber Court (Sir Charles Barry has done well to preserve these old historical names), is the door leading to the reporters' gallery. As we leave that of the strangers there is a little crowd of the gentlemen of the press coming out, and they look with some compassion at us who remain, voluntarily, to hear debates at such an hour. Here are the men for whom, and to whom, Parliament talks so lengthily. The reporters' gallery is the filter through which the senatorial eloquence is percolated for the public. And the illustration really 'holds water,' for the press can only do what a filter does. It purifies the speeches from bad grammar, and nonsense, and iteration, and, in short, renders them fluent and presentable; but it can do nothing towards making

making the article wholesome. Ditch-water will be dull, though filtration may have made it translucent, and it is the same with Boggle's platitudes, Azote's scepticism, and Myope's political philosophy.

The parliamentary reporter is now as regularly recognized an official of the House as the Serjeant-at-Arms. It was not always so. Without becoming historical (a process we have determined to avoid upon this occasion) and recurring to Dr. Johnson and the Gentleman's Magazine, we may mention that up to the time of the destruction of the Houses by the fire, the reporters merely occupied the back of the gallery appropriated to strangers. In this inconvenient station they wrote with their note-books on their knees. They had upon special occasions to fight the public for their places, when members, exercising their right of causing the gallery to be opened at early hours, poured in their friends, and threatened to swamp the limited space. But when the temporary House was being constructed, a separate gallery was built for the accommodation of the press. It is but justice to state that this advantage was claimed for them by the author of the Parliamentary Companion, who, from having been a member of the reporters' gallery for thirty-seven years (during the latter portion of which time he has been the manager of the reporting staff of the *Times*) is now regarded as its representative when questions of its comfort and convenience arise. In the present edifice, a still more commodious gallery has been reserved for their use, with a set of retiring and refreshment rooms; and a messenger of the House is constantly on duty for the purpose of carrying on communication between the reporters and any members whose documents they may desire to borrow, or whose quotations may be too far-fetched (a rare occurrence) for easy verification. The good Lord Eldon is said to have finally and formally recognized the press, by having, when Chancellor, picked up a reporter's note-book, which had fallen over the bar of the House of Lords, and returned it to the owner, without expressing a single 'doubt' as to whether the right of ownership still remained in the latter, after that discontinuance, or whether the party who swept the floor had not acquired an equitable interest in such a waif, an interest which heaven forbid John Scott should treat lightly. Mr. S. Carter Hall is, we believe, the gentleman who thus afforded Lord Eldon the opportunity of recognizing the *status* of stenography.

To sit in the members' gallery, and observe the reporting system in action, is interesting. There are about a dozen stalls in front of the press gallery (which is immediately over the Speaker), and these look comfortable high-backed niches. They  
are



are always occupied. Behind them is a row of seats on which the immediate successors of the reporters who are on duty wait until the moment for relieving guard arrives, and sometimes the editors of the leading London journals appear there in person, when a ministerial crisis, or some other *nodus dignus*, justifies the avatar. Each portion of note-taking is called a 'turn.' We are informed that in the case of some, if not all, the daily journals, the first turn of the evening is an hour, and that at five o'clock the first man is relieved. As the finger of the clock opposite approaches the last minute you may see the finger of the successor held over the acting reporter's shoulder, and at the precise moment the signal falls, the two gentlemen exchange places, the new one takes up the speaker at his next sentence, and the old one departs to the newspaper office to 'write out' his 'turn'—that is, to translate short-hand into English, for the printers. The length of the turns, we understand, varies in different papers, but during the early part of the night they are either three-quarters of an hour or half an hour, and later they shorten to turns of half an hour and twenty minutes. About one hundred words in a minute is as much, we are apprised, as the fastest short-hand writer can take; and Sir George Grey probably utters 120 or 130; but *his* delivery is somewhat preternatural. The time required for the transcription of the turn varies with the closeness with which the report has been taken, and, of course, with the rapidity of the writer; but, on an average, it probably takes about five times as long as the short-hand noting. As fast as the transcriber throws off a page it is hurried away to the compositor, and a large portion of a long speech is in print before the orator is thinking of his peroration. When the list of reporters is exhausted the first man recommences, and so on until the House rises; and in a fierce campaign a reporter will not unfrequently have three and even four turns. But the reporters, like other people, thank Providence there is a House of Lords, for a similarly organized staff is sent by each newspaper to that assembly; but, as the Lords have no constituents to talk to, and no speeches to make merely as political capital, their sittings on the average are very brief, and therefore the reporters who are not needed in the Upper House come in to share the labours of their colleagues in the Commons. But their duties on any night of a debate are heavy as well as responsible; and, as a general rule, these gentlemen well deserve the tribute paid to them by Mr. Sheil, who (as cited by Mr. Dod) said, in his income-tax speech, in March, 1845, 'There are men in that gallery of liberal education, and of minds embellished with every literary adornment, who by great labour, by great wear



wear and tear of body and mind, acquire an income which falls within the range of the tax, although it is far from being commensurate with the ability or the usefulness of a class to which some of the first men in England have belonged.' He might have named, among others, Lord Chief-Justice Campbell, the late Serjeant Spankie—(the lamented Mr. Justice Talfourd, who worked in the law courts for the *Morning Chronicle*, has been authoritatively, but erroneously, described as a Parliamentary reporter)—Mr. Charles Dickens, and others of the *ornatissimi*. The allusion was, we doubt not, applauded; for the members of the British senate have a lively sense of the value of a newspaper to their reputation, and of the ability and judgment with which the staff in the gallery discharge their functions.

Besides the reporters who are constantly appearing and disappearing, we may remark among the occupants of the stalls some gentlemen who write comparatively little, but who remain the whole evening and watch the entire debate. These are the writers of summaries, whose office would seem to have been called into existence by the enormous length at which newspapers deem it desirable to give the parliamentary debates, and the consequent inability of a large class, and unwillingness of a larger, to spend upon these gigantic reports the time necessary to extract their pith. Each of the leading papers is supplied with one of these writers, whose task is to listen to a speech, and to condense its points into as brief a space as possible, preserving its colour and style—if it have any, and the speaker's grade entitle him to such consideration—and in ordinary cases to indicate the line taken by each member, with such a *résumé* of his argument as may show the reasons which prompt, or are stated to prompt him. Mr. Horace Twiss was, we believe, the first gentleman who devoted himself to this branch of reporting. The summaries of the best papers are executed in a masterly manner; and, in nine cases out of ten, make a reference to the debate *in extenso* unnecessary. As we have already intimated, we are inclined to believe that, if the system were much more freely introduced into the ordinary reports than at present, the House would be spared a world of what the Americans call *Bunkum*. The men who 'cram' themselves with facts that they may discharge them in speeches, and speak that they may be reported, would eat their dinners with their wives and children in comparative calmness, if those magnificent senatorial efforts were discouraged:—*e.g.* 'Mr. Chatterby then sketched the history of the question, in a speech of an hour and a quarter, and, reserving to himself the right of dissenting from details, supported the bill.' This would save Mr. Chatterby a great deal of  
mnemonic

mnemonic promenading about his library, and many impassioned appeals to his armchair as Mr. Speaker.

In the course of the parliamentary debates, the House is occasionally indulged with provincialisms and vulgarisms. The great majority of the members speak as educated men should do; but there are a few gentlemen who are somewhat 'too appy to leave the matter in the ands of the Ouse.' More than one of these is a Conservative. The Scotch accent and the Irish brogue may of course be heard—the latter at most times, and in strange varieties, from the nipping, sneaking Dublin brogue to the rich low-comedy voice of the West. The Scotch members speak very little; they are understood to hold private Parliaments of their own on Scotch bills, which are there discussed in a business-like and sensible manner by those who understand them; and the House, which of course does not, is relieved from the trouble of doing much more than passing the measures, as it generally does about two in the morning.

Of Parliamentary eloquence we would rather decline to speak. When there were such things as grand speeches—we are willing to believe they were very grand—they had seldom reporters with short-hand pens, and most of them died. Assuredly the art is extinct, and there are no great speeches now. There are long speeches, and sarcastic speeches, and crack speeches, but they are not such speeches as fell from the lips of Burke, Pitt, and Fox, or, more recent still, from Canning and Brougham. We have in our time heard five orations whose united lengths would rather exceed the twenty-four hours. They were of very different calibre. One was Lord Palmerston's most able exposition of his whole foreign policy, in the summer of 1850, an effort—we speak without political reference—worthy of the energetic and accomplished man who made it. Another was a speech by Mr. Vincent Scully, an Irish member, who spoke avowedly against time for the express purpose of obstructing business, and who occupied, if we remember aright, a whole morning sitting. Two others were Budget speeches, by Messrs. Disraeli and Gladstone, of five hours each; and the fifth was that of Sir Charles Wood's, 'a good man, but a little o'ertasked,' when he laid the East India Bill before the House. These are the great talking feats of late days. Lord Palmerston does not affect eloquence, but usually speaks in a frank, English manner, the franker that he frequently hesitates over a word, making no secret of the fact that he wishes to select the best. His action is energetic, even in giving a brief explanation. His long experience of business and of the House, combined with his own keen insight into character, tell him at a glance what manner of man his antagonist is, and in



what way it would be acceptable to the House to have him treated. Though he is personally fearless, and never hesitates to close when the fight demands a grapple, it is evidently pleasanter to Lord Palmerston merely to exchange a few knightly blows with a worthy assailant, and then to charge upon the field, after the manner of one of the Froissart heroes, so much admired by John Graham of Claverhouse. Of Mr. Disraeli's masterly, passionless, finished delivery, we have already spoken. Like the warrior to whom Norna chants her witch-song, seldom

‘Lies he still, through sloth or fear,  
When point and edge are glittering near.’

An ever-ready speaker, his premeditated orations, that is to say, those over which he has had some time—no matter how short—to ponder, are nevertheless infinitely better than those prompted by the exigency of the moment. He will sometimes from this cause reply better to the earlier part of an antagonist's argument than to its close; and his own peroration is seldom so effective as what, in dramatic language, may be called the crisis of his speech. Unprepared, he has a tendency to verbiage, and to a repetition of the same idea, without a sufficient variety of treatment: prepared, and not a blow misses; not a platitude irritates; not a sarcasm is impeded by a weakening phrase. The arrow, stripped of all plumage except that which aids and steadies its flight, strikes within a hair's breadth of the archer's aim; whether it finds the joint of the harness, or shivers on the shield, is occasionally matter of opinion; but that it often wounds deeply would seem to be proved by the exceeding ferocity with which, out of the House, Mr. Disraeli is assailed. In the House, it is rare for any one but Mr. Gladstone to meddle with him. Mr. Macaulay's voice is now so seldom raised in Parliament that there is little to be told of him, save what was well known long ago. Twice only has he been heard of late: once on the India Bill, when some persons expected a masterly survey of Indian history and politics, and an eloquent prophecy of the future, and were compelled to content themselves with some pleasant and sensible observations on education. His other effort was on the Judges' Exclusion Bill, when he spoke vigorously, and brought back reminiscences of old parliamentary battles which were wont to stir the pulses of the listeners. We hoped to have been gratified by a specimen of his ever-welcome eloquence on the Scotch Education Bill, seeing him in his place; but he came only to present the opinions of other people on the measure. Sir Bulwer Lytton, who early won reputation by his speeches in Parliament, has distinguished himself since his recent return to the House in the conservative ranks; and has more  
than



than once been appointed to the post of honour, and shown himself worthy of it. His trained intellect, great energy, and command of language, make him formidable, both in attack and in defence; and we presume that as there are few other achievements he has not accomplished, that we shall one day see him holding the Castle Dangerous of office. Mr. Gladstone is the most polished speaker in the House of Commons. His verbal resources are as remarkable as his management of them; and his manner is invariably that of a gentleman. He is charged with 'subtlety' by coarser minds, but we fancy that the English intellect, which is not distinguished for its analytical power, treats the subject in a somewhat jumbling fashion. Mr. Gladstone inclines to the Tractarian party—Tractarians are no better than Jesuits—Jesuits are proverbially subtle—and, therefore, when Mr. Gladstone is defining, very elaborately, the difference between long annuities and deferred annuities, he is talking Jesuitically. We believe that Mr. Gladstone would be a more popular orator if he would be less explicit; but, while he exhausts the subject, he sometimes exhausts the listener. His refined and scholarly periods, the creation of the moment, but as elegantly balanced and as keenly pointed as if they had been written and studied—are always marvels of fluency, and often specimens of eloquence. Mr. Walpole's earnest, thoughtful, gentlemanly style, is a model for young members; and, though a lawyer, he never metes out lawyer measure. His rising commands instant and respectful attention, and we never heard an unkind thing said by or to the late Home Secretary. Lord Stanley inherits his father's intellect, but not his declamatory power; he is, however, struggling successfully against a difficulty of delivery, and speaks so well, that no one grudges the trouble of following him. We incline to think he will achieve a distinguished position. Mr. Bright, notwithstanding the disadvantage of advocating opinions which are often extravagant, is among the very ablest speakers in the House. Though it is a general remark, that his tone during the present session has been less defiant than formerly, his worst defect is still the arrogance and intolerance of his language, inso-much that a friend is reported to have said of him that, had he not been a Quaker, he would have been a pugilist. On the other hand, he is extremely ready, and can both reason and declaim with unusual power. Mr. Cobden has a down look, and a manner which is neither masculine nor polished. He hammers away, with a narrow, niggling action of the fore-arm; and his arguments partake of the same small but continuous character; till at the close you find that, despite your dislike at being jolted onwards in such a fashion, he has proved his case from his premises. The ultra-montane champion, Mr. Lucas, has a disagreeable, vinegar

voice; but his taste for superstition makes him so habitually wrathful with everything Protestant, that the voice is amusingly suitable to the themes he chiefly selects. He is one of the few smart agents of the priests; and his perverse oratory, which hurts nobody but himself and the Roman Catholic interests, is always a relief from the average dullness of the House. Mr. Bernal Osborne used to be a showy declaimer, and a capital hand at letting off prepared fireworks: but he has taken office; and whereas in that very 1850 debate, of which we have spoken before, he assailed Sir James Graham mercilessly, and ridiculed his career and consistency, calling him the successor to Mr. Urquhart, in 1854 he is Sir James's decorous First Secretary, and squibbeth no more. Sir James's own style of speaking is pretty well known. A perfect master of his subject and of himself, and by no means afraid to use a strong word upon occasion, he is among the most dangerous antagonists in the House. The steam-engine rapidity of Sir George Grey, whose concentrated energy of speech is a curiosity—the exuberant action of Lord Claude Hamilton, faintly imitated by Mr. Apsley Pellatt—the tears in the voice of Lord Bernard, the downright groan of Mr. Edward Ball, the continuous garrulity of Mr. Aglionby when once set going—the ill-rewarded efforts of Mr. Miall to speak effectively on a subject on which he has thought earnestly—the twelve or fourteen perorations of Mr. Hume to every speech the veteran delivers—may be matters of good-natured note, but they have, of course, little to do with oratory. There are some earnest men, chiefly young, who are 'coming up,' and will, we trust, do good service; for they speak as single-minded English gentlemen, who eschew quackery and cant. Lord Stanley, on one side, and Mr. Layard, 'the member for Nineveh,' on the other, are excellent types of a class to which we look with hopefulness, for the world is very weary both of Red Tape and of Cotton Twist.

We have frequently heard it asked whether there is much Wit in the House, and have never known any variation in the reply. Very seldom, indeed, is 'a good thing' said within these walls. Yet the House of Commons is an indulgent audience, where it likes the speaker; but it is here as elsewhere, the most senile anecdote, execrably told, will be endured from a favourite, while an unknown man will receive a groan in return for an epigram. The last deliberately-conceived neat thing within our recollection was said by the late Mr. Sheil, who, complimenting a noble lord who is ever active in the cause of Christian civilization, said that he 'had made Humanity one of Shaftesbury's Characteristics.' One jest delights the House very much; indeed, it never fails; and it must have been heard a good many thousand times. It is when a speaker confuses the name of the member

to



to whom he refers with that of the place for which that gentleman sits. Accidentally, or (such things are) by design, let a senator speak of the noble lord the member for Palmerston, or the honourable baronet the member for Molesworth, and the House goes off into a roar. It is a safe point, like Mr. Hardcastle's anecdote of Old Grouse in the gun-room: 'your worship must not tell that story, if we are not to laugh; I can't help laughing at that: we have laughed at it these twenty years.' Among the smaller recreations of the House is the raising a terrific cry when a member new to parliamentary manners accidentally walks between the Speaker and the member speaking. This unpardonable violation of etiquette brings from all sides the most indignant exclamations. The puzzled look of the criminal as he sits down: that 'what *have* I done?' is part of the sport; and we almost fear that by publishing the secret we shall be depriving the House of one of its innocent diversions.

We originally proposed to speak of the House of Commons only, and have endeavoured to restrict ourselves to that single topic—one which can never be otherwise than interesting to Englishmen. We have wished to treat the subject on the *Trosve, Tyriusve* principle, so unhesitatingly laid down by the father of gods and men in a case reported by a Latin author of eminence; and if we have deviated from impartiality it is because it is with opinions as with the rays of light, that the distortions produced by the medium through which they pass are not apparent to our perceptions. It is possible that our sketches may facilitate, with those who have not, like Ingenuus, paid a visit to the House, the future studies of

‘The grand debate,

The popular harangue, the tart reply.’

But, inasmuch as we have talked only of those who talk, we cannot find it in our hearts to conclude without a tribute to the invaluable men who do not talk, and who follow the advice of John Locke, given to his cousin, Mr. King:—‘I would not have you speak in the House, but you can communicate your light and apprehensions to some honest speaker who may make use of it. For there have always been very able members who never speak, who yet, by their penetration and foresight, have this way done as much service as any within those walls.’ These are truly excellent men, and would there were more of them. Let it not be forgotten that when the present universe is brought to the close predicted by the northern legends, a new system is to be established, of which the grand principle is to be Silence. If the new system includes a Parliament, we shall canvass the electors.

ART. II.—*History of Latin Christianity; including that of the Popes to the Pontificate of Nicolas V.* By Henry Hart Milman, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's. Vols. I., II., III. London, 1854.

IT is often a matter of complaint, sometimes gravely felt, sometimes loudly expressed, how little connexion seems to exist between the magnificence of our great ecclesiastical edifices and the life of the institutions which are sheltered beneath them. Yet this sense of disproportion is not the one which has always been called up by the sight of those stately edifices. Nor will it be awakened, if in the heart of our crowded cities, in the centre of the busiest stir of national life, we are reminded not only of the pastoral zeal which ministers to the wants of the present, but of the learning which recalls the past, and the wisdom which forecasts the future. The lofty tower which before the Great Fire looked down over the metropolis, was no unworthy memento of the enlightened learning of Colet, or of the genius of Donne. The majestic dome of Wren might not unfitly cast its shadow over the temporary home of Butler. And we confess that now, in like manner, it is not without a certain pleasing sense of congruity that we see the name of the Dean of St. Paul's on the title-page of what may fairly be called the most important work on ecclesiastical history that the English language has produced.

We do not forget the quaint wisdom of Fuller, or the fervour of Milner—we do not overlook the compendious and useful narratives which have been published by Dean Waddington, by Dr. Burton, and (to mention the best and latest work of the kind) by Mr. Robertson. But none of these can vie in the union of learning, and ability, and extent, with that which is now before us. With a poetic temperament, of which the first fire glowed in those striking passages of lyrical and dramatic poetry by which he won his earliest fame, Dean Milman has combined an amount of industry and experience, which he has steadily applied to the subject of which these three—we trust we may add without presumptuous anticipation—these six volumes are the crowning result. Beginning with the history of the Jewish nation, he has gradually worked on through the rise of 'Christianity under the Roman Empire' to the period which covers its settlement in the European nations, and includes almost the whole ground which ecclesiastical history has usually occupied.

We do not mean to assert that this history is in all points the model of what such a history should be. For such a work no one man, with powers however varied, will ever suffice. To some we doubt not that in this, as in his earlier works, there will  
appear



appear to be a certain monotony of sentiment, if we may so express it, which hardly suits with the richness and variety of a field, over which all the lights and shades of character, human and divine, are for ever playing in the most complicated form—a tendency—probably induced by a natural recoil from the usual temper of ecclesiastical historians—to insist on the gentle and benevolent aspect of Christianity, sometimes almost to the exclusion of its sterner, and bolder expressions. There is also in many parts of these volumes an abruptness and carelessness of composition, which, whilst it sometimes presents an agreeable, oftener, perhaps, affords an unpleasing contrast to the polish and grace which characterized most of his former writings—sentences unconnected, repeated, broken—entangled with parenthesis—sometimes even facts, evidently from mere oversight, miswritten or omitted. Nor can we think that it was necessary (even for the sake of writing, according to his well-sustained purpose, ‘a history, not a succession of dissertations on history’) to give once again the details of obscure periods, or the summary—it can hardly be more than a summary—of the lives of Carolingian princes and German popes, whose names we willingly forget as soon as read.

But in spite of these drawbacks—some of them, perhaps, the inevitable results of the pressure of materials—we repeat that no such work has appeared in English ecclesiastical literature—none which combines such breadth of view with such depth of research—such high literary and artistic eminence with such patient and elaborate investigation—such appreciation of the various forms of greatness and goodness with such force of conception and execution—none which exhibits so large an amount of that fearlessness of results which is the necessary condition of impartial judgment and trustworthy statement. And in lesser points we cannot forbear to notice its abundant references (so far as we have had the means of judging) to the best sources, old and new; or again its happy art of questioning—that art which Bacon so well calls the half of knowledge—but which we never saw so frequently and aptly employed as in the long series of suggestive interrogatories which in these pages often take the place of what in other historians would be a collection of positive, but apocryphal, assertions.

Perhaps we shall render the fullest justice to our author and the best service to our readers, if we endeavour to answer the question—probably the first which many who open these volumes will ask—‘What is *Latin Christianity*?’—and that the more, because in so doing we shall, in fact, bring out what is the chief and peculiar excellence of the work.

It

It is a happy circumstance for the introduction of this name to the English public, that for the first time, perhaps, since the close of the Crusades, not only the name but the object which it represents has become familiar to our minds. We had long known what was meant by 'Europe,' by 'Christendom,' by 'the Church of Rome;' but the peculiar idea expressed by 'Latin Christianity' is one which must always sound strange, except at times when the two great divisions of Christendom are set in opposition to each other—when Western Europe is viewed in contrast to the East—when Roman Catholicism is opposed not to the Protestant nations of Northern Europe, but to the Greek and Armenian and Coptic Churches of the old Byzantine Empire. Such is the aspect under which the various forms of the Christian faith have necessarily been viewed, since the calamitous war which arose out of the controversy between the 'Greek and Latin Churches' over their sanctuaries in the Holy Land, and which is now sustained by the religious enthusiasm which the head of the Eastern sphere of Christendom has roused against his brother sovereigns of the West.

But although this distinction between Greek and Latin is brought out more prominently than usual at the present moment, it is one which has existed for centuries—one which has affected the whole course of European history, and which has its roots in some of the deepest movements that divide the human race.

It is no new name invented for the occasion; it is the name which both philosophically, and practically, expresses the origin of the most extensive diversities of Christian faith and practice; and when Dean Milman states that 'the great event in the history of our religion and of mankind, during many centuries after the extinction of Paganism, is the rise, the development, and the domination of Latin Christianity,' he states a fact, often indeed overlooked, but yet the key of the main questions of ecclesiastical history, as well as of the chief interest of his own work. There is doubtless a sense in which the Church is truly Catholic—that is, truly independent of any national or social difference—a sense also in which the main divisions of Christian opinion may be viewed irrespectively of any territorial or ethnological boundaries. There are feelings aroused, principles strengthened, evils cast out, by the reception of Christianity—whether in its simplest or its most complex form—which belong not to this or that nation, but to the human heart itself. There are, again, diversities of opinion arising from varieties of the human mind, which are to be found in every community which has reached a certain pitch of civilization and religious consciousness. To treat of ecclesiastical history from this point of view, is, to a certain extent,  
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the object of Neander's History of the Christian Church; and a work which should fully accomplish this would fill a blank which neither he nor any one else has adequately occupied. Happy would it be for the Church, happy for the world, if we could be made clearly to see what are the elements of Christianity common to all its several forms—what the characters most nearly resembling the Divine Original which, on any hypothesis, must be regarded as the foundation and the centre of all subsequent developments. But if a task like this be too remote and impalpable, it may in the mean time be useful to trace how large a share in our ecclesiastical diversities is to be ascribed not to theological or religious causes, but to the more innocent, and in one sense, more inevitable influences of nation, of climate, of race, of the general stream of human history. There can be little question that the main root of the difference between the Church of England and Dissenters is not so much a divergence of theological principle or opinion as of social and hereditary position. And what is thus true of the Church of a single country is in its measure true of the several Churches of the great Christian family. In the following pages it will be our object to draw out this idea, as it is set forth in the work before us—to exhibit the rise, and growth, and peculiar features of Latin Christianity, as alone it can be exhibited fully in its earlier stages, by contrast with Greek or Eastern Christianity. On some future occasion we may perhaps return to the contrast between Latin Christianity and 'the Avatar of Teutonic Christianity,' which Dean Milman has promised in his forthcoming volumes, and yet more to the pictures of individual characters, which must wait for the completion of the series—for those later periods when they will occupy a more conspicuous place. Lest we should appear to have overlooked them altogether, or lest the reader should imagine that even this first instalment of the work is exclusively made up of the abstractions which we are about to present to him, we refer him to the striking portraiture of Gregory the First, of Hildebrand, of Wilfrid, of Abelard, and of Becket. For ourselves, we will at once proceed to the task we have proposed.

The first beginning of the distinction between Greek and Latin Christianity is well stated at the outset of the work:—

\* For some considerable (it cannot but be an undefinable) part of the three first centuries, the Church of Rome, and most, if not all, the churches of the West, were, if we may so speak, Greek religious colonies. Their language was Greek, their organization Greek, their writers Greek, their Scriptures Greek; and many vestiges and traditions show that their ritual, their Liturgy was Greek.\* Through Greek

\* We may add what he has previously stated in a note, p. 22, that all the earlier names

Greek the communication of the churches of Rome and of the West was constantly kept up with the East; and through Greek every heresiarch, or his disciples, having found his way to Rome, propagated, with more or less success, his peculiar doctrines. Greek was the commercial language throughout the empire; by which the Jews, before the destruction of their city, already so widely disseminated through the world, and altogether engaged in commerce, carried on their affairs. The Greek Old Testament was read in the synagogues of the foreign Jews. The churches, formed sometimes on the foundation, to a certain extent on the model, of the synagogues, would adhere for some time, no doubt, to their language. The Gospels and the Apostolic writings, so soon as they became part of the public worship, would be read, as the Septuagint was, in their original tongue. All the Christian extant writings which appeared in Rome and in the West are Greek, or were originally Greek, the Epistles of Clement, the Shepherd of Hermas, the Clementine Recognitions and Homilies; the works of Justin Martyr, down to Caius and Hippolytus, the author of the Refutation of All Heresies. The Octavius of Minucius Felix and the Treatise of Novatian on the Trinity are the earliest known works of Latin Christian literature which came from Rome. So was it too in Gaul; there the first Christians were settled, chiefly in the Greek cities, which owned Marseilles as their parent, and which retained the use of Greek as their vernacular tongue. Irenæus wrote in Greek; the account of the Martyrs of Lyons and Vienne is in Greek. Vestiges of the old Greek ritual long survived not only in Rome, but also in some of the Gallic churches. The Kyrie eleison still lingers in the Latin service. The singular fact, related by the historian Sozomen, that, for the first centuries, there was no public preaching in Rome, here finds its explanation. Greek was the ordinary language of the community, but among the believers and worshippers may have been Latins, who understood not, or understood imperfectly, the Greek. The Gospel or sacred writings were explained according to the capacities of the persons present. Hippolytus indeed composed, probably delivered, homilies in Greek, in imitation of Origen, who, when at Rome, may have preached in Greek; and this is spoken of as something new. Pope Leo I. was the first celebrated Latin preacher, and his brief and emphatic sermons read like the first essays of a rude and untried eloquence, rather than the finished compositions which would imply a long study and cultivation of pulpit oratory. Compare them with Chrysostom.—i. pp. 27-29.

It might, therefore, seem as if Greek Christianity were the parent and Latin Christianity the child; and it is curious that this view, substantiated as it is by this tissue of minute and complex facts, is put forward with singular force and perspicuity by no less a person than the Emperor Napoleon, in his famous 'note' on Egypt. Christianity, according to him, was a triumph

names of the Roman bishops are Greek. Pius, Victor, Caius—surely the Dean should have added *Clemens*—are among the very few genuine Roman.

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of Greece over Rome; the last and most striking instance of the expression of the Latin poet,—*Græcia capta ferum victorem cepit*. It is true we must not be too far misled by words. The Emperor—and perhaps even the passage just quoted from the Dean—hardly takes into sufficient account the origin of the use of the Greek language and the aspect of the first age of Christianity, and its broad divergence both from the earlier development of the Greek race and from the later development of the Greek Church. The fact is, that the use of the Greek language during the first, and to a certain extent during the second, century is not so much a proof of the Grecian as of the Hebrew character which still remained impressed on the first Christian communities. The Gospels and Epistles were written in Greek, not because the apostles and evangelists were Greeks, but because they were Jews, and because, being Jews, they were obliged to use as their vehicle of communication, the only language which could be universally understood. The vigour, the fire, the primitive rudeness of diction and thought which appears both in their writings and those of their immediate successors, is essentially Hebrew. Not only has Latin Christianity not begun, but Greek Christianity is unborn also. Both are yet on the mountain summit in their parent lake; the rise and divergence of both is alike in the distance. Still, without ascribing too much importance to the outward form and speech which apostolical and primitive Christianity of necessity assumed, it is not to be denied that this accident, if we choose so to call it, of its first utterances being in Greek, and not in Latin, has materially affected the fortunes of the two churches which have sprung from it. On the one hand it is a noble privilege for any church to claim a direct continuity of speech with the earliest times; to be able to boast of reading the whole code of Scripture, old as well as new, in the language in which it was read by Christ and the Apostles; to be saved from the necessity of rendering the words of St. Paul and St. John into any modern or stranger idiom. On the other hand, the necessity of making the sacred language accessible to the Western World imposed on the Latin Church a duty which called forth its characteristic energy and freedom. We are now so much accustomed to regard the Latin language as ‘the tongue not understood by the people,’ and as the sign of all that is antiquated and obstructive to religious liberty, that we forget how completely this was reversed in the first beginning of its adoption by the Western Church. What the vernacular languages of Germany and England were to Latin at the time of the Reformation, that, in a great degree, was Latin to Greek in the first centuries of the Christian era. Greek was then—as Latin later—the language both of civilization and of religion; Latin

was

was but the language of the provinces, and of the official organs of the government. The very name of 'Vulgate,' by which the great Latin version was and is still called, is a witness to us of the curious fact that it was then, in all senses of the word, a vulgar, not a sacred, tongue. In this respect, at least, Jerome may fairly be called the Luther of the fifth century; and the rocky cell of Bethlehem, in the gigantic literary labour, no less than in the strange visions which it witnessed, was the prototype of the chamber in the Thuringian fastness of the Wartburg.

'This was [Jerome's] great and indefeasible title to the appellation of Father of the Latin Church. Whatever it may owe to the older and fragmentary versions of the sacred writings, Jerome's Bible is a wonderful work, still more as achieved by one man, and that a Western Christian, even with all the advantage of study and of residence in the East. It almost created a new language. The inflexible Latin became pliant and expansive, naturalising foreign Eastern imagery, Eastern modes of expression and of thought, and Eastern religious notions, most uncongenial to its own genius and character; and yet retaining much of its own peculiar strength, solidity, and majesty. If the Northern, the Teutonic languages, coalesce with greater facility with the Orientalism of the Scriptures, it is the triumph of Jerome to have brought the more dissonant Latin into harmony with the Eastern tongues. The Vulgate was even more, perhaps, than the Papal power the foundation of Latin Christianity.'—i. 74.

In speaking of the divergence of the two languages which have, in fact, given the names to the two spheres of Christendom, we have advanced a step beyond the moment of the first actual appearance of these two bodies in the world itself. It was not—as Dean Milman well remarks—in Rome, nor even in Europe, but in Africa, that Latin Christianity first arose.\* And he might have added, not only so, but Greek Christianity also first showed its head in that same unhappy continent, which, long as it has been dead to the Christian world, must not be allowed to pass out of ecclesiastical memory without recording its once almost exclusive eminence. Egypt, with the Greek language implanted in the schools of Alexandria by the Ptolemies, far more than Asia Minor or Greece, was the seat of the first fathers of Eastern Christendom. Carthage and its neighbouring cities, with the Latin language—which they inherited from the conquests of Scipio and the victories of Cæsar—far more than Rome fostered the great lights of the Christianity of the West. What are the remains of Quadratus, Aristides, or Athenagoras compared to the really powerful influences of Alexandria, as represented in the names of Dionysius, of Clemens, and of Origen? What are

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\* Vol. i. p. 59.



the silent annals of Italy and Gaul, only broken by the Greek accents of Irenæus and Hippolytus, compared to the learning and energy of Lactantius and Arnobius, of 'the fiery Tertullian,' of Cyprian, and Optatus, and—though by his time the balance was more equally distributed over the western world—the crown and glory of all, Augustine? Doubtless the elements of Christian life were scattered far and wide through the European and Asiatic provinces of the empire; but if we wish to see the first formation of theology, of ecclesiastical organization, of powerful and vigorous minds within the pale of Christianity, it is to one or other of these two divisions of the Church of Africa that our attention must be directed. The swarthy hue, in which some of the earlier pictorial illustrations of church history have delighted to represent the heretic Tertullian, was really shared by him in common with the Mauritanian Cyprian and the Copt Athanasius.

The very fact that the chief distinction between the two bodies was visible only in the least important (politically speaking) of the continents of the Old World, shows that for the first three centuries there was as yet no conscious separation between them. The Roman Church, so far as its Christianity was concerned, still belonged rather to the East than to the West; so far as its authority was concerned, in a religious sense, (whatever may have been its political importance from its situation in the metropolis,) it was held to be merely co-equal, or even subordinate to the ancient seat of apostolic Christianity\* at Jerusalem, or the powerful school of Christian learning at Alexandria. But the foundation of a new Rome on the seven hills of Byzantium at once erected two centres, as of political so also of ecclesiastical unity. The birthday of Constantinople was the signal of the separation of Eastern and Western Christendom: a separation which—sometimes widening, sometimes narrowing—complicated by the introduction of new elements, of the Slavonic races into the Byzantine, of the Teutonic races into the Roman empire, of Mahometanism into the East, of Protestantism into the West—has from that day never ceased to exist, and to exhibit in each of the two divisions which it has created the strongest marks of difference in origin and in tendencies; both indeed showing the various influences, Gentile and Jewish, which had passed over both alike in 'Christianity under the Roman Empire,' but each marked as strongly by the characteristics of their native worlds: the one still clinging to its Byzantine, the other to its Roman type.

\* This is well brought out in the ingenious argument founded on the remarkable apocryphal work of the second century, called the Clementines. See vol. i. 33, 34.

These differences we shall now, by the help of our learned author, proceed to unfold.

1. The distinction which has perhaps been most frequently remarked is that of the speculative tendency of the Oriental, and the practical tendency of the Occidental, Church. It is, in fact, deep seated in the Asiatic and European character. The well-known contrast which Aristotle draws in his *Politics* between the two continents, might serve as a text for half the divergencies of ecclesiastical history. 'The East enacted creeds, the West discipline.\*' The first decree of an Eastern Œcumenical Council was to determine the relations of the Godhead. The first decree of a Pope of Rome was to interdict the marriage of the clergy.† Till the time of Augustine no great writer on dogmatical theology had arisen in the West; till the time of Gregory the Great none had occupied the pontifical chair at Rome. Even the questions of theology which did agitate the Western World were rather those which related to the origin of human action, than those which related to the nature of the Divine Essence. The Trinitarian conflicts were nearly confined to the East, the Pelagian conflicts were nearly confined to the West. 'Of the 320 bishops who formed the Council of Nicæa, all but a very few were Asiatic or Egyptian. There were two presbyters only to represent the Bishop of Rome.'‡ The doctrine of Athanasius was received rather than sanctioned by the Church of Rome. The great Italian Council of Ariminum lapsed into Arianism through an oversight which took the world by surprise. The Latin language was inadequate to express the minute shades of meaning for which the Greek is so eminently fitted. Of the two creeds which are peculiar to the Latin Church the earliest, that called the *Apostles'*, is characterised by its simplicity and its freedom from all dogmatic language; the latter, that called the *Athanasian*, is, as its name confesses, a mere imitation of the Greek theology, and by the evident strain of its sentences, reveals the ineffectual labour of the Latin phrases '*persona*' and '*substantia*' to represent the correlative but hardly corresponding words by which the Greeks expressed the *Hypostatic Union*. And still more when we arrive at the periods when the increasing divergence of the two empires threw the two churches farther and farther apart, the tide of Grecian and Egyptian controversy hardly ever reached to the shores of Italy, now high and dry above their reach.

'Latin Christianity contemplated with almost equal indifference Nestorianism, and all its prolific race, Eutychianism, Monophysitism, Monothelitism. While in this contest the two great Patriarchates of

\* Vol. i. p. 75.

† Vol. i. p. 76.

‡ Vol. i. p. 60.



the East, Constantinople and Alexandria, brought to issue, or strove to bring to issue, their rival claims to ascendancy; while council after council promulgated, reversed, re-enacted their conflicting decrees; while separate and hostile communities were formed in every region of the East; and the fears of persecuted Nestorianism, stronger than religious zeal, penetrated for refuge remote countries, into which Christianity had not yet found its way; in the West there was no Nestorian or Eutychian sect.—i. p. 137.

Probably no Latin Christian has ever felt himself agitated even in the least degree by any one of the seventy opinions on the union of the two natures which are said to perplex the Church of Abyssinia. Probably the last and only question of this kind on which the Latin Church has spontaneously entered, is that of the double Procession of the Spirit. It was indeed this question which in all probability led to the eager reception and general diffusion of the Athanasian Creed, as the only one that contained the disputed clause, and which ultimately became one main pretext of separation between the two churches.\* But it is difficult not to suppose that on the part of Rome it was merely a pretext, reluctantly admitted by the Pope, and hurried on only by the vehemence of the Patriarch Photius, and by the political exigencies of the time.

2. Closely allied to the contrast between the speculative tendencies of the Eastern Church and the practical life of the Western, is another not so strongly marked indeed, yet still strikingly set forth in the history of 'Latin Christianity.' To those who regard convents and penances as distinguishing characteristics of the Roman Catholic Church, it may perhaps be startling to hear that one of the points in which it is most forcibly distinguished from the Greek Church is its greater freedom from the ascetic and monastic spirit. No doubt monasticism was embraced by the Roman Church, even as early as the fifth century, with an energy which seemed to reproduce in a Christian form the dying genius of stoical philosophy; no doubt the characters of Benedict and Bruno, and of their innumerable successors, are of purely western origin. Still the East held, and has always held, the chief place in the monastic world. It was not in the Apennines, or on the Alps, but in the stony arms with which the Libyan and Arabian deserts enclose the valley of the Nile that the first monasteries were founded. Antony, the Coptic hermit, from his retreat by the Red Sea, is the spiritual father of that vast community which has now overrun the world. And not only was monasticism

\* Is it not an oversight or omission in a history of Latin Christianity to pass over this controversy, so important in its results, however insignificant it may now appear, with no other mention than the very cursory allusion in vol. ii. p. 354?

born and cradled in the Eastern Church; it has also thriven there with a peculiar and unrivalled intensity. It is in his earlier volumes on the history of Christianity under the Roman Empire that Dean Milman traces to its sources the wide-spread principle of monastic life, and finds them even more removed from Rome than were the Thebaid deserts, far away in the distant East, in the Manichean tenets of the hatefulness of the material world, as it is unquestionably exhibited practically in its purest and simplest form in the Indian Yogi, or the Mussulman Fakir. It is this Oriental superstition which, whether from character, or climate, or contagion, has been most forcibly represented to the Christian world in the Greek rather than in the Latin Church. The solitary and contemplative devotion of the eastern monks, whether in the Egyptian desert or on the hills of Greece, though broken by the manual labour necessary for their subsistence, is yet much less modified by either literary or agricultural activity than in the great convents of the West. 'The East,' as the Dean strikingly observes, 'had few great men, many madmen: the West, madmen enough, but still very many great men.'\* Eastern monasticism has produced no society like the Benedictines, known and held in honour wherever literature and civilization has or shall spread; no charitable orders, like the Sisters of Mercy, which carry light and peace into the darkest haunts of suffering humanity. Western monasticism has never produced, even in the utmost rigour of Carthusianism or Trappism, a seclusion from the world equal to that of the monks of Athos.

'It was industrious and productive: it settled colonies, preserved arts and letters, built splendid edifices, fertilized deserts. If it rent from the world the most powerful minds, having trained them by its stern discipline, it sent them back to rule the world. It continually, as it were, renewed its youth, and kept up a constant infusion of vigorous life, now quickening into enthusiasm, now darkening into fanaticism; and by its perpetual rivalry, stimulating the zeal, or supplying the deficiencies of the secular clergy. In successive ages it adapted itself to the state of the human mind. At first a missionary to barbarous nations, it built abbeys, hewed down forests, cultivated swamps, enclosed domains, retrieved or won for civilisation tracts which had fallen to waste or had never known culture. With St. Dominic it turned its missionary zeal upon Christianity itself, and spread as a preaching order throughout Christendom; with St. Francis it became even more popular, and lowered itself to the very humblest of mankind. In Jesuitism it made a last effort to govern mankind by an incorporated caste. But Jesuitism found it necessary to reject many of the peculiarities of Monasticism: it made itself secular to overcome the world.'—vol. i. pp. 6, 7.

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\* Vol. i. p. 409.



Nor is it only in the monastic life that the severity of Eastern asceticism excels that of the West. Whilst the fasts of the Latin Church are mostly confined to Lent, liable, increasingly liable, to wide dispensations, exercised for the most part by abstinence, not from all food, but only from particular kinds of food, the fasts of the Eastern Church, especially of its earliest and most remarkable branch, the Coptic—extend through large periods of the year, are regarded as all but indispensable—repudiate all food, though with a strange and characteristic inconsistency they admit of drinking, even to the grossest intoxication. And, finally, the wildest individual excesses of a Bruno or a Dunstan in the West seem poor beside the authorized, national, we may almost say, imperial adoration of the Pillar-saints of the East. Amidst all the controversies which divided the Byzantine churches in the fifth century,

‘on one religious subject alone the conflicting East maintained its perfect unity, in the reverence, it may be said the worship, of the Hermit on the Pillar. Simeon Stylites had been observed by his faithful disciple to have remained motionless for three days in the same attitude of prayer. Not once had he stretched out his arms in the form of the cross; not once had he bowed his forehead till it touched his feet (a holy exploit, which his wondering admirers had seen him perform twelve hundred and forty-four times, and then lost their reckoning). The watchful disciple climbed the pillar; a rich odour saluted his nostrils; the saint was dead. The news reached Antioch. Ardaburius, general of the forces in the East, hastened to send a guard of honour, lest the neighbouring cities should seize—perhaps meet in desperate warfare for—the treasure of his body. Antioch, now one in heart and soul, sent out her Patriarch, with three other bishops, to lead the funeral procession. The body was borne on mules for three hundred stadia; a deaf and dumb man touched the bier, he burst out into a cry of gratulation. The whole city, with torches and hymns, followed the body. The Emperor Leo implored Antioch to yield to him the inestimable deposit. The Emperor implored in vain. Antioch, so long as she possessed the remains of Simeon, might defy all her enemies. In the same year, when Antioch thus honoured the funeral rites of him whom she esteemed the greatest of mankind, Rome was lamenting in deep and manly sorrow her Pontiff, Leo. Contrast Simeon Stylites with one Emperor crouching at the foot of his pillar, and receiving his dull, incoherent words as an oracle, with another, a man of higher character, supplicating for the possession of his remains, and Pope Leo on his throne in Rome, and in the camp of Attila. Such were then Greek and Latin Christianity.’—vol. i. pp. 228, 229.

3. But the chief, perhaps the fundamental, difference between the two churches was one which may be expressed indeed in various forms but is in substance the same. The Eastern Church was, like the East, stationary and immutable; the Western, like

the West, progressive and flexible. This distinction is the more remarkable because at certain periods of their course there can be no doubt that the civilization of the Eastern Church was far higher than that of the Western. No one can read the account of the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders of the thirteenth century without perceiving that it is the occupation of a refined and civilized capital by a horde of (at least comparative) barbarians; the same in kind, though not in degree, as had been the sack of Corinth by Mummius, and of Rome itself by Alaric. And much earlier than this period, whilst it might still be thought that Rome, not Constantinople, was the natural refuge of the arts of the ancient classical world, the literature of the church was almost entirely confined to the Byzantine hemisphere. Whilst Constantinople was ringing with the fame of preachers, of whom Chrysostom was the chief but not the only example, the Roman bishops and clergy till the time of Leo the Great never publicly addressed \* their flocks from the pulpit. But, notwithstanding these intervals of superiority, the Greek Church, almost from the time that under Constantine it assumed a distinct existence, has always given tokens of that singular immobility which doubtless is in great part to be traced to its Oriental origin—its origin in those strange regions which still retain, not only the climate and vegetation, but the manners, the dress, the speech of the days of the Patriarchs and the Pharaohs. Its peculiar corruptions have been such as are consequent, not on development, but on stagnation; its peculiar excellences have been such as belong, not to the freedom of civilization, but the simplicity of barbarism. It has had no Council of Constance or of Trent—its doctrines still remain in the same rigid, immovable, yet, to a great extent, undefined state as that in which they were left by Constantine and Justinian. The energies and the subtleties, the self-devotion and the self-aggrandisement of a Hildebrand or a Loyola, of the Franciscans or of the Jesuits, are alike unknown to it. Whilst the Latin Church has sent out missionaries, for the conversion of England and of Germany in the middle ages, of South America, of India, and of China, even down to our own time—the Greek Church, with the one signal exception of Ulphilas the Arian Apostle of the Gothic tribes, has remained absolutely passive. Even the conversion of the Russian hordes, the only great accession to the faith of the Greek Church which has been made since it became a separate community, was effected, not by the preaching of the Byzantine clergy, but by the marriage of Wladimir with a Byzantine princess. In the midst of the Mohammedan East the Greek populations remain like islands in

\* See vol. i. p. 27, 178.



the barren sea, and the Bedouin tribes have wandered for twelve centuries round the Greek convent of Mount Sinai, probably without one instance of adhesion to the creed of men whom they yet acknowledge with almost religious veneration as beings from a higher world. Even the great schism, which convulsed the Russian Church nearly at the same time that Latin Christendom was rent by the German Reformation, was not a forward but a retrograde movement—a protest, not against abuses, but against Reformation.\* The very calendars of the Churches show the eagerness with which, whilst the one, at least till a recent period, placed herself at the head of European civilisation, the other still studiously lags behind it. The ‘new style,’ which the world owes to the enlightened activity of Pope Gregory XIII., after having with difficulty overcome the Protestant scruples of Germany, Denmark, and Switzerland, and last of all (with shame be it said) of England and Sweden, has never been able to penetrate into the wide dominions of the old Byzantine and the modern Russian empire, which still hold to the Greek calendar, eleven days behind the rest of the civilised world.

These contrasts might be indefinitely multiplied. But two general instances may be selected, as at once the most palpable and the most instructive. Let us first take the question of the Christian sacraments. The Latin doctrine on this subject is by Protestants so frequently regarded as the highest pitch of superstition—by Roman Catholics as the highest pitch of reverence of which the subject is capable—that it may be instructive to both to see the contrast between the freedom, and the reasonableness of the sacramental doctrine as held by the highest Roman doctors, compared with the stiffness, the magical and mystical character of the same doctrine as represented in the East. We are accustomed,

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\* The Russian ‘anti-Reformation’ was occasioned by the fury excited amongst the people, on the attempt of the Patriarch Nikon, in 1656, to introduce a new liturgy, founded on a collation of the original Greek. Immense bodies of enthusiasts separated themselves from the Russian Church in consequence, some, by a curious parallel with the Western Reformation, following a hierarchical, the other an anti-hierarchical, model, and known by the names of ‘Popopshins’ and ‘Bez-Popopshins;’ that is, Presbyterians and non-Presbyterians, and still exercising considerable political influence. See a curious account of the whole transaction in a remarkable work—so eccentric in thought and style as probably to have escaped the mass of English readers, yet so curiously learned and so perspicuously written as to furnish on many points the most intelligible account of the relations of the Greek and Latin Churches—‘Dissertations on the Orthodox or Eastern Catholic Communion, by William Parker, M.A., Fellow of St. Mary Magdalene College, Oxford, and Deacon.’ Few, probably no one, would agree with the singular positions of the writer: all may learn something from the ability and singleness of purpose which, if devoted to a more reasonable cause, might have given him a high place in the theological or the pastoral annals of the English Church.

perhaps justly, to place the essence of superstition in a devotion to the outward forms and elements, as distinct from the inward spirit which they represent, convey, or express. Let us for a moment see which has in this respect most tenaciously clung to the form—which to the spirit—of the two great ordinances of Christian worship. There can be no question that the original form of baptism—the very meaning of the word—was complete immersion in the deep baptismal waters; and that, for at least four centuries, any other form was either unknown, or regarded as an exceptional, almost a monstrous case. To this form the Greek Church still rigidly adheres; and the most illustrious and venerable portion of it—that of the Byzantine empire—absolutely repudiates and ignores any other mode of administration as essentially invalid. The Latin Church, on the other hand—doubtless in deference to the requirements of a northern climate, to the change of manners, to the convenience of custom—has wholly altered the mode, surrendering, as it would fairly say, the letter to the spirit—preferring mercy to sacrifice; and (with the two exceptions of the Cathedral of Milan and the sect of the Baptists), a few drops of water are now the Western substitutes for the threefold plunge into the rushing river, or the wide baptisteries of the East.

And when we descend from the administration itself of the sacramental elements to their concomitant circumstances, still the same contrast appears. In the first age of the Church it was customary for the Apostles to lay their hands on the heads of the newly-baptized converts, that they might receive 'the gifts of the Spirit.' The 'gifts' vanished, but the custom of laying on the hands remained. It remained, and was continued—and so in the Greek Church is still continued—at the baptism of children as of adults. Confirmation is, with them, simultaneous with the act of the baptismal immersion. But the Latin Church, whilst it adopted or retained the practice of admitting infants to baptism, soon set itself to remedy the obvious defect arising from their unconscious age, by separating and postponing, and giving a new life and meaning to the rite of confirmation. The two ceremonies, which in the Greek Church are indissolubly confounded, are now, throughout Western Christendom, by a salutary innovation, each made to minister to the edification of the individual, and completion of the whole baptismal ordinance. In like manner, the Greek Church retained, and still retains, the Apostolical practice mentioned by St. James—for the sick to call in the elders of the Church, to anoint him with oil, and pray over him, that he may recover. The 'elders,' that is, a body of priests (for they still make a point of the plural



plural number), are called in at moments of dangerous illness, and the prayer is offered. But the Latin Church, seeing that the special object for which the ceremony was first instituted,—the recovery of the sick,—had long ceased to be effected, determined to change its form, that it still might be preserved as an instructive symbol. And thus the ‘anointing with oil’ of the first century, and of the Oriental Church, has become with the Latins the last, the extreme-unction,\* of the dying man—a ceremony, doubtless, to our notions, useless, perhaps superstitious—but unquestionably more reasonable than the mere perpetuation of a shadow when the substance is departed.

Yet once again it became a practice in the Church, early—we know not how early—for infants to communicate in the Lord’s Supper. A literal application to the Eucharist of the text respecting the bread of life, in the sixth chapter of St. John, naturally followed on a literal application to baptism of the text respecting the second birth, in the third chapter; and the actual participation in the elements of both sacraments came to be regarded as equally necessary for the salvation of every human being. Here again the peculiar genius of each of the two Churches displayed itself. The Oriental Churches still administer the Eucharist to infants. In the Coptic Church it may even happen, that an infant is the only recipient. The Latin Church, on the other hand, has not only abandoned, but actually forbidden, a practice which, as far as antiquity is concerned, might, but for its manifest repugnance to Christian reason and common-sense, vie in its claims on adoption and continuance with any that she has retained.

There is yet another more general subject on which the widest difference, involving the same principle, exists between the two communions, namely, the whole relation of art to religious worship. Let any one enter an Oriental church, and he will at once be struck by the contrast which the architecture, the paintings, the very form of the ceremonial, present to the churches of the West. Often, indeed, this may arise from the poverty or oppression under which most Christian communities labour whose lot has been cast in the Ottoman empire; but often the altars may blaze with gold—the dresses of the priests stiffen with the richest silks of Brousa—yet the contrast is equally great. The difference lies in the fact, that art, as such, has no place in the worship or the edifice. There is no aiming at effect, no dim religious light, no beauty of form or colour, beyond what is produced by the mere display of gorgeous and barbaric pomp. Yet

\* The last of the three unctions, the other two being baptism and confirmation.  
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it would be a great mistake to infer from this absence of art—indeed no one who has ever seen it could infer—that there is, therefore, a greater absence of form and of ceremonial. The mystical gestures—the awe which surrounds the sacerdotal functions—the vain repetitions—the severance of the sound from the sense, of the mind from the act, both in priest and people—are not less, but far more, visible than in the churches of the West. The traveller who finds himself in the interior of the old cathedral of Malta, after having been accustomed for a few weeks or months to the ritual of the convents and churches of the Levant, experiences almost the same emotion as when he passes again from the services of the Roman Catholic to those of the Reformed Churches. This union of barbaric rudeness and elaborate ceremonialism is, however, no contradiction—it is the exemplification of an important law of the human mind; and it is well set forth in one of the most striking passages in Dean Milman's work. There is no more curious chapter in the history of the relation of the two Churches, than that of the iconoclastic controversy of the ninth century. It is true that the immediate effects of this controversy were transient,—the sudden ebullition, not of a national or popular feeling, but almost, as it would seem, of a Puritan, or even of a Mahometan, fanaticism in the breast \* of a single emperor—'a mere negative doctrine,' † which robbed the senses of their habitual and cherished objects of devotion, without ‡ awakening an inner life of piety. The onslaught on the image-worship of the Church passed away almost as rapidly as it had begun; and the fanaticism which the Emperor Leo had provoked, the Empress Irene, through the second Council of Nicæa, effectually proscribed. But in the Eastern Church the spirit of Leo has so far ‡ revived, that although pictures are still retained

\* Vol. ii. p. 144.

† Vol. ii. p. 146.

‡ The two exceedingly interesting chapters on Iconoclasm (vol. ii. p. 144-202) are wound up by the following passage:—'The whole clergy of Constantinople made the circuit of the church of St. Sophia with their burning torches, paying homage to every statue and picture, which had been carefully restored, never again to be effaced till the days of later, more terrible Iconoclasts, the Ottoman Turks. The Greek Church from that time has celebrated the anniversary of this festival with loyal fidelity. The successors of Methodius, particularly the learned Photius, were only zealous to consummate the work of his predecessors, and images have formed part of the recognised religious worship of the Eastern world.'—(p. 202.)

There is some obscurity in the subsequent history of images in the Greek Church; but surely this statement is inaccurate. It is true that as the fury of Leo had been directed equally against pictures and statues, under the common name of Icon (*εἰκών*, or 'likeness'), so both were equally restored by the Council of Nicæa. But is it true, either that statues are now recognised 'in the worship of the Eastern world,' or that 'pictures were destroyed by the Ottoman Turks?' Statues, we believe, are now as strictly forbidden by the Greek Church as by the



retained and adored with even more veneration than the corresponding objects of devotion in the West, statues are rigidly excluded; and the same Greek monk, who would ridicule in no measured terms the figures, or even bas-reliefs, of a Roman Catholic church, will fling his incense and perform his genuflections with the most undoubting faith before the same saint as seen in the paintings or gildings of his own convent-chapel. It is in discussing this controversy that the Dean of St. Paul's pronounces a judgment, involving a principle of universal application, but specially illustrative of the relation of the two Churches to each other—of Christian art in the Byzantine and in the Roman world. We give his summary of the argument, which is, however, too eloquently and elaborately stated to be fully apprehended without seeing it in detail.

\*The ruder the art the more intense the superstition. The perfection of the fine arts tends rather to diminish than to promote such superstition. Not merely does the cultivation of mind required for their higher execution, as well as the admiration of them, imply an advanced state, but the idealism, which is their crowning excellence, in some degree unrealises them, and creates a different and more exalted feeling. There is more direct idolatry paid to the rough and ill-shapen image, or the flat, unrelieved, and staring picture,—the former actually clothed in gaudy and tinsel ornaments, the latter with the crown of gold-leaf on the head, and real or artificial flowers in the hand,—than to the noblest ideal statue, or the Holy family with all the magic of light and shade. They are not the fine paintings which work miracles, but the coarse and smoke-darkened boards, on which the dim outline of form is hardly to be traced. Thus it may be said, that it was the superstition which required the images, rather than the images which formed the superstition. The Christian mind would have found some other fetiche, to which it would have attributed miraculous powers. Relics would have been more fervently worshipped, and endowed with more transcendent powers, without the adventitious good, the familiarising the mind with the historic truths of Scripture, or even the legends of Christian martyrs, which at least allayed the evil of the actual idolatry. Iconoclasm left the worship of relics, and other dubious memorials of the saints, in all their vigour; while it struck at that which, after all, was a higher kind of idolatry. It aspired not to elevate the general mind above superstition, but proscribed only one, and that not the most debasing, form."—vol. ii., pp. 152, 153.

the Koran itself; and pictures have survived the inroads of the Mussulmans everywhere except in those churches which have been turned into mosques. Of these, indeed (if that be the Dean's meaning), St. Sophia is one; and every one has heard the story, related in our last number, of the rich mosaics lately revealed by the removal of the plaster, and covered again at the command of the present Sultan, to bide their time. Only the six-winged seraphim still look down from the four corners of the dome, tolerated as likenesses, not of mortal man, but of superhuman intelligences.

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In this rapid comparison of the two churches, we have in the first instance dwelt chiefly on those differences which bring out the points on which Latin Christianity most nearly represents the spirit of the whole of Western Christendom, and, we may add, of Christianity itself. We have done so for many reasons—first, it is an allowable source of gratification now, when by a most unsought and unexpected crisis the Western is arrayed against the Eastern sphere of Christendom, to remember that there are points which bind together the whole of that western sphere, not merely by political, but by religious bonds also. We need not preach a crusade against the churches of the East, or bandy theological animosities with the Emperor Nicholas; but it is a satisfaction to remember that amongst all the differences which have long divided, and probably will always divide, the nations and churches of Europe, there are yet deeper elements of consanguinity and likeness which unite them—we will not say against the East, but certainly in favour of the West.

Such a point of view is important in the face of common dangers and common foes. It is still more important in adjusting our relations to each other. It is instructive for Protestants to see that the church and the system which they have been accustomed, and often justly accustomed, to regard as the one supreme impersonation of priestcraft, of superstition, of fanaticism, has after all the same elements of western freedom, and life, and civilization, as those of which they themselves are justly proud; that whatever it may be in comparison of us, in comparison of the Greek Church it is enlightened, progressive, in one word, Protestant. And not less instructive, if they could but so regard it, would be this view to the Roman Catholic Church itself, and its exclusive admirers amongst ourselves. One half of its attraction—of its attraction as a dominant and aggressive body—lies in the fact that it lays claim to represent exclusively that side of religious feeling and of human nature which is impressed by the sight of antiquity, of reverence, of ascetic self-abnegation. But what a difference is effected in the proportions of these pretensions, when we see them overtopped by a loftier, darker figure behind. If we are to have dogmatical belief in its fullest extent, dogmatic decisions on the abstrusest questions, let us go, not to Rome, but to the ancient church, whose name and whose glory is to be not ‘Catholic,’ but ‘Orthodox;’ whose princes and princesses are not ‘most Catholic,’ or ‘most Christian,’ but ‘most Orthodox;’ to the church which ‘will die, but never surrender’ the minutest point which council or father has bequeathed to it. If we are to have monasticism not merely as one element in Christian life, but as a necessary model of Christian perfection,



perfection, let us not stop short with the Grande Chartreuse or Monte Casino, when we can have the seclusion of Mount Athos, and the exaltation of Simeon of the Pillar. If we are to have the 'opus operatum' in its undivided, unmitigated intensity, let us not halt half-way with a church which has curtailed the waters of baptism, and deferred confirmation and communion to years of reason and discretion;—let us take refuge in the ancient ritual, which still retains the threefold immersion, still offers the rites of Chrism and the Eucharist to the unconscious touch of infancy.

Paradoxical as it may seem, it was by its reforming tendencies that the Church of Rome may fairly justify its separation from the churches of the ancient East; it was by its slow, though steady accommodation of its usages and its doctrines to the order of a changing and advancing world, that it formerly maintained its hold on the mind of Europe, its claim to be considered the representative of the religion of Christ. Such a representative during its earliest stages Latin Christianity was in an eminent and undeniable degree; and it is not merely in vindication of Protestantism, or in self-defence against Rome, but in the interest of the faith which both alike claim to hold, that we owe thanks to Dean Milman for the courage and force with which this truth is brought out. If the spirit of the original Christianity of Christ and the Apostles, in its freedom, in its comprehensiveness, in its variety, is to be found not in the churches which sprang up on its native soil, but in churches more and more remote from those regions in climate, in feeling, in thought, it is because the spirit of the West, the conscience, the energy, the reason of the West, has broken the bonds which still fetter the older and more primitive, but not therefore necessarily the more Christian churches of the East. The Church of Rome is in this respect not only the witness against the exclusive claims of the Byzantine Church, but still more emphatically against her own. The Reformation was but another step in the same direction, to which the movements of Latin Christianity had already pointed the way.

Thus far we have attempted to draw out the characteristics of Latin Christianity, as seen in the general tendencies which distinguish it from the Greek Church. But it would be an imperfect delineation of the subject if we did not endeavour to give some sketch of the forms through which those tendencies worked, the outward framework in which their spirit was enshrined, the formation, in one word, not merely of Latin Christianity, but of Latin Christendom. And, in so doing, we shall  
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in some important points have to hold up the reverse side of the picture to that which has just been presented; to exhibit not the divine, progressive, eternal character of Latin Christianity, but its earthly, obstructive, and transitory elements; not the points in which Protestants will be inclined to differ, but those in which they will be inclined to agree, with the system of the Eastern Churches.

We have said that a fundamental distinction between the characters of the Eastern and Western world has lain in the speculative tendency of the one, the practical tendency of the other. This practical tendency of the West soon began to develop itself in the form which seemed almost to belong to the atmosphere of Rome, in the desire and the power of organization, of government, of centralization.

‘Tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento—  
Hæ tibi erunt artes.’

It is this which at once gives a turn to the history of the Latin clergy wholly distinct from that of the Greeks. It is not that the spirit of the Greek clergy was less hierarchical than the Latin. In some respects it was more so; their worship centres round the priest as completely as the worship of Rome; the Greek priest concealed within the veil of the sanctuary is far more entirely shut out from the congregation than the Latin priest standing before the altar in the presence of the assembled multitudes, who, if they cannot join in the act of celebration, at least can follow with their eyes and ears his every gesture and word. The mystical and secluded character of the Oriental, here, as in the other spheres which we before noticed, reigns supreme. But the moment we enter into practical life, the powers and pretensions of the Greek hierarchy shrink into nothing before those of the Latin. In two salient points this distinction springs at once to light—the Papacy and the celibacy of the clergy.

Let us take each of these points separately. Dean Milman has well said, that ‘Latin Christianity has an irresistible tendency to monarchy;’ and around the Monarchy of the Papacy he has, naturally indeed, but with a concentration strangely wanting in other histories, grouped the whole of his vast work. If we wish to enter into the full spirit of the rise and growth of that great institution—the greatest, perhaps, in its conception, and its influence, as it certainly has been the most lasting in actual duration, that the world has yet seen—we must transport ourselves to the mighty city in which it was born, and in which it has, with the exception of a few scattered intervals, lived and flourished for eighteen hundred years. It is not in the Piazza

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of St. Peter's, but on the steps of St. John Lateran, that we trace, as in a vision, the form and fashion of what Hobbes has so truly called 'the ghost of the dead Roman Empire sitting crowned upon the grave thereof.' There we, indeed, stand on the 'grave of the dead empire.' The grave is the deathlike Campagna which spreads out for miles around us; the gravestones are the broken aqueducts and the sepulchres of the Appian Way, and the vast circuit of the walls of Aurelian. And it is in the huge pile which stands on the site of the old Lateran Palace, the *real* donation of Constantine to Sylvester, that we are taught alike by history and tradition to look for the true cathedral church of Rome, the true see of the Roman Pontificate. It is that stately front, with its apostles and evangelists towering into the blue sky, not the front of the basilica of St. Peter, which bears the rude but proud inscription—

*'Dogmate Papali datur ac simul imperiali  
Quod sim cunctarum mater et caput ecclesiarum.'*

It is the throne of the Lateran, not the chair of Peter, in which the sovereign of the Western Church is installed; exhibiting on its ancient marble steps, curiously interwoven with figures of the lion, the adder, the dragon, and the basilisk, on which he treads as he mounts his seat,

*'Hæc est Papalis sedes et pontificalis.'*

The Lateran, not the Vatican, was the abode of all the elder and greater popes; of Leo and Gregory, of Hildebrand and Innocent. St. Peter's and the Vatican have been the monuments of papal magnificence, the museums of European art; but they do not contain the birthplace of the Papacy, nor the 'rock' on which it was built. It was not on the chair and tomb of Peter, but on the seat of Constantine, on the ruins of the empire, that the genius of the Papacy was enthroned. It was the migration of the Roman emperors to the shores of the Bosphorus that left the field open to the rise of the Roman bishops. It was the fall of the Western Empire that left a chasm which could only be filled up by the formation of Western Christendom. It was to its secular, not to its Christian associations, to its political, far more than to its ecclesiastical strength, that the Papacy owed its first transcendent grandeur.

'If Christian Rome rose thus out of the ruin of the pagan city, the Bishop of Rome rose in proportionate grandeur above the wreck of the old institutions and scattered society. Saved, as doubtless it seemed, by the especial protection of God from all participation, even from the sight of this tremendous, this ignominious disaster, according to the phrase of the times, as Lot out of the fires of Sodom, he alone could lift up his head, if with sorrow without shame. Honorius hid himself

himself in Ravenna, nor did the Emperor ever again, for any long time, make his residence at Rome. With the religion expired all the venerable titles of the religion, the Great High Priests and Flamens, the Auspices and Augurs. On the Pontifical throne sat the Bishop of Rome, awaiting the time when he should ascend also the Imperial throne; or, at least, if without the name, possess the substance of the Imperial power, and stand almost as much above the shadowy form of the old republican dignities, which still retained their titles, and some municipal authority, as the Cæsars themselves. The capture of Rome by Alaric was one of the great steps by which the Pope arose to his plenitude of power. There could be no question that from this time the greatest man in Rome was the Pope; he alone was invested with permanent and real power; he alone possessed all the attributes of supremacy, the reverence, it was his own fault if not the love of the people.—vol. i. pp. 108, 109.

What Imperial Rome lost by the transfer of the seat of government to the East, the Byzantine Empire gained. What Papal Rome gained by the removal of a rival power and splendour, that the Patriarch of Constantinople lost. As the Pope filled the place of the absent Emperors at Rome—inheriting their power, their prestige, the titles which they had themselves derived from the days of their Paganism\*—so the Emperors controlled, guided, personified the Church at Constantinople. No one can read Eusebius' description of the Council of Nicæa without feeling that amongst all who assembled in the hall on the shores of that upland lake in the Bithynian hills, none, not Eusebius himself, nor even the youthful Athanasius, occupied the same pre-eminence as the Emperor Constantine, who sat beside the altar, 'looking more like a God than a man.' Justinian and Theodora, great as they were in legislating for the Empire, exercised a hardly less important influence in their determination not only of the discipline but of the doctrines of the Church; and what Constantine and Justinian began, has been continued by the great Potentates who have ever since swayed the destinies of the Oriental hierarchy. In Constantinople itself the Sultan still exercises the right which he inherited from the last of the Cæsars; and the appointment and deposition of the Patriarchs still places in his hands the government of the Byzantine Church—a power (it may be) more scandalous and more pernicious in the hands of the Mussulman than it was in the hands of the Christian despot, but not more decided and absolute. And in Russia every month's manifesto reminds us how truly the Emperor Nicholas, fortifying

\* The title of 'Pontifex Maximus,' by which the Pope is so often designated, is not derived from the high priest of the Jewish hierarchy (who was always styled in Latin 'Summus Sacerdos'), but from the ancient pontiff of Heathen Rome, which descended through Julius Cæsar to the emperors, and so, it would seem, to the Roman bishops.



himself by the words of 'the Czar-Prophet David,' is the head and soul of the Church of the vast domains over which he presides.

This wide difference between the relations of the two Churches to the civil power affected not merely the position of the heads of their respective hierarchies, but the whole position of the hierarchy itself. The Eastern Church was thus basking in the sunshine of imperial favour—a regular institution forming part of the framework of civilized society, and, till the commencement of the Arab, almost we may say till the commencement of the Turkish, invasion, secure from the convulsion which shook the rest of the world. But her sister in the West, entering into the world amidst the crash of a falling empire, and with successive hordes of wild barbarians to control, to convert, and to guide, was placed in a crisis far more trying. The Latin clergy, thus literally like 'lambs in the midst of wolves,' had a part to play demanding not merely the innocence of doves but the prudence of serpents, and, we may add, the courage of lions. They were aided doubtless by the inheritance of the great associations of the Empire, and by the practical energy peculiar, as we have before observed, to the nations of the West. But both these tendencies shaped themselves, or were shaped by the force of circumstances, into a narrower and more compact front. The spirit of organization—of civilization—of order—which so wonderfully characterised the institutions and character of the ancient heathen Empire, seemed to revive with increased force in the new Christian Church; and the world now saw for the first time a body of men, linked to each other and divided from the rest of men by the strongest bonds, professional as well as religious, social as well as theological; for purposes not simply speculative, or scientific, or devotional, but of the highest practical importance to the moral and social condition of mankind.

To describe the various steps by which this vast organization was completed would require more space than we can afford. But there is one point so important in itself, and which, as we have intimated, forms so remarkable a distinction between Eastern and Western Christendom, that it may well be selected as the main contrast between the two bodies. However fervent the Greek Church may have been at all times in its assertion of the ascetic principle, it is well known that its clergy present the singular phenomenon of a body in which marriage is not only permitted and frequent, but compulsory and universal. It is a startling sight to the traveller, after long wanderings in the south of Europe, to find himself amongst the mountains of Greece or Asia Minor, once more under the roof of a married pastor, and see the table of the parish priest furnished, as it might be in Protestant England

or

or Switzerland, though after a ruder fashion, by the hands of an acknowledged wife. The bishops indeed, being selected from the monasteries, are always single. But the parochial clergy, that is, the whole body of clergy as such, though they cannot marry after their ordination, must always be married before they enter on their office.

In the Latin Church, on the other hand, the compulsory celibacy of the clergy not only can be traced back in some measure to the first period of its distinct existence, but has been for many centuries one of its most immutable characteristics. The first recorded Papal Decree—that of Siricius in the close of the fourth century—‘peremptorily \* interdicted marriage by an immutable ordinance to all priests and deacons.’

‘This, more than any other measure, separated the sacerdotal order from the rest of society, from the common human sympathies, interests, affections. It justified them to themselves in assuming a dignity superior to the rest of mankind, and seemed their title to enforce acknowledgment and reverence for that superior dignity. . . . Whether marriage was treated as in itself an evil, perhaps to be tolerated, but still degrading to human nature, as by Jerome and the more ascetic teachers; or honoured, as by Augustine, with a specious adulation, only to exalt virginity to a still loftier height above it; the clergy were taught to assert it at once as a privilege, a distinction, as the consummation and the testimony to the sacredness of their order. As there was this perpetual appeal to their pride (they were thus visibly set apart from the vulgar, the rest of mankind), so they were compelled to its observance at once by the law of the Church, and by the fear of falling below their perpetual rivals, the monks, in the general estimation.’—vol. i. pp. 76, 77.

But what may have begun in a union of asceticism borrowed from the East with the organizing and enterprising spirit of the West, was at a later period fixed beyond recall by circumstances peculiar to the then position of the Latin clergy. As the fall of the Empire was the event which confirmed the rise of the Papacy, so the establishment of the feudal system was the event which sealed the celibacy of the hierarchy. We must refer to Dean Milman’s pages for the thrilling description of the gradual rise—the marvellous character of the man who beyond all others fastened this law on the clergy of the Western world. But Hildebrand would not, and could not, have succeeded in his enterprise, unless that enterprise had been invited and, in a certain sense, justified by the situation of Europe at that time.

‘The celibacy of the clergy was necessary to their existence, at the present period, as a separate caste. The clergy, in an advanced period of civilisation, may sink into ordinary citizens; they may become a class

\* Vol. i. p. 76.



of men discharging the common functions of life, only under a stronger restraint of character and of public opinion. As examples of the domestic, as of the other virtues; as training up families in sound morals and religion, they are of inappreciable advantage; they are a living remonstrance and protest against that licentiousness of manners which is the common evil of more refined society. But the clergy of this age, necessarily a caste, would have degenerated from an open, unexclusive caste, to a close and hereditary one. Under the feudal system, everything, from the throne to the meanest trade, had an hereditary tendency. The benefices, originally revocable at the will of the liege lord, were becoming patrimonies; rank, station, distinction, descended from father to son: the guilds, if they were beginning to be formed in towns, were likewise hereditary. The son followed the trade, and succeeded to the tools, the skill of his parent. But hereditary succession once introduced into the Church, the degeneracy of the order was inevitable; the title to its high places at least, and its emoluments, would have become more and more exclusive: her great men would cease to rise from all ranks and all quarters. . . . \* Great as were the evils inseparable from the dominion of the priesthood, if it had become in any degree the privilege of certain families, that evil would have been enormously aggravated; the compensating advantages annulled. Family affections and interests would have been constantly struggling against those of the Church. Selfishness, under its least unamiable form, would have been ever counteracting the lofty and disinterested spirit which still actuated the better Churchmen; one universal nepotism—a nepotism not of kindred, but of parentage—would have preyed upon the vital energies of the order. Every irreligious occupant would either have endeavoured to alienate to his lay descendants the property of the Church, or bred up his still more degenerate descendants in the certainty of succession to their patrimonial benefice.’—vol. iii. pp. 108, 109.

It was not without a tremendous effort that the change was accomplished. In Italy, in Germany, in France—and the same would have been the case in England but for the anticipation of Hildebrand in the person of our own Dunstan—the vast majority of the clergy, in spite of popular opinion, in spite of repeated Papal decrees, claimed the right of marriage. The memory even of a married Pope, Hadrian II., was but recent.† For all practical purposes, therefore, the law of Hildebrand was an extensive and violent revolution, the growth of his own age, to be judged by the circumstances of that age. Whether we regard the consolidation of the Papal power, and of the clerical celibacy, from a hostile or from a friendly point of view, it is equally important to remember that both were measures resulting from a state of society long since passed away.

\* We have here omitted a sentence which has been repeated from inadvertence.

† Vol. iii. p. 111.

If the Papacy was necessary to support the framework of religion and of civilization in the crash of the Ancient Empire, we may justly forgive and even approve its excesses in the past, but for the very same reason we cannot acquiesce in its pretensions for the present or the future, when no such justification continues. If the celibacy of the clergy was necessary to save Europe from the evils of a feudal and hereditary caste, like the priesthoods of Egypt or of India, for the very same reason it ceases to be necessary now when all such apprehensions have long since been laid to sleep. Both sides are powerfully set forth in Dean Milman's summary of the career of Gregory VII.

Gregory is the Caesar of spiritual conquest, the great and inflexible assertor of the supremacy of the sacerdotal order. The universal religious Autocracy, the Caliphate, with the difference that the temporal power was accessory to the spiritual, not the spiritual an hereditary appendage to the temporal supremacy, expanded itself upon the austere yet imaginative mind of Gregory as the perfect Idea of the Christian Church. The theory of Augustine's City of God, no doubt, swam before the mind of the Pontiff, in which a new Rome was to rise and rule the world by religion. Augustine's theory, indeed, was aristocratic rather than monarchical, or rather the monarchical power remained centered in the Invisible Lord—in Christ himself. To the Pope there could be no Rome without a Caesar, and the Caesar of the spiritual monarchy was himself: in him was gathered and concentrated all power—that of the collective priesthood and episcopacy; it flowed from him with a kind of Pantheistic emanation, and was reabsorbed in him. But, unhappily, that ideal Pope is as purely imaginary as an ideal King, or an ideal Republic governed by virtue alone. The Pope was to be a man elected by men. If this spiritual monarchy either could confine, or had attempted to confine, that universal authority to which it aspired, or that vast authority which it actually obtained over the hopes and fears of men, to purposes purely and exclusively spiritual; if it could have contented itself with enforcing, and by strictly religious means, an uniformity—a wise and liberal uniformity—an uniformity expanding with the expansion of the human intellect, of Christian faith and practice and Christian virtue throughout the whole Christian community; if it had restrained itself in its warfare to the extirpation of evil, to the promotion of social and domestic virtue; in its supremacy over kings, to the suppression of unchristian vices, tyranny, injustice, inhumanity; over mankind at large, to moral transgressions and infringements on the rights and persons and property of others; if it had taught invariably by Christian means of persuasion; if it had always kept the ultimate end of all religion in view, the happiness of mankind through Christian holiness and love; then posterity might wisely regret that this higher than Platonic vision was never realised; that mankind are receding further than ever from the establishment in this form of the Christian commonwealth of nations. But throughout the contest of many centuries the sacerdotal supremacy was constantly raising the suspicion,



suspicion, too well grounded, that power, not the beneficial use of power, was its final object. It was occasionally popular, even democratic, in assisting the liberties of man, as in later times, in its alliance with the Italian republics; but it was too manifestly not from the high and disinterested love of freedom, but from jealousy of any other Lord over the liberties of men but itself. In this respect Gregory was the type, the absolute model and example of the spiritual monarch. Posterity demands whether his imperial views, like those of the older Caesar, were not grounded on the total prostration of the real liberty of mankind—even in that of the liberty of the subordinate sacerdotal order. It was a magnificent idea, but how was it reconcilable with the genuine sublimity of Christianity, that an order of men—that one single man—had thrust himself without authority, to an extent men began early to question, between man and God—had arrayed himself, in fact, in secondary divinity. Against his decrees every insurrection of the human mind was treason—every attempt to limit his power impiety. Even if essentially true, this monarchical autocracy was undeniably taught and maintained, and by none more than by Hildebrand, through means utterly at variance with the essence of Christianity, at the sacrifice of all the higher principles, by bloody and desolating wars, by civil wars with all their horrors, by every kind of human misery. Allow the utmost privilege of the age—of a warlike, a ferocious age, in which human life had no sanctity or security—yet this demand of indulgence for the spirit of the times is surely destructive of the claim to be immutable Christianity: the awful incongruity between the Churchman and the Christian, between the Representative of the Prince of Peace and the Prince of Peace himself, is fatal to the whole.

‘ Yet in a lower view, not as a permanent, eternal, immutable law of Christianity, but as one of the temporary phases, through which Christianity, in its self-accommodation to the moral necessities of men, was to pass, the hierarchical, the Papal power of the Middle Ages, by its conservative fidelity as guardian of the most valuable relics of antiquity, of her arts, her laws, her language; by its assertion of the superiority of moral and religious motives over the brute force of man; by the safe guardianship of the great primitive and fundamental truths of religion, which were ever lurking under the exuberant mythology and ceremonial; above all by wonderful and stirring examples of the most profound, however ascetic devotion, of mortification and self-sacrifice and self-discipline, partially, at least, for the good of others; by splendid charities, munificent public works, cultivation of letters, the strong trust infused into the mind of man, that there was some being even on earth whose special duty it was to defend the defenceless, to succour the succourless, to be the refuge of the widow and orphan, to be the guardian of the poor; all these things, with all the poetry of the Middle Ages, in its various forms of legend, of verse, of building, of music, of art, may justify, or rather command mankind to look back upon these fallen idols with reverence, with admiration, and with gratitude. The hierarchy of the Middle Ages counterbalances its vast ambition, rapacity, cruelty, by the most essential benefits to human civilisation. The

Papacy itself is not merely an awful, but a wonderful institution. Gregory VII. himself is not contemplated merely with awe, but in some respects, and with great drawbacks, as a benefactor of mankind.\* —vol. iii. pp. 199–202.

There is one other series of events which has materially influenced the character of the two Churches, and which, though it has been amply discussed from almost every other point of view, has hardly been appreciated before in its relation to the two divisions of Christendom. We allude to the Crusades. Not only did these wonderful wars, as has been often remarked, tend to increase the authority of the Pope and the wealth of the clergy, and thus lend fresh strength to the hierarchical system of the Western Church, but they also tended to widen the breach between the Latin and Byzantine world, both directly by the hostile relations which they created, and indirectly by the deep and peculiar impression which the West received, but which the East failed to receive from their influence.

The estrangement of the Eastern from the Western Church, as Dean Milman truly observes,\* was effected by the Crusades more than by any other single cause. The conquest of Constantinople was, next to the conquest of Jerusalem, the prominent object of almost every crusade. The occupation of Palestine, and the creation of the Frank kingdom of Jerusalem, was carried out in a manner almost as offensive to the Greeks as it could have been to the Turks; and the quarrels which yearly distract the peace of Syria, and have now broken up the peace of the world, within the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, are only continuations of the deadly feud of the fourth Crusade, when Dandolo planted the banner of St. Mark on the church of St. Sophia.

But it was not merely by its hostility to the Byzantine empire, but by the new character which the Latin Church then first acquired, that the gulf between them was widened. The Greek Church has always been, and is still, stiff, intolerant, unwilling to lose any of its ancient privileges or prescriptive rights; but it has never on any large scale been a persecuting power. The Latin Church, in like manner, down to the time of the Crusades, never, except in peculiar and isolated cases, urged the adoption of its faith by other than gentle means. But the fierce spirit nursed in the bosom of Western Christendom by the dread and the hatred of Mahometanism lasted long after Mahometanism had ceased to be punishable. First it fell upon the unfortunate Jews. Next it was directed against the still unconverted heathens of Northern Germany; and the Teutonic Knights were the brothers-in-arms of the Templars and Hospitallers† of the Holy Land. Then it

\* Vol. iii. p. 240.

† Vol. iii. p. 250.



discharged its fury on all heretics and opposers of the Papal See. The persecution of the Albigenses was a crusade. The Inquisition was a crusade. The expedition against our own King John was a crusade. The conquest of Mexico by Cortes was a crusade. The expulsion of the Moors was almost the last impulse of the irreconcilable hostility which had been kindled in the heart of Christendom by the speech of Pope Urban at Clermont. The wars of the Low Countries were crusades, and finally the Spanish armada—the last crusade—was swallowed up, we trust but we dare not vaticinate, with the crusading spirit, for ever in the ocean' (vol. iii. p. 251). One further result must be added—'chivalry, or at least the religious tone which chivalry assumed in all its acts, language, and ceremonial' (vol. iii. p. 251). The conflict with Mahometanism awakened a spark in the breast of the Romanesque and Teutonic nations which was never kindled in the nearer circle of the Oriental Christians. France, the birthplace of chivalry, was also the chief nursery of the crusading armies. France, Frenchmen, Frank—rather than any neighbouring people—became, in the East, the synonymes for Europe and Europeans. Through the influence of chivalry was developed the delicacy, the courtesy, the regard for the female sex, which is almost, though not quite, as little known to the Christians as it is to the Mahometans of the East—alike in its perversions and in its excellences. On the one hand, it was a Greek council that invented the theological definition which Western Christianity has translated 'Mother of God;' but it was reserved for the succeeding ages of Latin Christendom to carry out the dogmatic statement into the passionate adoration of 'Our Lady.' On the other hand, the peculiarly Western word

'courtesy' designates a new virtue, not ordained by our religion; and words are not formed but out of the wants, usages, and sentiments of men; and courtesy is not yet an obsolete term. Even gallantry, now too often sunk to a frivolous or unnatural sense, yet retains something of its old nobility, when it comprehended valour, frankness, honourable devotion to woman. The age of chivalry may be gone, but the influences of chivalry, it may be hoped, mingling with and softened by purer religion, will be the imperishable heirloom of social man.'—vol. iii., p. 256.

There is always something sad in closing any great work on ecclesiastical history—the contrast between what such a story ought to have been, and what it has been—'no steady, unwavering advance of heavenly spirits, but one continually interrupted, checked, diverted from its course, driven backward, as of men possessed by some bewildering spell—wasting their strength upon imaginary obstacles—hindering each other's progress and

their own, by stopping to analyse and dispute about the nature of the sun's light till all were blinded by it—instead of thankfully using its aid to show them the true path onward.

This melancholy feeling, as has been often truly observed, is best relieved when we look at individual instances of the power of Christian faith and love in the lives and deaths of good men. But it is relieved also in proportion as the view opened before us is wide—in proportion as we are able, 'kindly and calmly' as from a summit, to regard the rise and progress of churches and sects—

*'Despicere, unde queas, alios, passimque videre,  
Errare atque viam palantes querere vite.'*

What seemed, near at hand, to be mere deformities, from a more distant point are lost in the sense of the vast prospect, to which each feature contributes its peculiar part. A philosophical view of ecclesiastical history is not necessarily a cold or a contemptuous view; it may be, if it is truly philosophical, full of far more genuine sympathy; inspired by a far deeper sense of humility; than a description written by one who has plunged into the thick of the fray, or made himself master of every corner of the labyrinthine maze.

And thus when, as in the present case, we look at Greek, and—Latin, and Teutonic Christianity—not apart from each other, but in their mutual relations—not in the details of any particular controversy which divides each from each, but in relation to the general causes from which those controversies have sprung—conclusions force themselves upon us, as consoling as they are tranquillising.

We may, if we choose, look on the Greek Church as the dead trunk of Christendom, from which all sap and life has departed, fit only to be cut down, because it cumber the ground; But we may also see in it the aged tree, under whose shade the rest of Christendom has sprung up; we may ask whether its roots have not struck too widely and too deeply in its native soil to allow of any other permanent form of religious life in those regions which does not in some degree engraft itself on that ancient stem; we may remember with gratitude, that to the Councils of Nicæa and Constantinople we owe the venerable Creeds, which, even if they bear the marks of their Byzantine origin, yet probably are the most comprehensive forms that such an age could have devised, and have given a stability and breadth to a theology which might else have been dissolved in its own endless subdivisions. We may

\* We quote from a remarkable work which has hardly attracted the attention it deserves; a work disfigured by obvious faults, but containing many striking passages and noble thoughts,—Wilson's Bampton Lectures, on the Communion of Saints.



regard, at least with antiquarian interest, the memorials of the older Churches, fossilised within its ancient and unchangeable ritual—we may thankfully accept even the sluggish barbarism and stagnation which has, humanly speaking, saved so large and so venerable a portion of Christendom from the consolidation of the decrees of Trent—we may remember with satisfaction that, if the hour should ever come for the reawakening of the Churches of the East, there is no infallible pontiff at Constantinople, no hierarchy separated from all the domestic charities of life, to prevent the religious and social elements of those vast regions from amalgamating into one harmonious whole.

Or, if we fix our view on that colossal figure which has chiefly occupied our attention, it is consolatory to reflect that Latin Christendom—the Christendom in which our fathers were born and bred, and in which were laid the foundations of all our institutions civil and religious—was not always the Babylonian monster which no doubt it has in some points and at particular periods strongly resembled, and with which some of our friends would believe it to be absolutely identical. When so good a Protestant as the Dean of St. Paul's is fain to ask, as he looks impartially on the seven first centuries of European history, 'Where, without this vast uniform hierarchal influence—where, in those ages of anarchy and ignorance, of brute force—had been Christianity itself?' we need not fear to acknowledge—nay rather, we ought thankfully to welcome—the fact that the Papacy was the most important outward instrument then existing in the world for the propagation and preservation of the Gospel. Its earlier crimes, its present decrepitude, the enormous vices of its sixth Alexander, the benevolent weaknesses of its ninth Pius, must not blind us to the blessings which it bestowed upon us whilst it stood in the vanguard of civilization, whilst it represented the unborn Protestantism of Europe.

And now when we find that there is yet a third element of Christian life, younger than the other two—less defined, indeed, in its outlines, less vast in its proportions, but, like those older systems, springing out of the heart of a mighty race, under the pressure of a great historical crisis—can we fail to hope that the Christianity which first appeared on the stage of the world's history, in the bosom of the German nations, at the Reformation, is not less surely a step in God's Providence—an instrument in the ultimate formation of Christendom—than the forms of ecclesiastical and religious life which rose out of the Greek race under the sway of Constantine, and out of the ruins of Rome under the auspices of Leo and Gregory? We will not anticipate the future volumes of

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the History of Latin Christianity by dwelling on the distinctive features of this its noblest, and, we will not hesitate to add, its most genuine, offspring. But the advocates and the opponents of the Reformation would both do well to remember the lineage from which it sprang; the analogy which its origin presents to what, when viewed under their more favourable aspects, may be called, without offence, the two previous dispensations of Christianity; the hope that, as it is unquestionably the development of some of the best tendencies of those two older bodies, so it may, in the end, be the destined instrument of purifying, of reconciling, and of absorbing them both in some higher and deeper unity than has yet been vouchsafed to the mind of man.

So to view the progress of events, so to trace the influence of races and institutions and political convulsions on the history of Christianity, is assuredly not to diminish, but to exalt, its importance to men and to nations; not to underrate, but to represent in its full grandeur the divine and universal origin to which it lays claim. Of ordinary institutions it may truly be said, as of the ordinary instincts of humanity,—

‘Heaven lies about us in our infancy.

Shades of the prison-house begin to close

Upon the growing boy.

The youth who daily farther from the East

Must travel.

Still by the vision splendid

Is on his way attended;

At length the man perceives it die away,

And fade into the light of common day.

But the course of the Christian religion, in spite of all the impediments it has encountered, in spite of the darkness which from time to time has clouded ‘the Fate of Christendom,’ has always moved onwards, and from that onward movement derived its main strength. Christianity has not drooped,—it has lived, it has flourished, it has expanded, it has grown more and more like to its ancient, Hebrew, divine original,—not in proportion as it has remained within the influences of its first home, but (so far at least as European history is concerned) in proportion as it has receded further and further from them. ‘Westward the Star of Empire has held its course;’ and westward has the Sun of Christendom moved also, shedding its light not only on Arabian deserts and Judæan palms, but on the endless varieties of Western life and scenery, on the cities and homes, on the empires and the families, of the Grecian, the Roman, and the Teutonic world; the Omega no less than the Alpha, the end no less than the beginning, of the history of civilised man.



ART. III.—*Dramatic Register for 1853.* 12mo. London.

IT must be owned that the drama labours under many disadvantages at the present moment. We shall not dwell upon their more obvious causes—the habits of social life, the inroads made upon the attractions of the theatre by the counter-attractions of literature, or the ebb of fashion from the stage doors. These disadvantages are on the surface, and a sudden turn in the world's tide would repel and obliterate them. Their sources lie much deeper, and must be sought in the character and tendencies of the age itself.

It is perhaps an inevitable result of advancing civilisation that it levels in great measure the external and salient points of individual character, and thus deprives the drama of one of its principal aliments and attractions. Evil passions and evil natures are unhappily, indeed, the accompaniments of every age, but they do not therefore always exhibit themselves under dramatic forms. The crimes and woes of 'old great houses' seldom affect in our days either the annals of the world or the passions of individuals. Wars have lost their chivalric character; politics are no longer tissues of dark intrigues, revealed only by their results, but hidden during their process in impenetrable darkness. Society has ceased to be divided into castes, or distinguished by outward and visible tokens of grandeur or debasement. Our manners and habits have grown similar and unpicturesque. A justice on the bench is no longer worshipful; a squire, except in the eyes of some poaching varlet, is no more 'the petty tyrant of his fields;' we take the wall of an alderman, and feel no awe in the presence of a mayor; lords ride in cabs; the coach, with six Flemish horses, with its running footmen and link-bearers, has vanished into infinite space; a knight of the shire may be the son of a scrivener; our men on 'Change have doffed their flat caps and shining shoes; there are no bullies in Paul's Walk, and hardly a Toledan blade within the liberties of London. 'The toe of the peasant comes near the heel of the courtier.' Our very inns have dropped their pictorial emblems: we write, instead of paint, our tavern-heraldry. Town and country are nearly one. Clarendon says of a certain Earl of Arundel, that 'he went rarely to London, because there only he found a greater man than himself, and because at home he was allowed to forget that there was such a man.' Lord Arundel's policy would be unavailing now. Our humours and distinctions are well nigh abolished, and the drama, so far as it depends upon them, deprived of its daily bread. The stage-poet cannot find his Bobadil in any lodging in Lambeth, nor his Justice Shallow in Gloucestershire,

tershire, nor Ancient Pistol in Eastcheap. The 'portrait of a gentleman or lady' at the Exhibition may represent four-fifths of our similar generation. Farther a-field then must our dramatists seek, if they draw from life, for their models of passion and humour. For the most part they suffer no especial inconvenience from the stoppage of supplies, inasmuch as they import them ready-made from the banks of the Seine. We shall advert presently to the number and character of these importations. For the present it suffices to remark that this assimilation of the external forms of life operates unfavourably upon the drama in two or three directions. It deprives the author of his fund of characters. It renders the audience less apprehensive of individual properties, and more eager for startling effects upon the scene. The spectator comes to witness in representation something different from what he sees daily in the streets and markets, in the law-courts, or the drawing-room, and is disappointed if the plot have in it no dash of extravagance, or the costume and scenery do not blaze with splendour. The scarcity of healthier food renders him the more eager for high and artificial condiments. His palate too has been previously vitiated by the circulating library. Macbeth is flat after Jack Sheppard; Sir Anthony Absolute is dull beside Mr. Pickwick. Our earnestness and our sport have travelled at railway speed during the present century; and the drama, like panting Time, in Johnson's prologue, either toils after them in vain, or outstrips them by dint of surpassing extravagances of story or decoration. When Sir Roger de Coverley made known his intention of going to the play, the Spectator and Captain Sentry had no difficulty in discovering at what theatre that very legitimate drama 'The Distress'd Mother' would be enacted. But a country gentleman of the present day, unacquainted with town—if indeed such a 'rara avis' survive in this age of locomotion—and recurring to his early recollections of Ellistree at Drury Lane, or Kemble at Covent Garden, would be sorely puzzled at first in his search for either regular tragedy or comedy. At Covent Garden he would find Italian Opera installed; at Drury he might indeed light upon Mr. G. V. Brooke, cleaving the general ear; but he would quite as likely read in the bills of the evening that a gentleman would walk across the ceiling, or that Franconi's stud would exhibit, or that a second Italian Opera awaited him. At the Haymarket he would witness indeed an excellent comedy of Mr. Planché's, but none of his old favourites, Moreton's, or the younger Colman's, or Reynolds's once popular plays. He would discover that the English Opera House had foregone its name and



and vocation, and Tom and Jerry given place at the Adelphi to Mr. Taylor's admirable play, *Two Loves and a Life*. But his amazement would be transcendent on learning that his best chance of meeting with Shakspeare would be in the remote regions where horrors or nautical heroics were wont—Consulate Tullo, in the good days when George the Third was King—to reign supreme, namely, at the Surrey or Victoria Theatres, beyond the bridges, or at Sadler's Wells, once the Naumachia of our metropolis.

To this Regio Transiberina of London indeed has recently migrated the popularity of the so-called 'legitimate drama.' Here, and in some of the City theatres and saloons, managers can reckon upon remunerating profits for the production of the *Tempest* and *Henry V.*, the *Duchess of Malfi* and the *School for Scandal*. Here the check-taker bawls 'Pit full!' and gives the check he takes; here spectators endure five acts, and forbear to vex the manager's brain with calls for novelties; and here rarely, if ever, penetrate the last devices of the Porte St. Martin. If the spirits of defunct managers be permitted at any time to revisit the glimpses of the moon, that of old J. Davidge would find matter enough for meditation upon mutabilities. Ariel skims and Prospero stalks over the boards once dedicated to brigands and midnight murder; and the *Midsummer Night's Dream* displays its fairy wonders and mortal perplexities upon the area where British tars fought over again the battles of the Baltic and the Nile. Johnson rightly predicted that, on the stage of old Drury 'new Hunts might box and Mahomets might dance; but the migration of Shakspeare to Southwark and Islington was a prodigy beyond the bounds of his vision.

For these effects, whether defective or not, and which assuredly are not altogether unfavourable aspects of the drama's condition, many causes may be assigned. But in order to set them in as clear a light as possible, whether as symptoms of theatrical renaissance or decline, we shall briefly survey, in the first place, the representations current at more western theatres, and in what are esteemed more civilised regions of the metropolis. And as many of our readers may be unaware of the number of plays yearly brought out as novelties, as well as that of the theatres now open to the public, or the amount of persons, directly or indirectly, employed in ministering to them, we think that the following facts may not be unacceptable:

In certain recesses of the Palace of St. James, in Westminster, are annually deposited some hundreds of manuscripts, the records of gratified or disappointed expectations. These manuscripts are copies of the dramas licensed for representation

during

during the preceding twelve months. Of this number not a third finds its way to the press, or establishes itself in public favour and remembrance: and of those which are printed fewer still survive the year which gave them birth. It is not indeed desirable that there should be more frequent disinterments from this dramatic cemetery, since few of its inmates merit a 'resurgam' upon their escutcheon; yet in the mass they deserve some attention, as the abstracts and chronicles of the theatrical character of the age.

We do not allege these facts as implying any especial reproach either to the authors who produce or to the public which neglects this class of writings. Dramatic literature, as regards the majority of its productions, is, like the art of the actor, ephemeral. It partakes too much of the passing sentiments or caprices of the age, and is addressed too entirely to the eyes and ears of present spectators, to contain, in general, the germs of perpetuity. If we except Shakspeare, and a few of the greater luminaries of his age, the elder drama owes its partial immortality more to its poetic than its dramatic strength. Of those which linger in the closet, few would be now endurable on the stage. And at the time these were novelties nearly the whole imaginative powers of the English mind were engrossed in the service of the theatre; whereas, in the present day, with the exceptions of the author of *Philip van Artevelde* and Mr. Browning, no poet of any distinction has tried even his prentice hand in dramatic composition. Lyrical verse has absorbed the most profound and original of our poetic writers; and the novel has appropriated to itself the talents which two centuries ago would have been in the pay of Henslowe or Alleyne. It is accordingly less surprising that so few modern plays should survive their birth-year, than that so many dramatic writers should be found exerting themselves in a province of art in which a few weeks of applause are generally succeeded by irretrievable oblivion.

In the year 1853, 206 dramas were licensed for representation, and, with very few exceptions, produced at various metropolitan or provincial theatres—and in that year the number of novelties fell short of the sums of former equal periods. Of these the majority were one, two, or at most three act pieces, the experience of managers or the capabilities of the actors having, we suppose, afforded grounds for declining the old-established play of five acts. The precepts of Horace and the practice of our elder dramatic writers are indeed seldom observed by modern poets or critics, and the almost universal custom of adapting French originals has tended much to the abbreviation of plots and acts. Occasionally indeed an opposite excess has been attempted, and 'a monstrum informe,'



informe,' in eight or nine acts, has drawn its slow length through an entire evening, but the experiment was not so successful as to be often repeated. It would not be easy to classify, or to draw any general conclusions upon the state or prospects of dramatic literature from these 206 plays. Properly speaking the elder distinctions of tragedy, comedy, and melodrama, such as prevailed in the age of the patent theatres, are nearly extinct. The saloons are still occasionally chambers of melodramatic horrors, such as once attracted audiences to the Coburg and the Surrey Theatres. But the passion for volleys of musketry, and trap-doors, and red and blue lights has much declined, and with it, in considerable measure also, the amiable disposition to regard a British tar as an eminent philanthropist, and the Hounslow brigade as the redresser of the wrongs of man and the inequalities of wealth and station. On the whole a considerable improvement both in morals and taste is apparent even in the theatres where gentlemen may be seen in the dress circle unencumbered with coats, and where the pit, from the prevalence of Israelitish physiognomy in its rows, exhibits an apparent approach to the restoration of the Jews. The theatre indeed, at the present moment, is more in danger from the social and sentimental corruptions of the French stage, than from exhibitions of open ruffianism, or the coarser species of vice and crime. Yet, notwithstanding these partial improvements, the question whether we possess, or are nearer than formerly to the possession of, a national drama, remains nearly as far from solution as ever. That dramas under no obligations, beyond the skill displayed in their plot and dialogue, to our ingenious neighbours, can attain popularity, has been proved by the success of Messrs. Taylor and Reade's plays. But 'Masks and Faces,' and 'Plot and Passion,' are exceptional instances of merit, and rather encourage the hope of a restoration of a national drama, than prove its existence at present. It is equally curious and mortifying to remark that, in most cases of the announcement of a new and successful piece, its French parentage is openly avowed, and credit taken for the skill displayed in its adaptation to a British audience. Nor is it any defence or palliation of the debt that our elder dramatists were equally indebted to Italian or Spanish originals. They were indebted to Spanish and Italian novels doubtless, though seldom until such novels had passed by translation into popular belief and favour: but the dramatic treatment of the stories was original, and had not been anticipated by the librettos of the Variétés and Porte St. Martin.

The popular drama of the day is accordingly in no intelligible sense of the term national, but, like so much of our costume,  
a Parisian

How does it fare, on the other hand, with the drama of which we justly boast as having surpassed in amplitude of proportion and in earnestness of feeling, not only the classic frigidity of Corneille and Racine, but the authentic grandeur and harmony of the great Athenian masters—with the drama which stimulated the genius of Alfieri and filled with wonder and emulation the far loftier and deeper souls of Goethe and Schiller? It is our boast that we are the countrymen of Shakspeare and his contemporaries, but we cannot find or make them generally attractive on the stage. It is not for lack of enterprise or accessories, but either there is some mistake in the application of them, or the public has been accustomed to a different fare, and lost its appetite for the diet which it pronounces to be unrivalled. Never were scene-painters more expert, or upholsterers more inventive—never was archaeology more in request for dramatic illustrations; or managers more determined to be scrupulous in costume and landscape. Yet all this avails them little or nothing—the Mordecai of Parisian effects sits at their gates, and after a brief curiosity about the ghost of Banquo, or the heraldry of King John, has been sated, the romantic and historic drama pales its ineffectual fire before the irresistible attractions of the Corsican Brothers and Sardanapalus. The public, at least as represented by the press, quarrels with the managers for corrupting the national taste; the managers retort on the public that it cherishes the corruption of which it complains; and both shift the blame upon the actors. 'Give us,' says the public, 'a succession of Kembles, of Edmund Keans, or Macready, and we will dispense with the decorator and the upholsterer.' 'Find us,' say the managers, 'a Mrs. Jordan or a Miss O'Neill, and we will spare ourselves the cost of acres of canvas and galaxies of light red and blue.' 'Afford us,' say the actors, 'equal opportunities for learning and perfecting ourselves in the several departments of our art which our predecessors enjoyed, and we will prove to you that the ancient spirit is not dead, but cabined, cribbed and confined by the fetters imposed upon it in dramas which exclude passion, probability, and imitation of life and manners.'

We think that each of the recriminant parties might make out a very plausible case for itself, which yet, as a whole, would be an invalid defence. The public might allege, 'We come to your houses for amusement, and not for a lecture upon scenery, architecture, and dress.' The managers might plead, 'We are engaged in a commercial speculation, no less than the momentous business of earning a livelihood—we, who live to please, must please to live; and since you respond to decoration and pomp more readily



readily than to character and passion, with pomp and decoration we are fain to provide you. Lastly, the actors might as fairly urge, We are clay in the potter's hands; and so long as you obscure us with light, and dwarf us amid colossal scenery and processions, you render us the secondaries of the stage, and, for any effect we produce, might dispense with us altogether, and expend our salaries upon yet costlier panoramas.

None of these complaints, we are inclined to think, touch the evil complained of. They are, in the first place, vague; and, in the next, they apply equally to the drama of the last century. Since the restoration of monarchy and the theatres, indeed, there has never been a generation in which these or similar murmurs were not audible. Alleyn and Henslowe, and some of their contemporaries, realised respectable fortunes by management, and found performers whom both themselves and their audiences approved. But their lines were set in pleasant places. The habits of social life favoured them: the novel, the newspaper, and the club, the late dinner, and the accomplishments of the world, were not their foe: a morning walk in Paul's, or a morning ride on the great highway of Oxford-street, was followed by an afternoon visit to the Globe or Bull; and if the courtier or the citizen heard the chimes at midnight, the tavern and not the theatre was in fault. We cannot revert to their habits and hours, and must be content to forego with them some of our dramatic spirit. Neither are our theatres, as they were in the age of Anne and the earlier Georges, the resort of statesmen and their supporters for the purpose of political displays and intrigues. A Chancellor of the Exchequer presenting a purse of gold to Mr. Kean for his defiance of the Pope in King John would be a spectacle more remunerating to a manager than the most captivating importation from the Porte St. Martin; the expedience of Lord John Russell's or Lord Derby's presence in the side-boxes for a few minutes in the evening would lend new radiance even to Mr. Buckstone's habitual good spirits. We have learnt to separate business from recreation; and however it may fare with the former, the theatre has ceased to be an indispensable diversion for our Harleys and Godolphins. The support of the higher classes is no longer included among managerial anticipations of profit. Her Majesty indeed is a most efficient patron of the drama; but even court favour is not a counterpoise to the ebb and recession of the world from the dress-boxes.

We doubt, however, whether, in spite of the abstraction of so important an element, the number of playgoers has materially declined. We are rather disposed to think that it corresponds with the greatly increased sum of our metropolitan population.

In

In place of some half-dozen theatres, licensed for performance during a few months in the year, and denominated according to their licences the winter and summer theatres, there are now in the metropolis twenty-five theatres and saloons, the larger portion of which are open to the public from October to August. At the lowest estimate these establishments find employment for 3000 persons on their premises, without including the numbers engaged at their own houses or work-rooms in the various arts of decoration and costume which the stage requires. We may calculate that the audiences nightly resorting to these twenty-five houses amount to 5000, without reckoning the extraordinary resort to them at the seasons of Christmas and Easter, or during the 'first run' of a successful novelty. Our computation will not appear extravagant to any one who has witnessed the crowds awaiting the opening of the pit doors of the Adelphi or Princess's Theatres during the earlier performances of the 'Thirst of Gold,' or 'Faust and Margaret.' We do not indeed presume from these facts that the course of managers runs with uniform and unprecedented smoothness; but they afford a fair presumption that we have not ceased, as is sometimes vaguely asserted, to be a play-going people. The sum of spectators is distributed indeed over a wider surface, and particular exchequers may have been less uniformly replenished: but on the aggregate there has been an increase; the theatres, amid many disturbing influences at work, have not lacked support.

Amid these adverse influences should be reckoned the attractions afforded by our numerous literary and scientific institutions, and the growing popularity of Shaksperian Readings. If it is good to be amused, it is better to be instructed; and if the poetic drama is more justly expounded by Mrs. Fanny Kemble than by any performers now on the boards, it is wiser to resort to her readings than to the theatre. In some degree both lectures and readings are a compromise between the dramatic instincts inherent in our nature, and conscientious scruples as regards the theatre. The theatre is probably affected by these causes more in the quality than the numbers of its frequenters. They abstract from its benches many of the more intellectual members of society, and thus lessen the demand for a higher and better order of drama. They are not, however, features peculiar to the present age. They are but repetitions of what has already occurred. At Athens the new comedy supplanted its rivals and predecessors, much as the modern drama has supplanted Shakspeare and Racine. Æschylus and Sophocles would no longer draw, or could not find competent representatives; and the Athenian people, who regarded the theatre as a proper object for legislation, passed  
a law



a law to the effect that their elder and better drama should thenceforward be read, and not acted, at the Dionysiac festivals. We possess no similar record of the Roman stage. But we know that recitations were as popular at Rome as lectures and readings in London, and that the scale of the theatres and the tyranny of pantomime had, even before the Augustan era, nearly banished the works of Attius and Pacuvius, of Terence and Plautus from the boards. The preference for lectures and readings may therefore be considered more as an accident of civilization than as betokening any immediate or peculiar decadence of the drama.

The inferiority of our actors again is a common topic of complaint, and it frequently proceeds from persons who have not entered a theatre for years, or who, like Dr. Smell-fungus, think they manage those things better in France, and form their notions of English acting from a rare and supercilious visit to the boxes on a benefit-night. They reverse indeed the adage, and denounce the unknown as utterly flat and unprofitable. But so it has ever been. The players, according to such critics, are always descending below some fancied standard of excellence. Kemble lacked the 'os magna sonaturum' of Quin, and was less graceful than Barry. Quin himself was inferior to Booth, and Booth to Betterton. In the opinion of Macklin, Garrick as Sir Harry Wildair came short of Wilks: in the judgment of Foote, Macklin's Lovegold was not comparable to Shuter's. Charles Lamb, whose remarks on acting evince a fine discrimination of its properties, awards to Bensley a meed of praise, at which the few who remember that sensible but stiff performer are enforced to smile; and we have heard veteran play-goers aver that Mrs. Siddons was generally inferior in dignity to Mrs. Yates. We distrust these traditions of vanished perfections, as we discredit regrets for good old times. They are, we believe, on a par with Don Guzman's lament in 'Gil Blas' over the decrease of the peaches since his youth. The stage, as a mirror of the times, partakes of their imperfections, as well as of their privileges and merits. Styles of representation, no less than plays themselves, go out of date. That certain kinds of acting were better formerly than now, we have no difficulty in admitting; neither have we now such portraits as Reynolds's, or such eloquence as Burke's. Actors too leave behind them their equivalents, not their express images: our grandsires endured no one but King in Sir Peter Teazle and Lord Ogleby; we shall probably see none equal to Farren's. The greedy, credulous, and bragging elders, whom Munden so incomparably embodied, no longer exist; the world has grown picked and dainty, and voted them nuisances; and

and we doubt whether Munden would not now be considered a coarse and improbable actor. Nay, we will go a step further and surmise that, could we see the original cast of the *School for Scandal*, some portions of the performance would be not altogether pleasing to our present notions. We have seen the *Beggar's Opera* degraded from a pungent yet delicate satire upon the *Walpoles* and *Pulteneys* to an episode from the *Newgate Calendar*. Its humour had passed away; its songs had lost their savour; the actors mistook irony for earnest; we seemed to have fallen among thieves, and longed to call for the police, and send them packing to Bow-street. We have felt something of the kind with regard to certain well-meant revivals of old plays. Their passion seemed Titanic; the action improbable; the interest remote; the development too sudden and violent. Webster's fine tragedy of '*The Duchess of Malfy*' was skilfully adapted to the modern stage and well acted by Mr. Phelps and his company at Sadler's Wells in 1851. Yet the effect of it was more strange and solemn than agreeable. It seemed more germane to the matter to read of such griefs than to behold them embodied. It may be that in an age of material progress we are become less apprehensive of sad and stately sorrows, that we look not so passionately into the mutations of high estate and the graver aspects of life. Beyond the Shaksperian cycle indeed few of our elder dramas bear revival. Our passion and our sport are of lighter texture than were those of our forefathers. But it is a false inference that dramatic sensibility is extinct, because certain kinds of dramatic composition have ceased to affect us, as well as that the actor has degenerated because he, like ourselves, no longer responds to the wild, solemn, and preternatural scenes that enthralled our sires two centuries ago.

From the spectators and the performers we now pass to the pictorial adjuncts of the drama. With one and the same breath almost we demand and decry accuracy of costume, and splendour of decoration. They are indeed ruinous, but they are also indispensable. Like the capricious lover, we can live neither with them nor without them. We call the managers who supply them stage-upholsterers, and taunt the managers who withhold them for their lack of zeal on our behalf. Richard III., unadorned, will not draw houses; revived with historical illustrations of dress and scenery—*minima pars est ipsa puella sui*. Between the Charybdis and Scylla of such verdicts the manager should be an adroit pilot to avoid shipwrecks.

That the passion for decoration has been burdensome, if not ruinous, to managers, and injurious to actors, we admit—with a protest,



protest, however, against its being reckoned among the peculiar disadvantages of either at the present moment. This, like the complaint of the inefficiency of the elder drama, is of no recent origin. It dates as far back as the time of Dryden, some of whose plays were brought upon the stage with extreme gorgeousness; it is satirised by Pope; it was made a subject of reproach to Garrick, and accounted among the errors of John Kemble. But it is inconceivable that managers should have laboured for so long a period under a common delusion—a delusion too which militated against their own interests. Their mistake appears to us to have consisted more in the indiscriminate employment of the decorative art than in the art itself. The necessity for ornament is generally in an inverted ratio to the merits of the piece on which it is expended, even as the most creative poets stand least in need of the painter's aid. Rarely are Homer, Shakspeare, or Dante successfully illustrated by artists, although the same amount of graphic skill would have been well employed upon the pages of Rogers, Moore, or Campbell. Passion, provided only it finds competent representatives, will make itself felt; wit and humour, meeting with fitting exponents, will excite mirthful responses. So long as Mr. Charles Kemble performed Benedick and Mercutio, it mattered little whether the scene behind him were an exact representation of a street or garden in Verona or Mantua, or whether his dress were after the fashion of France or Italy. The elder Kean attired Othello in a garb that no nation could claim for its own, yet no discreet adviser would have counselled him to exchange it for the cumbrous robes of a Venetian magnifico. We thought that 'Macbeth,' as represented last year at the Princess's Theatre, was oppressed by the succession of sombre or brilliant scenes. We liked better the old-fashioned moors and woods, and the less sumptuous banquetting-rooms. We thought that, to the same extent, Sardanapalus was improved. In the one, the imagination was encumbered by the profusion of pictorial adjuncts; in the other, it was assisted by the presentation of the Tigris and the Halls of Ninus. In the former, the spectator's imagination might have been left to supply much of the material ornament; in the latter, the ornament propped and enriched the original poverty of the *libretto*. We have seen 'The Rivals' performed in a sort of chance-medley costume—a century intervening between the respective attires of Sir Anthony and Captain Absolute. We have seen the same comedy dressed with scrupulous attention to the date of the wigs and hoops; but we doubt whether, in any essential respect, that excellent play was a gainer by the increased care and expenditure of the manager.

Excess of decoration has indeed been, in all ages and nations possessing a national drama, a symptom and accompaniment of decadence in the histrionic art. The dramas of Euripides required more sumptuous attire and more complicated mechanism than the 'Antigone' or the 'Prometheus;' but the plays enacted at the Dionysiac festivals, when Demosthenes was a boy, surpassed in pomp the most gorgeous of the Euripidean repertory. The extravagance of the Alexandrian and Roman theatres is notorious: interminable processions, 'maniples of foot and turms of horse,' swept across the stage, and the managerial wardrobe would have clad the 'senate frequent and full.' The Pompeian games offended Cicero by their glare, and Cato by their profusion: but fifty years later, Bathyllus and Pylades would have refused to act in the presence of scenery so common and sordid; and in the age of Claudius and his successor, the stars of pantomime—the 'regular drama' was extinct—played Agamemnon and Achilles in panoplies of solid gold. In the reign of Philip IV. the accoutrements of the Theatre Royal at Madrid were as sumptuous as those of the Viceroy of Arragon, and that too in an age when silver and gold plate were displayed upon the sideboards even of nobles of the third order. Louis XIV. was more economical in his theatrical pleasures; yet a thousand crowns were occasionally expended by him upon a single masque or pastoral at the court-theatre at Versailles—with what advantage to the drama those inexpressibly tame and tedious productions will satisfactorily prove to any one enterprising or patient enough to read them.

It appears to us that an understanding among the managers of the metropolitan theatres themselves might lead to the saving of much forethought, anxiety, and expense to many of them individually. To such keen rivals, and to a class of men supposed to be sufficiently irritable, it may seem hazardous to suggest the plan of a dramatic congress for the purpose of adopting a classification of theatres. If such a scheme be practicable—and to be practicable it requires only a general consent of the parties interested—its advantages are obvious. Their various experiences in different regions of the metropolis would constitute the materials for a Report upon the condition of the drama. The capacity of the several theatres would afford *data* of the expenses that might be incurred with a fair chance of profit. It would be seen from the particular returns what species of drama is most popular and remunerating in any given neighbourhood. But the principal advantage of such a congress would be the suspension, and perhaps eventually the extinction, of a rash and reckless, as well as an unfair, system of mutual opposition. The play-bills will illustrate



illustrate our meaning. Constantly it happens that, when a novelty has proved successful at one theatre, it is adopted, with certain changes—*mutatis mutandis*—at another, although the piece may be peculiarly suited to the house which originally brought it out. It is perhaps impossible to establish a copyright in such cases, because the rival versions of a popular drama, including the earliest in the field, are probably derived from the same Parisian prototype. Yet even priority of adaptation, and consequently of risk, ought, in our opinion, to secure priority of profits. We will cite two recent instances of the invasion of dramatic property. 'The Corsican Brothers,' in its English dress, appeared originally at the Princess's Theatre, and was immediately successful. In the course of a month there were four or five versions of the '*Frères Corses*,' substantially the same as that performing at the Princess's Theatre. With 'Sardanapalus' the case was even worse. To have produced Byron's play with equally costly accompaniments would have been a hazardous experiment. But another course was open—to turn the whole into ridicule; and, accordingly, burlesques were speedily produced at the Strand and Adelphi Theatres. Now we contend that in such procedure there was much unfairness. The manager of the Princess's Theatre was, in fact, catering for two rival establishments, and remunerated by one only. There was no redress: the Lord Chamberlain had no jurisdiction in the matter, for neither of the burlesques were morally objectionable, and the public regarded with indifference the scramble between the rival houses.

We could allege many similar instances of ungenerous competition. The evil, for such we must consider it, would be met by a better understanding among the managers themselves, who are the principal sufferers from their own collisions. A 'concordat,' such as we have suggested, would assign to different theatres different classes of dramas; the actors would be better classified and better drilled, and the public reap the benefit of special and well-defined performances, elaborated by constant and undivided practice. That such an arrangement is neither impracticable nor visionary is a conclusion warranted by its success wherever it has been partially attempted in this country, as well as by its results where, as in France, it has been long and generally adopted. We do not presume to offer any more particular suggestions—'*quod fabrorum est tractent fabri*,'—but in further confirmation of our views, we proceed to take a rapid glance at such of our theatres as recently or for some time past have restricted themselves to special classes of dramatic entertainments. We shall have much mistaken the matter, if it can

be proved that the comparative prosperity of these houses has not mainly arisen from the judicious limits imposed upon their performances by the managers themselves.

We desire to avoid invidious distinctions; but no one unacquainted with the various metropolitan theatres will cavil at our naming the Lyceum, the Princess's, the Olympic, Sadler's Wells, and the Adelphi, as possessing the best disciplined companies and the most generally accomplished actors of the day. The Lyceum is the home of the vaudeville—we cannot add the English vaudeville, for its productions are for the most part transplanted; their exotic origin does not, however, affect the merits of their performance and *mise-en-scène*. The Olympic deals with comedies of a higher order, often of native growth, and often, latterly, judicious revivals; but its reproductions, as well as its novelties, form an intermediate class between the old five-act drama and the lighter and more evanescent trifles of the Lyceum. At the Princess's we occasionally have Shakspeare represented with all the pomp and circumstance of modern art; but its stock-pieces are of a more prosaic stamp, of an order midway between tragedy and melodrama, and deficient certainly neither in interest nor dramatic effects. The Adelphi has established a kind of vested property in dramas—genuine Adelphi dramas, in the language of its bills, which may perhaps be most correctly defined as combinations of melodrama with farce. Of Sadler's Wells, as the most popular retreat of the regular drama, we have already spoken; its audiences demand few novelties, and retain the rare faculty of sitting out five-act pieces.

It is, however, less to the particular merits than to the systematic discrimination of these performances that we direct our reader's attention. We believe that the above enumerated theatres are, from year to year, the most steadily attractive. Their spectators know what order of drama they may look for within their walls; the actors are drilled to definite functions, and enjoy the inestimable benefit of playing for many successive seasons together. The decline of the patent theatres was, we believe, principally owing to their departure from a similar wholesome regimen. The success of the most remunerative theatres at the present moment is in great measure due to their resumption of it. An experiment which, wherever it has been fairly tried, has proved uniformly salutary, needs, in our opinion, only a more general application of it in order to render our national stage as effective in all its departments as the Parisian. If the expediency of such a classification were once generally recognized by managers, the inconveniences and unfairness of the present system of the newspaper novel, or of third-rate mail



competition would cease, and the Lord Chamberlain, by granting licences for distinct classes of entertainment to the various establishments under his jurisdiction, would confirm and sustain the improved organization of theatrical entertainments. And this, or some equivalent system of arrangement, has become the more indispensable as regards the training of the performers, now that the provinces have nearly ceased to supply efficient recruits to the metropolitan stage. In nearly a third of our cities and towns the playhouse is closed; it has been converted into a chapel, a corn-market, or a lecture-room. Even where a manager is enterprising enough to risk a season, it is usually brief and precarious. At York, Bath, and Norwich, at one time the acknowledged nurseries of the London stage, and which successively sent up the Kembles, Young, Macready, Liston, Blanchard, Downton, and a host of lesser luminaries, the dramatic campaign ordinarily extended over at least six months of the year. A London star was ably seconded by provincial satellites, and the latter found no difficulty in keeping pace with the performances at Drury Lane and Covent Garden. The oldest and most exclusive of the country families regarded periodical visits to the theatre as much a portion of their social duties as attendance at Quarter Sessions or an Assize ball. To be absent from the regular bespeaks of the High Sheriff or the Members was a mark of eccentricity, or a deficiency in respect to those magnates; nor was there lacking any interest in the performance or in the respective merits of the performers. But at the present moment the High Sheriff might as well conjure spirits from the deep as expect that an overflowing audience will come at his call. A few of his tenants may gather round their landlord, but his co-mates and acquaintance are deaf as adders to his summons. Provincial acting is indeed nearly defunct. The City theatres stand in the place of the provincial houses; thither popular performers from the Strand and Haymarket flock as stars, and there are absorbed the few country celebrities which remain. But the City theatres are by no means equivalents, as schools of acting, for their extinct country predecessors. The standard of ability is of a lower kind; the species of dramas which they represent demand rather strength of lungs than professional knowledge. The regular discipline of a respectable country stage—the discipline that, directed by Tate Wilkinson at York, and Bruntton at Norwich, drilled so many serviceable recruits, both rank and file, for the metropolitan boards—is seldom practised in establishments where rant and buffoonery suffice, and where most of the pieces represented are versions of the newspaper novel, or of third-rate tales from

from third-rate circulating libraries. Scarcely an instance occurs of a City theatre or saloon supplying the stage with even a tolerable addition to its forces.

We have, however, said already that we distrust the alleged superiority of the actors of former days, and of the general decline of acting at the present moment. We believe, on the contrary, that with a better system of co-operation a single English theatre would rival, in the refinement and effectiveness of its *corps dramatique*, any single Parisian house. We have seen no French comedians in the same line better than our incomparable pair of Keeleys. The St. James's theatre has hitherto imported no performer, with the single exception of Regnier, more variously accomplished or more consummate in skill than Mr. Alfred Wigan; and Mr. Charles Matthews, even in parts more exacting than the usual repertoire of the Lyceum vaudeville, has few equals—we are inclined to add no superior. It is rarely found that actors excel alike in the lighter humours and the more earnest passions. Garrick and Henderson are perhaps almost solitary exceptions of equal and transcendent merit in Hamlet and Benedick, in Macbeth and Megrim, in Richard and Abel Drugger. John Kemble in comedy, in spite of Lamb's eulogy, was recorded in his day among 'the miseries of human life,' and the elder Kean was absolutely intolerable in the few attempts he made in the service of Thalia. The present stage, however, affords an actor who combines passion with humour in a remarkable degree, and, in the midst of the ludicrous embarrassments of comedy, presents us with fervent tragic pathos. No one can have witnessed the performances of Mr. F. Robson at the Olympic Theatre, without being struck with the narrowness of the bounds between sport and earnest. His farce has a pathetic depth, a grave earnestness, that touch, at one and the same moment, the sources of tears and laughter. He is partly Liston and partly Kean. With less than a cubit added to his stature Mr. Robson would be the first Shakspearian actor of the day. It is unfortunate both for himself and the spectators that his physical qualifications are not in better accordance with his dramatic genius. He lacks presence only to mate Kean in Shylock and Overreach, or Macready in *Virginius* and *Lear*.

Mr. Robson, we believe, at one time obtained considerable repute as an actor in burlesques. He has fortunately escaped from the evil effects of that most stupid and barren department of theatrical entertainment. In this censure we do not of course include such admirable samples of Aristophanic fun as Mr. Planché so often produces, or Mr. Tom Taylor's '*Diogenes and his Lantern*.' These are legitimate sketches of follies as they



they fly. But the burlesque—which, like an impure flesh-fly, batters upon the imagination of Shakspeare or the pathos of Euripides, which avails itself of the solemn and preternatural machinery of Macbeth, of the Rembrandt-like picture of the Moor, of the aberrations of Hamlet, of the revenge of Shylock, of scenes and thoughts the most hallowed among merely human conceptions, appears to us among the most despicable products of shallow and heartless writers, equally devoid of respect for their own age, or of reverence and gratitude towards their benefactors in past time. Nor are such productions less discreditable to their authors than symptoms of decay in dramatic art itself. To the spectators the burlesque is noxious, since it accustoms them to associate the low and the absurd with the sublime and the earnest; to the actors it is no less injurious, since it tends to impress them with distrust and disrespect for their art: nay, by exhausting it upon false and superficial wit, it dulls the edge of legitimate and natural humour. Nor is the offence at all lessened in our eyes when the parody is at the expense, not of the established reputations of the past time, but of contemporary productions of merit. The prospect that his work may become a butt for ridicule necessarily renders an author timid and diffident of himself. He holds his sword like a dancer under the apprehension that it may soon be struck from his hand by the bat of a clown. Actors, audiences, and managers are alike interested in stifling these parasitical excrescences of the drama, and in commending the fools that use them to some better vent for their pitiful ambition.

In our brief sketch we have endeavoured to survey the general aspects and conditions of the national drama at the present day. That in some respects it has declined we are obliged to admit; certain species of theatrical entertainment are in abeyance, and probably will not speedily be revived. No great school of actors has succeeded to the Kemble family, and with them the higher order of both tragedy and comedy has expired; few modern plays bear the impress of longevity, and will probably be forgotten before another year has passed away. For these causes of inferiority we have, in great measure, to thank the social character of the age itself; literature supersedes the drama on the one hand, and, on the other, we have opened different sources of instruction and amusement. Yet we do not despond: we believe that the remedy lies in a great degree with the managers themselves. We are persuaded that a more careful elaboration of the means which they possess, a politic division of their forces, an abstinence from unfair and expensive competition, a stricter discipline of their companies, and

and a more systematic regard to the ethical qualities of their productions, will do much towards winning back to them the educated and intellectual classes of the community. We would not exclude spectacle, but restrict it to theatres where the space is favourable to gorgeous display. We would not banish all importations of foreign librettos, but we would recommend the adaptation of them to our own social habits and principles. We would borrow from them, not as dependents, but as pupils willing to be instructed. We have happily not arrived at an era of such corruption or degradation as stifled the theatres of Athens and Rome. With a literature which still commands respect; with a press unshackled, yet for the most part salutarily controlled by public opinion; with much that is imaginative and lofty in the character of the age; with an almost incalculable diffusion of our masculine and harmonious language; we have still a lively and steadfast faith that the nineteenth century will even yet develope, as among its befitting exponents, an intellectual, moral, and vigorous national drama.

Our expectations may appear sanguine to the many who regard the drama as the pastime of an idle hour, and not as a vital branch of the intellectual life of an age. We do not ask such persons to affect a spurious enthusiasm for times which, being more symbolic in their character, were proportionably more dramatic also than the present. We would recommend theatrical pedantry as little as ecclesiastical or artistic. The recreations of the day, as well as its ritual and its arts, must express its contemporary feelings, and not borrow the exponents of them from past phases of society. Literature has unquestionably borne off many 'spolia opima' from the theatre; the material development of the age has given a new direction to its humours and passions;—yet, in spite of these abatements, the dramatic spirit is neither dead nor sleeping among us; it has thrown off many incubrances of stilted diction and spurious sentiment; it has embraced new categories of mirth and earnestness; it has enlisted accessories unknown to our forefathers. In the heart of the chaos which the modern stage too generally exhibits we possess living germs of a drama that skilfully trained and organised, may yet become as expressive of the material and intellectual genius of the day as the Sophoclean tragedy was of an ethnic commonwealth, or the romantic play of a Christian monarchy. In develope these materials, authors, managers, and the public have a common interest, and the first step towards so desirable a change is the recognition, by each in their own sphere and function, of the duty of re-organising the whole system of theatrical entertainments.

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 ART.



- ART. IV.—1. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*. Edited by W. Smith, LL.D. 3 vols. 8vo. London. 1844—1851.  
 2. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. By the same; 2nd edit. 1 vol. 8vo. London. 1851.  
 3. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*. By the same. Vol. I. 8vo. London. 1854.  
 4. *A Smaller Dictionary of Antiquities, Selected and Abridged from the Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities*. 2nd edit. By the same. London.  
 5. *A new Classical Dictionary of Ancient Biography, Mythology, and Geography*. By the same. 2nd edit. 1 vol. 8vo. London.  
 6. *A smaller Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Mythology and Geography; abridged from the larger work*. By the same. 2nd edit. 1 vol. post 8vo. London. 1854.  
 7. *Real-Encyclopädie der Classischen Alterthumswissenschaft; herausgegeben von August Pauly*. 7 vols. 8vo. Stuttgart. 1839—1852.

IT is an old theory, sanctioned by Plato, and since very generally received, that the art of writing and the spread of literature are injurious to the faculty of Memory. Men, it is said, when provided with artificial means of recording events, are no longer at pains to cultivate the talent with which nature endowed them for that purpose, and which consequently becomes impaired. Even in the face of such high authority we venture to maintain that this theory is a fallacy; and that literary culture, far from impairing, has been the means of strengthening and extending the powers of the memory, much in the ratio in which it has extended the range of facts and ideas to be remembered.

The chief or only argument that has been urged in favour of Plato's doctrine, is an appeal to the high degree of perfection in which the faculty was possessed by the organs of popular tradition in illiterate states of society, especially by the professional minstrels of the heroic age of Greece. To this it may be replied, that the habit of learning by heart and repeating verses, the only species of memory for which these personages were distinguished, is but a very partial and limited exercise of its powers. But, even admitting that a superiority as to this particular kind of memory in semi-barbarous ages could form, had it existed, a valid argument on the one side, against those derivable from the numerous other modes in which the faculty is called into action in civilised times—we shall make bold to deny the fact of any such superiority. The talent for oral recital may perhaps  
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have been more extensively cultivated in those days than now, owing to the greater inducement held out to its exercise; but it does not follow that a greater amount of such talent existed. We believe there are as many men in England at the present time, as there were in Greece in the time of Homer, qualified to commit to memory a poem of equal length with the *Iliad*, if they thought it worth while to make the effort; and who, moreover, from the aids which literature supplies, would master their task more easily than the illiterate bard. There can, indeed, be very little doubt that the ranks of our professional orators, preachers, and play-actors, would furnish an abundance of champions able successfully to compete for honours in this arena of mental exertion with the most accomplished poetical reciter of semi-barbarous times.

But the mere habit of learning and repeating poetry, to whatever perfection it may be carried, can elicit but a small portion of those powers of memory which are daily brought into action in the mind of every highly educated European gentleman. A man who can read with facility five or six languages, and write or speak fluently one-half of them, although he may not be able to say off by heart Johnson's Dictionary or Facciolati's Lexicon, has his mind stored with more words and sentences, not to mention facts and ideas, than the rhapsodist who could recite in their order the whole series of Cyclic poems. The Platonic doctrine rests, in fact, simply on a confusion between the ideas Memory and Repeating by rote—on the error of taking a part for the whole; and the question at issue may be more fairly stated as follows:—Literary culture is unfavourable to the committal of poetical compositions to memory, in so far as it obviates the necessity for such exertion. But it is not only not prejudicial to any one essential exercise of the faculty in the wider sense, but indispensable to its full development and cultivation.

These remarks naturally suggest themselves, as introductory to the critical notice of a series of works belonging to the class familiarly known, among other titles, by that of *Aids to the memory*. Our estimate of the value of this title, as applied to them, must depend on how far we admit or reject the theory above examined. In the former case they could be considered but as an artificial compensation for the natural decay of the faculty consequent on the general spread of literature. In the latter case they would be entitled to rank as its powerful coadjutors, not only in availing itself of its existing stores, but in the further accumulation of that boundless stock of materials which literature provides for its exercise. It is in this latter point of view that we propose to consider them.

Another



Another similar fallacy, still more immediately bearing on our present subject, is the doctrine that comprehensive works of reference are detrimental to real science, by enabling young scholars to find, ready to their hand, knowledge which they would otherwise be obliged to acquire by their own unaided researches. If this be true, the Thesaurus of Stephanus must have blocked up rather than opened the road to Greek learning. This doctrine is in literature analogous to another once popular in statistical science—that those improvements of manufacturing machinery, which enable ten men to produce as much of the necessities of life as a hundred did formerly, are injurious to national industry. The one fallacy is now generally exploded, but the other still maintains its ground in some quarters. It is certainly not easy to see how facility of access to what is already known can be an obstacle to the acquisition of knowledge. The age which produced the body of contributors to whose united efforts we are indebted for Dr. Smith's volumes, cannot be much behind in the pursuit of learning; and the generation qualified to profit by their labours is not likely to stop short in the march of improvement.

The cognate terms Dictionary and Lexicon denote, in their primary import, simply a collection of words or phrases. The now general practice requires that to this definition should be added that of alphabetical arrangement, which method, in the earlier stages of lexicography, seems to have been but partially adopted. Such works may be ranged under the two heads of Philological, and Historical or Descriptive—Dictionaries of words and Dictionaries of things.\* Those of the former class illustrate the terms or phrases collected; those of the latter, the objects or ideas which the terms denote. The two classes united form that comprehensive order of literature entitled Works of reference; such works being almost invariably embodied in alphabetic form. It is to the latter of the two that the volumes selected for consideration in this article belong; but as the limits of each are, in the elementary stages of lexicography, but imperfectly defined, it will be proper to include both in the concise general summary which we here propose to offer of the origin and early progress of this entire branch of scientific pursuit.

Lexicography, like other cognate departments of speculative literature, first began to be cultivated at a comparatively advanced period of Greek polite learning, when the art of origi-

\* For this latter definition the Germans have invented the uncouth Gallo-Grecian compounds, Real-Lexicon and Real-Encyclopädie, to which we have no equivalents in our own vocabulary.

nal composition, in all its leading varieties, had already reached its maturity, and when its productions had so multiplied as to hold out inducements to theorise on its principles, and resort to artificial means of extending its benefits or arresting its decline. Among those means one of the first was the illustration, in works specially devoted to the purpose, of choice words or expressions used by standard authors. These works were by the earlier grammarians entitled Collections of Glossæ, or Lexis (idioms or phrases), and their authors Glossographers. The substantive terms Glossary and Lexicon are of much later introduction, the former dating not prior to the Roman empire, while the latter first occurs during the Byzantine age. Another term, also in use from an early period, was Onomasticon, denoting properly a collection of names or nouns, rather than of miscellaneous phrases, but which, in familiar usage, appears to have comprehended also the other kinds of compilation above described. One principal cause of the rapid accumulation of such works in Greece may be traced to that peculiar feature which distinguishes Greek literature from all others—the special cultivation bestowed on the separate dialects of the language, in connexion for the most part with particular styles of composition. The comparative usages of these several dialects and styles opened out a proportionally wide field of critical speculation. Hence, in the more advanced stages of grammatical art, almost every dialect or style, and every popular author in each, had their special glossaries and glossographers.

The earliest lexicographic work on record is an Onomasticon of uncertain character, ascribed to the Sicilian rhetor Gorgias (440 B.C.), the first popular teacher of the arts of Attic eloquence. Among the miscellaneous compositions of his younger contemporary, Democritus of Abdera, mention also occurs of an onomasticon of Homeric, and generally of elegant, phraseology. Philetas, the lyric poet and grammarian of Cos, by some supposed a contemporary of Democritus, by others of Aristarchus (200 B.C.), compiled a similar work of a more comprehensive character; and from the Alexandrian age downwards we have a copious list of authors and books of a like description. That the alphabetic mode of arrangement was in these times by no means general, appears from the care taken in the citations of works where it was adopted, to specify that such was the case; nor from the preserved specimens, does such arrangement seem ever to have been characterized by the same order and regularity which the laws of modern criticism prescribe in similar compilations.

Although, as appears from these notices, Greek lexicography was



was in its origin of the properly philological order, it may be presumed that from the first many of its productions also combined, in greater or less degree, the descriptive or historical, with the philological character; containing, in addition to the grammatical commentary on the phrases, some explanation of the objects which they denoted. Nor was the distinction between the two kinds of work, which is now sufficiently well defined, ever clearly established among the ancients. The principal extant examples which, though of comparatively recent date, represent, there can be little doubt, the earlier practice, blend the two characters: as a general rule, however, the philological element predominates; and while the greater number of such works were essentially verbal glossaries, it seems very doubtful whether there existed in antiquity such a thing as an historical or descriptive dictionary, in the proper sense, to the exclusion of grammatical details.

The descriptive element seems, as was natural, to have been first largely introduced in lexicons of a scientific character. The works of Hippocrates formed in every age a favourite text for speculative commentary. One Glaucias, in the third century B.C., is noted for his zeal as a Hippocratean glossographer: his book is also the first described as alphabetically arranged. Baccinius of Tanagra was author about the same time of a similar compilation in three books, illustrated by citations from standard poets said to have been supplied by the great Alexandrian critic Aristarchus. It was not alphabetic, but was reduced into that order by subsequent editors. Notices occur of various other glossaries on Hippocrates, two of which—one by Galen, the other ascribed to Erotianus—have been preserved.

Among the lexicons of a wider range of historical or descriptive illustration the most remarkable were those of Tryphon (30 B.C.); of Pamphilus, about half a century later; of Diogenianus (A.D. 130); and of Julius Pollux (A.D. 180). The work of Tryphon, entitled *Onomastikē* ('Denominations'), was rich in details of literary history, in notices of the several styles of poetry, of musical instruments, &c. That of Pamphilus was a continuation of an interrupted undertaking by Zopyrion; it bore the title of *Meadow*, from the varied flowers of literature which it contained. The compilation of Diogenianus, entitled *Miscellaneous Readings*, is understood to have been a new and somewhat abridged edition of the *Meadow* of Pamphilus, with improvements and additions. These three works appear to have been alphabetically arranged. The fourth, by Julius Pollux, entitled *Onomasticon*, has alone been preserved, and may be considered as a fair sample of those under the same title by earlier lexicographers.

graphers. It is a copious digest of miscellaneous words and phrases, with definitions etymological and critical, illustrated occasionally by passages of authors. The arrangement is not alphabetical, but according to subjects, in books and chapters; the work, therefore, cannot be consulted as a dictionary, but by means of the copious indices which have been provided by later editors.

Numerous other Greek lexicons of different periods have been preserved,\* the most comprehensive of which are those of Hesychius and Suidas, and that entitled *Etymologicum Magnum*, all in alphabetic order. None of these can, in their present form, pretend to date prior to the Byzantine age, and are for the most part of a low period of later Greek scholarship. Those of Hesychius and Suidas have been conjectured, on plausible grounds, to be mutilated editions or reconstructions of works of a better age, adapted, by the requisite amount of alteration or interpolation, to the taste of the Byzantine republic of letters. Hesychius and the *Etymologicon* may be characterised as properly philological, the few historical or descriptive notices which they contain being but incidental to their main object of grammatical illustration. The lexicon of Suidas, on the other hand, combines, with a similar amount of philological matter, a large body of biographical and miscellaneous narrative. It has been considered, perhaps justly, with the modifications above mentioned, as a fair representative of the more classical compilations of Pamphilus and Diogenianus, from whom there can be no doubt many of its materials are derived.

Of works devoted to the treatment of particular branches of knowledge in lexicographic form, comparatively few notices are extant. That of Stephanus Byzantinus (A.D. 550?), of which an epitome has been preserved, may fairly rank as a geographical dictionary, limited however chiefly to the names of cities and states, and comprising a portion of philological matter.† Dictionaries of law, philosophy, or of particular sciences, seem rarely to have assumed an historical or scientific character in the proper sense, but to have been chiefly glossaries of the words

\* The oldest now extant appears to be the Homeric lexicon of Apollonius, a contemporary of Augustus. Besides the works noticed in the text, we have on the Attic dialect Moeris and Phrynichus, about A.D. 150, and Orion Thebanus about 450. The *Lexicon Platonicum* of Timæus dates about 250; the *Rhetorical Lexicon* of Harpocration probably later. Add to these Erotian and Galen, formerly mentioned, and an anonymous lexicon on Herodotus; the specimens published in the *Anecdota* of Villoison and Bekker; Philemon, Photius, Zonaras, and some others of inferior note.

† There is no reason to believe that the works entitled *Names of Nations*, by the old historian Hellanicus and the poet Callimachus, were of the lexicographic order.



and phrases more immediately connected with such subjects. Several biblical lexica of the earlier classical period of Christianity have survived. No distinct notice occurs of a biographical lexicon. Vocabularies of cookery terms are alluded to as popular at an early epoch. There are also extant several dictionaries of proverbs, one of which is a digest of the portion of the work of Diogenianus devoted to such matters.

The lexicography of Rome was, like other branches of her learned pursuit, a copy of the models supplied by the Greeks. Her few native productions possess accordingly but little claim, either on account of their celebrity or originality, to particular mention. The most important is that which bears the name of Festus '*de Verborum Significatione*,' being a digest of fragments of various authors, from one of whom its name is derived. It combines, like the compilation of Suidas, grammatical and verbal criticism with historical and antiquarian notices.

From the foregoing general view of this department of literature as cultivated by the ancients, it appears, that while in some branches of it the Greek men of letters surpassed our own in the extent and subtlety of their researches, in regard to others, it was handed over by them to ourselves in a very backward condition. The zeal which they displayed in the illustration of the different styles of writing, and of the idiom of their favourite authors, with the multiplicity and methodical character of their works on those subjects, find no parallel in modern times. Vocabularies specially devoted to the phraseology of Chaucer, Shakspeare, Milton, if any such exist, have never, like the Homeric, Platonic, or Hippocratican lexica of the Greeks, attained the rank of a distinct branch of literature. Yet it is also perhaps in this philological department of lexicography, to which the labours of the Greeks were mainly devoted, that the deficiencies of their school are chiefly observable. In their voluminous library of Glossaries and Onomastica, of rare terms, classical terms, technical terms, idiomatic terms, we have no distinct notice of such a thing as a complete dictionary, grammatical and critical, of their own language in its comprehensive integrity, such as every polite European nation now possesses. As little trace is there of a complete dictionary of any foreign tongue; a class of works now so universally in request, above all others, of the lexicographic order, that the term dictionary, when familiarly used without particular qualification, is commonly understood in that sense. The want of such works in Hellenic literature need not excite surprise, when it is remembered that the study of foreign languages formed no part of polite education in Greece. This is a peculiarity of her social culture which does not belong to

our

our present subject, but which as a fact cannot be disputed. More remarkable is it that so little vestige of any similar work should be discernible in the grammatical literature of the Romans, who from the infancy of their civilization were dependent for every step of their progress in science and letters on Greek masters and models. A knowledge of the Greek tongue was as indispensable to a Roman of the upper class as a knowledge of Latin or French to an English gentleman; yet we find no allusion in any ancient writer to such a thing as a Greco-Latin Lexicon, in the modern sense. It need not perhaps be assumed from this silence that no such work existed. It seems scarcely possible for the Roman educated classes to have obtained that general knowledge of Greek which they undoubtedly possessed without some such aid to their studies. All that need be inferred is, that books of the kind had not yet, as among ourselves, obtained the rank of a distinct order of grammatical literature. Those that existed were mere elementary vocabularies for the use of beginners, whose more advanced knowledge was derived from habitual reading, public lectures, or intercourse with native Greeks. A few anonymous specimens of this rudimentary kind of bilingual lexicon have, in fact, been preserved; adapted for the use both of Roman learners of Greek and of Greek learners of Latin; all being of a very low period, those of the latter kind dating subsequent to the separation of the Roman and Byzantine empires. Attention has already been directed to another defect of Greek lexicography, as compared with our own—the want of that complete separation between its philological and historical element which has now taken place, and which seems indispensable to the proper treatment of each.

The polite literature of modern Europe not being, like that of Greece, of indigenous origin, but founded on the ruins of a previous state of civilization, grammatical science, instead of being among the last, was one of the first branches of learned pursuit to be generally cultivated. Hence, during the darkness of the middle ages, lexicography continued to receive at least its due share of such attention as was bestowed on literature of any kind. Among the earlier authors in this department whose names have been preserved, the more remarkable were Paulus Diaconus, at the close of the eighth century; Salomo, Bishop of Constance, and Ælfric, Abbot of Abingdon, during the ninth; John of Garlandia, another Anglo-Saxon, about 1040; Papias, of Lombardy, about 1060; Ugutio of Pisa (1200); Joannes Balbus of Genoa (1280); Matthæus Silvaticus of Mantua (1297); Marchesinus of Modena (1300); and Brito of Cambray (1350). Paulus Diaconus left an *Epitome* of the Roman grammarian Festus above mentioned.



The works of the remainder, with the exception of those of Garlandia and Silvaticus, are all of the philological order; and these, except that of Ælfric, confined to the scholastic Latinity. In this department Papias, Ugutio, and Balbus were the most popular. Of the etymological method of the age we may judge from the definition by Papias of *aqua* (water), as that 'a qua juvamus'; also from the interpretation which each of the two last mentioned gives of his own name. Ugutio is obviously the latinised form of Uguccio, a familiar Tuscan corruption of Ugo (Hugh). Its owner offers us the choice of two derivations, both equally illustrative of his own character and scholarship. One is from the Greek, quasi Euge-tio, id est bona terra, non tantum presentibus sed etiam futuris; the other from the Latin, vel Ugutio, quasi Vigitiis, id est virens terra, non solum sibi sed aliis. Balbus wrote under the title of Joannes de Janua; thus further latinising the old Latin name of his native city Genoa; and translates his variety of it as signifying the gate, or port of access, to the whole northern region of Italy. These mediæval lexicographers seem to have been unscrupulous in their piracy of each other. Ugutio transcribed Papias, Joannes de Janua Ugutio; and an anonymous digest of the cream of each work, printed at Venice in 1490, seems to have in a great measure superseded the use of all three.

Ælfric was author of an Anglo-Saxon and Latin vocabulary. In him, therefore, our island may boast of the first writer of a bilingual dictionary, ancient or modern, whose name has been preserved. Garlandia left a Dictionary of Alchemy; so that here again England may claim, among modern rivals, a priority in the historical or descriptive branch of lexicography. Marchesinus and Brito compiled biblical glossaries; Silvaticus a medical dictionary. All these productions were committed to type within the first century after the invention of printing, some of them being among the earliest specimens of the art,—with the exception of that of Ugutio, whose boasted green fields and fertile soil of literature have not hitherto been thought worthy of cultivating in a printed form.

The labours of these authors seem to have been carried on quite independently of the parallel course of philological literature in the Eastern empire, where the old Hellenic lexicography, like other departments of grammar, continued, under its ancient forms, to drag on a lingering existence. That there was, however, some communication between the two schools may be surmised from the familiarity which the learned Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln in 1253, displays in several of his works with the *Lexicon* of Suidas. He has, indeed, obtained

credit for a complete Latin translation of that work, a phenomenon hardly to be expected amid the then prevailing darkness of Western Europe in regard to Greek literature, and which would still farther establish the priority of English mediæval scholarship in the promotion of classical philology. No such translation, however, is known to exist; and his labours probably were limited to occasional extracts, embodied in the Latin tongue in the text of his own works.\*

After the invention of printing, the progress of this branch of literature equalled or surpassed that of any other. The earliest Greco-Latin dictionary, by Craston of Piacenza, appeared in 1478; and Greek lexicography reached its perfection during the ensuing century under the auspices of Phavorinus, Constantinus, and Henricus Stephanus. The Latin Lexicon of Robertus Stephanus (1543) was little less complete. That of Calepinus, first published in 1506, was augmented to a polyglott of eleven languages in 1598; its Latin element forms the basis of the now standard lexicon of Facciolati; and in the course of the sixteenth century, bilingual dictionaries of the Latin and principal modern languages became common in the several seats of European learning.

Historical and scientific dictionaries also multiplied during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The materials for those of the properly historical class were still chiefly borrowed from ancient history, sacred and profane. This was a consequence, partly of the still remaining ascendancy of scholastic learning, and of the Latin tongue as a vehicle of instruction; partly of the comparatively limited range of popular subjects which modern history as yet afforded. The first work of this class that attained celebrity—compiled by a member of the same family to which modern learning is under so many obligations—the Historical, Geographical, and Poetical Dictionary of Carolus Stephanus, appeared in 1556, many years prior to the Greek lexicon of his brother Henry. It subsequently became the basis of an enlarged and improved compilation by Nicolas Loyd, published at Oxford in 1670. In 1698 was completed the still more learned and comprehensive Lexicon Universale of Hofmann; and in 1678 appeared the Thesaurus Eruditionis Scholasticæ of Faber, which combined the two characters of copious and critical Latin dictionary and of lexicon of classical antiquities, and was afterwards enlarged and improved by Gesner. Of the singular value of both these compilations, even at this day, every scholar who has been in the habit of consulting them must be sensible.

\* See his Life by Dr. Pegge (p. 291), who, strange to say, repudiates the notion of his having done more, as dishonourable rather than creditable to his literary character!



About this time began to appear, in the native languages of their authors, a class of historical dictionaries of a more speculative, often controversial character, among which those by Moreri, Bayle, and Chambers are the most remarkable. During the eighteenth century the plan of the *Universal Dictionary* was enlarged into that of the *Encyclopædia*, intended, as its name denotes, to embrace the substance at least of all knowledge and learning; and under this title the press has since continued to send forth works of vast dimensions, keeping pace in new editions or under new designations with the rapid progress of scientific research.

Dictionaries devoted to special branches of history or science—geographical, medical, oriental, biographical, &c.—multiplied proportionally. Among these the *Classical dictionary*, with which we have here more immediately to deal, was one of the last to reach maturity. This may be in some measure explained by the circumstance already noticed, that historical dictionaries generally had hitherto partaken so much of the nature of classical dictionaries, that an entirely separate compilation of the latter kind was the less likely to suggest itself. Schools and colleges may, no doubt, have been furnished with elementary books of this nature; but prior to the eighteenth century we find no notice of any such qualified to rank as a standard. The Germans seem to have been the first to impart a distinct character to classical lexicography. Benjamin Hederich, the author of the well-known *Greek lexicon*, which maintained until far on in the present century its popularity as a class book in our own schools, also produced about the year 1720 a *Real-Schullexicon*, somewhat on the same plan as the subsequent publication of Lemprière. This work was superseded in 1800 by that of K. Ph. Funke, whose volumes, enlarged and improved by subsequent editors, have in their turn been supplanted by the great work of Professor Pauly, the title of which stands at the head of this article.\*

No similar work of a standard character appeared in England prior to the *Classical Dictionary* of Lemprière. This work, published in 1788, speedily attained the rank and popularity which it has continued to enjoy until lately, it may be said, without a rival. It is a compilation of unquestionable merit, combining in a high degree correctness and conciseness with amplitude and elegance. Substantial testimony was also borne to

\* Several great undertakings of this kind have at different times been set on foot in France and Italy, but have either remained imperfect, or, where completed, have proved more remarkable for bulk than for method or critical spirit. Such are the *Dictionnaire* of Sabathier (1766-1814), extending in thirty-seven volumes, down to the letter R, the remainder of the alphabet being hurried over in a single one; and the Milanese *Dizionario d'ogni Mitologia*, 1809-1826.

its value in the foreign schools, by repeated translations into the French and other European languages. It has, however, recently been found to be no longer adapted to the present enlarged field of classical criticism. Something new and more ample was wanted; and the want has been supplied by the dictionaries of Dr. Smith. We are not disposed in this, or any similar case, to risk our credit by an unqualified expression of opinion, that these volumes have so exclusively occupied the ground as to leave no arena whatever to future competitors. Such pretensions to permanent popularity have probably been advanced in their day in favour of other works which have long since been laid on the shelf. But with the best wishes for the future progress of critical archæology, we see little reason to apprehend a similar fate for Dr. Smith's volumes. In their present integrity, they are about as complete and critical a digest of the whole range of subjects which they treat, as could reasonably be expected from even the strong phalanx of able contributors which the learned and accomplished editor has united for his undertaking. Room, no doubt, has been left for change or improvement; but the basis of the compilation appears sufficiently broad and firm to admit of its easily incorporating the results of future researches in the subsequent editions which will in the progress of years be required. One of the bulkiest of the five published volumes has already been re-edited in an amended form. As what has here been said of the compilation of Dr. Smith applies in a great measure to that of Professor Pauly, it will, in order to a just critical estimate of either, be desirable to consider the two conjointly. Having therefore paid a well-merited tribute to their general value, we shall point out in a few special remarks on their respective plan and contents, what have occurred to us as the more prominent merits or defects of detail in each, whether in itself, or in comparison with its foreign rival.

The German scholars were here again the first in the field. The opening volume of the *Realencyclopädie* appeared early in 1839, the last in 1852, the publication having been carried steadily on in bimestral parts during the intermediate period. The editor was assisted by fifty-seven contributors. His scheme embraces the whole range of classical archæology,—mythology, historical biography, geography, and miscellaneous antiquities, in one alphabetical series of seven 8vo. volumes, averaging 1560 pages each.

A different plan has been adopted by Dr. Smith. He divides his entire subject into three separate dictionaries, each with its own alphabetical arrangement: I. Antiquities, one volume, published



lished in 1842 (2nd edition, 1851); II. Biography and Mythology, three volumes, published in 1851; and III. Geography. The four volumes of antiquities and biography average each 1250 pages, in 2500 columns. The third subdivision is not yet finished, but judging from the parts already issued, it will form at least two volumes of the same average size; so that the whole set, when complete, will consist of six volumes, and about 7500 pages. Each of these pages contains, in double columns, about four times as much matter as an octavo page of ordinary size and type, and about twice as much as the page of the *Realencyclopædie*; so that Dr. Smith's six volumes will contain about a fourth more text than the seven of the German compilation. The excess in the former consists mainly in the extension given to the articles on Ecclesiastical and later Byzantine biography.

Upon the whole, we prefer the plan of combining all parts of the subject in one alphabetical series. This preference we rest more on practical than technical grounds, having been in the habit of using both works, and having been led to a similar opinion from past experience in parallel cases. The only apparent advantage of a division is, that in regard to such voluminous publications, it might be an object with a student to possess one without the other; or, when in possession of the whole, to carry one part with him for special use when absent from his own library. This advantage, however, in incidental cases, can hardly compensate for the trouble to which he is habitually subjected in shifting from one part to the other, amid the uncertainty which frequently arises as to the particular division in which certain articles are to be found; whether, for instance, heads of subjects appertaining to that subordinate branch of geography entitled topography,—sites of temples or sanctuaries, public buildings, places of assembly, &c.,—are to be sought in the volumes of geography or in that of antiquities. The separation also involves at times an inconvenient disconnexion of parts of the same subject, as, for example, in those chapters of mythology where the history of regions is so closely linked with those of races and of eponymous heroes. It must certainly be more convenient for the student who wishes to master the knotty questions comprised under such titles as *Hellas*, *Hellen*, *Helli*, *Hellenes*; *Pelasgus*, *Pelasgi*, *Pelasgia*; *Rome*, *Romulus*, *Remus*, to find those sets of names in contiguous pages, than to hunt for them in separate works. In several instances the same subject will be found, owing to this double arrangement, to be treated more than once. The *Areopagus* and *Pnyx* of Athens are described both in the *Antiquities* and the *Geography*; the *Pandects* and *Novellæ* are discussed at full length in the article

*Senilis*

*Justinian*

Justinian of the Biography, and again in similar detail under their own names in the Dictionary of Antiquities. It may however be remarked, that in a first edition of a compilation of so great extent, and so much needed, there was this benefit attending a division of subjects, that integral portions of the whole might be, and were in the case of Dr. Smith's volumes, much earlier completed and brought into general use, than the entire body of the text, on the other plan, could possibly have been. The Dictionary of Biography, for example, was finished between the years 1844 and 1851; the Dictionary of Antiquities in a shorter space; and the Dictionary of Geography will apparently be concluded—within the fourth year from its commencement—in 1856. The German work, on the other hand, was thirteen years in reaching maturity.\*

Dr. Smith's compilations have the advantage of being provided with copious chronological and genealogical tables, also with tables of coins, weights, and measures. These are always valuable appendages to such works, as conveying, in a compact and connected form, much important information, which the student could not extract for himself from the general body of the text but at the expense of much unnecessary time and trouble.

A defect more or less common to both works is the undue proportion of space allotted to particular articles. It is one not perhaps easily avoided in the case of a number of contributors, each specially skilled in some favourite department, and, when warmed with his subject, naturally disposed to ride his hobby with an ardour which the leader of the cavalcade may at times find it difficult or impolitic to restrain. In rare instances, if any, ought the articles of such a work to assume the form or bulk of elaborate treatises. While containing copious references to such more ample authorities, their own dimensions ought not

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\* Mr. Charles Knight, in a recently published little book, 'The Old Printer and Modern Press,' which abounds in curious facts upon the history of books, states that 'no work that occupied more than four or five years in its completion was ever successful in this country.' The sale of the 'Penny Cyclopædia,' of which the publication occupied eleven years, or two years less than the Realencyclopædie, gradually fell from 50,000 to 20,000—more than half the original subscribers preferring to sacrifice their previous outlay to waiting any longer for the final articles of the alphabet, which were as frequently required for reference as the earlier portion. Mr. Knight, in an improved edition of the work, which he is issuing under the title of the 'English Cyclopædia,' has consequently found it expedient to break up the former single series into four divisions, for the purpose of bringing each to a speedier completion. It must therefore in fairness be added that we probably owe the elaborate fullness of Dr. Smith's Dictionaries to the present plan of publication, and that if the various compartments had been fused together the completeness and utility of the work must have been in great degree sacrificed to the commercial necessity for economising space and time.



to exceed the bounds of well-digested summaries. If this be true as a general rule, undue prolixity ought above all to be avoided in subjects of the least general interest or practical utility. We cannot approve, therefore, of the large amount of space bestowed in the Dictionary of Antiquities on the technicalities of Roman law, a subject which, while coming strictly within the terms of the above definition, occupies some 216 pages of that volume, being more than a sixth part of its text, and equal to about 850 pages of ordinary octavo type. With the quality of the articles we have no fault to find. Like the great body of others in the compilation, they do ample justice, both as regards learning and acuteness, to the subjects treated. We object merely to the quantity. The whole, if brought together in an integral form, would equal or exceed in mass many of the best modern compendia of the *Corpus juris*, and that, too, without reckoning numerous other copious disquisitions on the higher constitutional elements of Roman legislation. This superabundance of juridical matter reflects, like some other features of Dr. Smith's compilation, those Germanic influences which, partly for good, partly for evil, have lately held sway in our own schools of classical criticism. It has been justified accordingly in the Editor's preface, on the ground of the little attention hitherto paid to the literature of Roman law by our native scholars, as compared with the zealous labours, in the same field, of the Savignys, Mackeldeys, Hugos, and other eminent German jurists. We claim to be impartial in this matter, having in early youth studied this branch of science at the foot of some of these same Gamaliels, and being, therefore, the more able and willing to appreciate their talents and services. But we do not admit that the practice of the Germans here necessarily supplies a precedent for ourselves. The whole law of Germany, its usage and phraseology, are founded even to servility on the Roman codes. Every country *Amtmann* or village *Schultheiss* requires to have some smattering of the *Pandects* or *Institutes*. A course of law study being also required in that country to qualify for offices where no such obligation exists with us, the number of law students in the German seats of learning greatly outnumbers those in our own. In England, on the other hand, the technical jurisprudence of Rome is to all practical purposes a dead letter; while the element of it, which in theory may yet be recognised in some of our courts, is comparatively trifling. But even were the circumstances of the two countries identical in this respect, we should still question the propriety of incorporating an entire course of civil law in a Dictionary of Classical Antiquities. All that can there properly be

be required is a concise exposition of such broader features of the legislation either of Rome, Athens, or other ancient states, as more immediately tends to illustrate their political constitution, or the peculiarities of their national character and manners. Beyond this, law is a science of technical detail, like medicine or chemistry; and the small body of Dr. Smith's readers who are likely to derive benefit from so voluminous a series of articles on its abstruser mysteries, have no better right to be so-favoured at the expense of the remainder, than the equally small number of classically-minded medical students who may form part of that residue, have to be indulged with an equally minute digest of the doctrines and practice of Hippocrates and Galen.

This accumulation of what we must consider extraneous matter in the Dictionary of Antiquities is the more to be regretted, that the space so occupied might have been better bestowed on other subjects, the neglect, or entire omission of which forms a defect of that volume. The important head of Education, in the sense that is of literary training, is overlooked. We have been unable to find any article devoted to it under the various titles of Education, School, Pædagogue, &c. Similar is the neglect of Trade, Commerce, Manufactures, and, in our own department, of Literary History. We looked in vain for some little assistance in 'getting up' our present article, from the titles Lexicon, Glossarium, Onomasticon, which, in the Real-encyclopædie, are treated at some detail. There is also generally in this dictionary a want of notices of the several styles or orders of literature in prose and verse. We miss, for example, the titles *Epica poesis*, *Cyclus epicus*, *Homeridæ*, *Elegia*, *Iambographi*, *Bucolica*, *Epinicia*, *Scolia*, *Anthologia*, *Epigramma*, *Grammatica*, *Geographia*, *Sophistæ*, &c., all, or most of which are found in the Real-encyclopædie. We also miss the following subjects: *Pyramides*, *Inscriptiones*, *Hieroglyphics*, *Gemma*, *Mythologia*, *Pauperes*, *Polizey*, *Zeitung*, *Postwesen*; and some others, which, as treated in more or less detail in Pauly, form valuable elements of completeness in a Thesaurus of classical archæology.

In illustration of our previous remark on the tendency of contributors to run riot on their favourite topics, we may mention, that the article Education, omitted in the Dictionary of Antiquities, is swelled out in the Real-encyclopædie to a most elaborate treatise, comprising a great many details altogether foreign to the purpose, by a writer who has published a similarly learned and prolix separate volume on the same subject.

The disproportions of length in the biographical articles of both works are also remarkable. To Cicero 76 columns are allotted

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by Dr. Smith; to Aristotle 66; while Demosthenes is allowed but 22, Plato 26, and Alexander the Great is dispatched with 7. The excess in the cases of Cicero and Aristotle is mainly owing to the detailed analysis of the works of each, which occupies 52 columns in the former, and 34 in the latter article. This is an honour restricted, for what reason does not appear, to these and a few other favoured authors; while for Plato, Demosthenes, and many more quite as well entitled to the same mark of distinction, a brief general notice is deemed sufficient. Plutarch's *Moralia* are disposed of in a few lines, although we are told that they are less read and appreciated than they deserve; a better reason, we apprehend, for affording the student some nearer insight into their character, than any that exists for so elaborate a discussion of the works of Cicero, on which commentary and criticism have been profusely accumulated during the last nineteen centuries. A comparison of the two compilations also offers some curious contrasts favourable on the whole to that of Dr. Smith. While in the *Biographical Dictionary* the lives of human personages are, as a general rule, treated at greater length, and much more effectively than in the *Encyclopædie*, the unreasonable excess of space devoted in the latter work to the mythological articles is very remarkable, and reflects broadly the German taste for the abstruser and less profitable mysteries of archæological science. The space bestowed on Jupiter and Juno conjointly in the *Encyclopædie*, as compared with the *Dictionary of Biography*, is about 100 to 14; that on Minerva, under her various titles, as 28 to 6; that on Neptune, as 20 to 5; on Mercury, as 30 to 5; on Isis, as 24 to 2. The article *Mythology* in Pauly occupies 33 pages; in Smith there is no such article; that on *Magic* in Pauly—43 pages—is also wanting in Smith; that on the *Mysteria* obtains from Pauly 25 pages, from Smith but 2. The bestowal of separate articles on the Egyptian divinities by the former is commendable, although they are occasionally diffuse. Their omission by the latter, or their overbrevity in the rare instances of their insertion, with the comparative neglect generally of Egyptian archæology in the Dictionaries, are deficiencies on the opposite side; especially when we remember the great extent and interest imparted to that subject since the days of Lemprière, and the older school of classical lexicographers.\*

Some of the longer articles here referred to, with others that

\* It is, we believe, the intention of Dr. Smith to publish a *Dictionary of Oriental Antiquities*, on a plan similar to that of his classical compilation; for which work the more extended treatment of Egyptian subjects has no doubt been reserved. We are however inclined to question whether those subjects do not more properly belong to classical than Oriental antiquity.

might be mentioned in both works, not only transgress the just bounds of 'well-digested summaries with copious references,' the definition above given of what such articles ought to be, but in some instances are swelled out into what would form 'elaborate treatises' in publications specially devoted to the particular subject. The article on Cicero, equal to about 150 pages of ordinary octavo print, would supply a voluminous chapter on that author in a general history of Roman literature. It may be remarked that this contribution, the longest in the Dictionary of Biography, with those on Agriculture, Astronomy, and Military Affairs (*Exercitus*, &c.), the three longest in the Dictionary of Antiquities, are all by the same hand. We gladly do justice to their intrinsic merits. They are not only copious, but comprehensive, practical, and critical; and had they been intended for an encyclopædia of classical antiquity on the same scale as the *Thesauri* of Grævius and Gronovius, there would have been no ground of complaint. But in a work originally intended for a more or less portable, or at least movable dictionary, it is hardly fair to appropriate so much space even to interesting subjects, at the cost of others with as good, perhaps better, claim to reasonable amplitude of treatment. The life and conquests of Alexander, for example, certainly offer materials of vast extent and interest—historical, political, moral, and geographical; such as an enthusiast on this particular topic might easily have worked up into an article rivalling in dimensions even that on Cicero. But the Macedonian conqueror, and founder of empires and dynasties, obtains from the pen of the editor, in less than a tenth part of the space allotted to the Roman orator, a remarkably well written, but meagre, summary of the bare matters of fact of his life, to the exclusion of all collateral points of interest, of historical commentary, and of those popular illustrations or anecdotes which give zest to such a biography. We cannot help suspecting, from this and some other examples, that Dr. Smith has been led at times to curtail his own valuable contributions, by a good-humoured indulgence to the spirit of amplification on the part of his coadjutors.

These remarks on the excess of bulk in certain contributions do not obviously apply to cases where a single article may happen to comprise a number of subordinate subjects, each affording scope for a separate contribution if treated in an independent form. As an example, we may refer to the editor's excellent article on Athens, in the Geographical volume. This treatise, embracing a number of deeply interesting points of Greek antiquity and topography, may be pronounced, both in regard to matter and style, to careful research and critical accuracy, a model



model of the class of composition to which it belongs. The Geographical articles are indeed throughout remarkable for their comprehensive character and critical treatment, and are as a general rule much superior in all respects to the corresponding portions of the German work, many of which are meagre and unsatisfactory. We have already alluded to Dr. Smith's own merits in regard to Greece. We should not be doing justice to the able writer of the principal articles on Italy and Sicily, were we not to bestow on them also our special tribute of commendation.

Each compiler has been called upon to furnish his solution of that old and puzzling problem—the adjustment of the limits of ancient and modern in the annals of the civilised world. While in every such work some line of distinction between these two great heads of subject is necessary, experience has shown any very rigid line to be incompatible with the proper treatment of either. The epoch of transition which most readily offers itself is the overthrow of the Western empire, A.D. 476, and the substitution of a purely barbarous dynasty for the degenerate successors of the Cæsars and Antonines. It is certain, however, that the age subsequent to that catastrophe supplies numerous names, such as Justinian, Belisarius, Narses, Theodoric, Procopius, Cassiodorus,—possessing, as well on historical as literary grounds, equal claims to a place in a classical dictionary with many of the more distinguished of the previous period. Professor Pauly accordingly, in adopting the era of Odoacer as the conventional boundary-line, expresses his intention of frequently transgressing it, in favour of persons or events that connect themselves in some special manner with epochs of more genuine Greek and Latin antiquity. These exceptions consist chiefly, as may be supposed, of names eminent in Byzantine or lower Greek literature.

Dr. Smith has aimed at a greater precision of adjustment, by the adoption of two limits, one for the Latin or Western, the other for the Greek or Eastern subdivision of the ancient world. For the former he also selects the epoch of 476. The latter he extends to the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453. In favour of this method he urges, first, 'the near connexion between the early history of the Byzantine empire, and the history of literature and science;' and, secondly, that 'down to the conquest by the Turks there was an uninterrupted series of Greek authors, the omission of whose lives, and of an account of their writings, would be a serious deficiency in any work which aspired to give a complete view of Greek literature.' Against the accumulation of heterogeneous matter, which this extension  
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of plan might be calculated to involve, he professes to guard, by treating the lives of such later Greek personages with comparative brevity.

The first of the above two reasons seems hardly sufficient. We scarcely perceive any so close connexion between the history of the Byzantine empire and the general history of science, as to render necessary in a classical dictionary detailed articles on the whole series of Greek emperors, churchmen, and military commanders, who flourished—if such a term can properly apply to them—during the thousand years between the conquest of Rome by Odoacer and the conquest of Constantinople by Mohammed. The appearance of such names as Baldwin Count of Hainault, or Henry Count of Flanders, is also somewhat startling, in the columns of such a work, by the side of Theseus and Pericles, of Romulus and Julius Cæsar. The argument as to the uninterrupted succession of authors in the ancient Greek tongue is more specious. Yet even here, in the spirit of the proposed indulgence, the Byzantine articles might better perhaps have been restricted to authors or works savouring somewhat of classical as well as Byzantine Hellenism. The legion of polemical theologians, ranged under the heads of Georgius, Joannes, Simeon, Christophorus, &c., whose claims to Greek authorship are preferred for the most part solely through the medium of scholastic barbarism or monkish superstition, hardly, we think, deserve the attention bestowed on them. Nor can we admit that the editor has strictly fulfilled his engagement as to brevity in his Byzantine articles, when we find that the space devoted to the life and writings of Gregorius Palamas, a monk of Mount Athos in 1350, whose chief claim to celebrity is his controversy with another monk, Barlam of Calabria, relative to the merits or demerits of the Omphalopsychi, or ‘men with souls in their navels,’ is about three times greater than that accorded to the prince of Greek critics Aristarchus; when we find that Michael the Stammerer occupies considerably more room than either Miltiades or Marcus Agricola, Heraclius more than either Nicias or Vespasian, and Leo Philosophus twice as much as Aristides. This accumulation of ecclesiastical matter—for all the Byzantine articles partake more or less of that character—is observable also in the Roman department of antiquity; the lives and doctrines of the leading saints and theologians of the early Latin church being given within the prescribed limit of A.D. 476, in equal or still greater detail. The same class of persons, while not entirely overlooked, have in the Real-encyclopædie been treated with great succinctness, and solely or chiefly in their historical or literary capacity, to the exclusion of doctrinal or polemical details. The excess of bulk accordingly, in the English



English over the German compilation, consists mainly in the preponderance of Christian and Byzantine materials in the former. This peculiarity seems to reflect the pervading ecclesiastical tone and tendency of the English mind, which, while shedding an influence over our literature at large, displays itself most prominently in the close connexion between the classical and the clerical in our higher stages of academical tuition. With every respect, or even reverence, for this national characteristic, we are yet inclined to think it would have been better to restrict the contents of a classical dictionary to properly classical subjects, to the exclusion consequently, in as far as reasonable, of such as so palpably belong to mediæval and ecclesiastical rather than classical antiquity. It is, however, very possible that Dr. Smith, in pursuing an opposite course, may have adapted his compilation to the taste and wants of a majority of his readers. The articles themselves exhibit in any case great research and ability, and supply a copious fund of information on the subjects to which they are devoted.

There results, also, a certain incongruity between the different parts of the compilation, from the circumstance that this Byzantine element is limited entirely to the biographical volumes, and finds no place whatever in the Dictionary of Antiquities. When, for example, some notable Greek or Roman is characterised as Prytaneus or Trierarch, or Prætor or Ædile, the student, desirous to know the precise powers or functions of these offices, refers to the Dictionary of Antiquities, and obtains at once the required information. Not so, however, with respect to the titles of Spatharius, Protospatharius, Protovestiarus, Magnus Drungarius, and many others of equally mysterious import, which signalize the names of eminent modern Greeks of various classes. In his attempts to discover the meaning of these, the reader is left entirely to his own resources.

Although the Dictionary of Biography may err, as in the examples above noticed, on the side of excess, it is not certainly open to any serious charge on the ground of deficiency—a far more serious fault in a book of reference. The omissions which we have detected in our habitual use of it—for we do not pretend to have analysed it for the special purpose of such detection—are indeed, with the exception of certain Egyptian subjects already mentioned, so few or so unimportant as to be scarcely deserving of notice.\*

\* The following may serve as a specimen:—Artemon (periphereus), celebrated by Anacreon; Atergatis, the Syrian goddess; Calyce, Rhadina, Leontychus, hero and heroines of Stesichorus; Chersias, the Boeotian poet; Epicrates, the friend and preserver of Themistocles; Eurygania, the mother of Œdipus's children in the old Homeric tradition; Menecrates of Elea; Mys (see Herodot. viii.); Orpheus of

In regard to style, the English compilation has greatly the advantage. It is not indeed very easy to impart the graces of polite composition to works of this kind, comprising in their very nature so much of technical detail. But this ought to be a reason for softening down rather than exaggerating such unattractive features. And the style of the Dictionaries, especially of Dr. Smith's own articles, is, generally speaking, agreeable and correct. With regard to the *Encyclopædie*, it may be remarked that scholastic dryness and pedantry of manner have at all times been pervading defects of the German school of classical or philological inquiry. They are defects which claim indulgence, as originating partly in other more meritorious qualities of the same school—the extent, depth, and subtlety of its research—the all-engrossing interest of the matter creating a proportional indifference to the manner. Among other modes in which they manifest themselves, is the profuse accumulation in the body of the text of parenthetical references, with their attendant train of numerals, abbreviations, initials, and other cabalistic signs and symbols, interspersed with scraps of quotation in Greek, Latin, or the vulgar tongues, &c. &c., all which form throughout grievous obstacles to continuous perusal. The text indeed is at times so lacerated and parcelled out by these masses of extraneous matter, as to render it difficult or impossible to collect and comprehend its meaning at all.\* This confused method has also been sanctioned, though to a less extent, in Dr. Smith's volumes, especially in the *Geography*. While its inconveniences are obvious, we cannot see what advantage it possesses over that generally followed in English composition, of placing the citations of all kinds, like the notes, in the lower margin of the page; the cyphers of reference being alone admitted into the body of the text.

The references themselves are generally copious and correct. But we regret to observe that the old practice of citing the text of later writers in preference to the original authorities from whom they borrowed, and whom they themselves quote, still maintains its ground. Much of the superiority of the present to the past school of classical research is undoubtedly due to the zealous efforts of its leaders to trace back, in as far as possible, every historical statement or mythical legend to its fountain-head, instead of adopting it as muddled through a number of secondary

of Croto; Zopyrus of Heraclea; Phrynichus, the Attic lexicographer; Procles of Phlius (Xenoph. Hellen.); Tisias, founder of the Sicilian school of rhetoric.

\* For an example we would refer to the first page of the article *Theodoricus*, the meaning of which we are not quite sure that our utmost efforts have yet enabled us to master.



channels into the page of some recent compiler. But if those who undertake to instruct others are themselves bound to borrow from the best authorities, they cannot be doing justice to their pupils in referring them to those alone of a secondary or inferior character. When, for example, Plutarch or Pausanias, in treating matters of early history or mythology, appeal to annalists contemporaneous with the events, or to standard primæval organs of tradition, were the modern compiler, in his account of the same matters, to quote simply Plutarch or Pausanias, rather, we shall suppose, than Hecataeus or Hellanicus, Hesiod or Stesichorus, he would be misleading instead of instructing his readers. Yet this is the course frequently adopted in the Dictionaries. We select an example from the chapter of mythology which forms the main connecting link between Greek and Roman antiquity. The earliest authorities relative to the legendary migrations of Æneas after the fall of Troy are Arctinus—the oldest recorded epic poet next to Homer and Hesiod, Stesichorus (600 B.C.), Hellanicus—an historian prior to Herodotus, and Sophocles. Several of these are quoted in much detail by Dionysius of Halicarnassus and other later compilers. But in the article Æneas of the Biography, while Dionysius, Strabo, Ælian, and a host of other recent authorities, of which Lycophron is the oldest, are referred to, neither Arctinus, Stesichorus, Sophocles, nor Hellanicus are mentioned. The less experienced student would be entitled from this to infer, that the adventures of Æneas had not been treated by any ancient author between the age of Homer and that of Ptolemy Philadelphus.

In regard to the mode of writing ancient proper names, we are sorry to find that Dr. Smith has not altogether escaped the influence of the spirit of innovation which has lately infected our native school of classical criticism,—a spirit not only at variance with the common sense and good taste for which that school has generally been distinguished, but tending to impart to it a tone of pedantry and affectation from which we would gladly see it relieved. We have long been desirous of offering a few remarks on this subject, and there can be no more appropriate place for them than an article on classical lexicography.

As every language reflects in its integrity the genius of the nation by whom it is spoken, the idiomatic peculiarities or anomalies for which it is remarkable will usually be found to reflect corresponding peculiarities in the character or destinies of that nation,—its early historical vicissitudes, the ethnographical changes or influences to which it may have been subjected, and its progress in literary culture. They constitute therefore what by the critical philologist ought to be esteemed among the most valuable

able properties of a language, both as essential ingredients of its idiomatic expression, and as materials for the study of history. And where, in a fully cultivated dialect, these peculiarities have been stereotyped by centuries of classical usage, their abolition, or subjection to any arbitrary type of etymological propriety, must be regarded in the light not of improvement but of mutilation or corruption.

There is no modern language to which these remarks more pointedly apply than to our own. The classical English, as transmitted through some twelve centuries of formation and culture, is, especially in regard to pronunciation and orthography, the properties here more immediately in question, essentially a language of anomalies. And there is perhaps no case in which the causes of this characteristic are more clearly traceable to the vicissitudes of national history, or possess consequently in themselves a greater ethic as well as literary value. Even had we no competent historical evidence that, while the basis of our race and language is Teutonic, our advances in social and literary culture have taken place under French and Latin rather than German influences, those eccentricities of pronunciation and orthography would suffice to prove it. But historical and philological data here illustrate each other, and at the same time the sources of that contempt for rule and theory by which, in the combination of its heterogeneous elements, our present rich and expressive Babel is proverbially distinguished.

These considerations, the intrinsic justice of which will hardly be disputed, may enable us to appreciate the value of the systematic efforts which have lately been made to corrupt the transmitted forms of our classical dialect, and cramp its genial license of idiomatic usage by theoretical rules to which it has from its first origin shown an unequivocal repugnance.

The portion of the new doctrine which affects the more familiar parts of speech does not here immediately concern us. It reached, a few years ago, in that notable periodical entitled, we think, '*Fonetik Nuz*,' a climax or paroxysm of extravagance which resulted in spontaneous dissolution; and we are well pleased to allow its manes to rest in peace. We have here merely to deal with the case of foreign, and especially Greek and Roman proper names.

Under the influence of historical or social causes of the nature above adverted to, the English tongue, in the earlier stages of its formation, adopted, as a general practice—for its anomalies like its rules have their exceptions—the orthography of modern foreign names from the French, that of ancient foreign names from the Latin. Accordingly, as a general rule, we write the  
names



names of French localities, however we may pronounce them, in the genuine French form: Paris, Bordeaux, Marseilles, &c. For the corresponding Italian names, on the other hand, we prefer the French to the Italian form; Milan, Turin, Naples, to Milano, Torino, Napoli.

In like manner with respect to ancient proper names; while, as a general rule, we write those of the Romans—where vernacular corruption does not interfere—as the Romans themselves wrote them: Romulus, Remus, Augustus, Tiberius; we, or at least our ancestors who formed our classical dialect, preferred the Roman forms of Greek proper names to the genuine Greek forms: Achilles, Ulysses, Alcibiades, Plato, to Achilleus, Odysseus, Alkibiades, Platon. Equally inveterate is our preference of the Latin to the genuine Greek names of Greek divinities: of Jupiter, Juno, Minerva, to Zeus, Hera, Athena.

All this, say modern orthographical purists, is very irregular and incorrect, and ought to be amended; and practical effect has been given to their doctrine in several recent and otherwise valuable works on classical subjects. We do not dispute the premises. English classical usage is, no doubt, if tried by the test of verbal etymology, a mass of anomalies. But we reject the inference, on the ground already stated, that such anomalies, sanctioned by centuries of usage, and successive generations of standard authors, in a tongue which has long since reached, and we believe passed, its Augustan age of excellence, are quite as indispensable to its purity and integrity as its more normal features; and that the proposed scheme of reform, if consistently enforced in practice, would produce a fatal and even ludicrous dislocation of our whole framework of classical idiom. For if such innovation be once admitted, where is it to stop? If the Greek scholar is entitled to write and pronounce Makedonia and Kaisareia, for Macedonia and Cæsarea, may not the Italian scholar claim an equal title to substitute Venezia and Firenze for Venice and Florence? Has not the German scholar a similar claim to insist on discarding such barbarisms as Saxony, Prussia, and Austria, and restoring Sachsen, Preussen, Oesterreich, to their legitimate orthographical rights; the Latin scholar to insist on restoring Livius, Horatius, Plinius, in place of our vernacular monstrosities, Livy, Horace, Pliny? The most subtle casuistry can draw no distinction of principle between the respective cases. Once let the wedge in, and who can limit the havoc that must result?

But one of the most curious features of this orthographical heresy are the irregularities of which its disciples are guilty in

their zeal for the enforcement of regularity. No one among them has hitherto, we believe, ventured consistently to follow out the system in practice. Each has a favourite set of words or forms to which he limits its application; but we look in vain for any rational ground or principle of such restriction.\* Dr. Smith is comparatively moderate in his innovations, but the inconsistency of his method is perhaps the more apparent on that account. For our customary forms Phidias, Alexandria, Pisander, Areopagus, he substitutes Pheidias, Alexandreia, Peisander, Areiopagus; and so throughout, as a general rule, where the Greek diphthong *ei* is similarly represented by the Latin vowels *i*, or *e*. If we ask why, the answer we presume can only be, that it is proper to write Greek names in the genuine Greek manner. But if this reason be worth anything, the two latter names should, *à fortiori*, be written Peisandros, Areiopagos; the terminal syllable usually supplying in such words a more certain indication of their Hellenic origin than any medial syllable; and its preservation being here, on the principles of the new school of orthography, the more necessary, to distinguish the words from others, such as Oidipous, Melampous, Hegesinous, which the Latins, and, strange to say, also Dr. Smith, equally write Œdipus, Melampus, &c. For the rule enforced by him, in regard to the *ei*, is as systematically violated in regard to the *ou*—where the corruption *u*, in deference to the same Latin usage elsewhere condemned, is retained—as in Melampus, Œdipus, above cited, and in Plutarch, Thrasybulus, Musæus, &c., for Ploutarchos, Thrasyboulos, Mousaios. Yet here also our vernacular orthography furnishes, equally as in the case of Phidias, Pisander, &c., the diphthong which was wanting to the Romans. With like inconsistency the Latin *e* and *æ* are preferred to the genuine Greek forms *ai* and *oi*; as in Æolus, Alcæus, for Aiolos, Alkaios; Phœnix, Phœbus, for Phoinix, Phoibos, &c.

But these arbitrary rules are liable to no less arbitrary ex-

\* Mr. Grote, whom we have been sorry to see placing himself at the head of this crusade against English style, suggests that the Latin or vulgar form should be retained in the names more familiar to English ears, while the genuine Hellenic form should be restored in the rest. This distinction seems in itself to convey a stigma on the whole practice. If the alteration, it naturally occurs, be an improvement, why withhold the benefit of that improvement in the cases where it would be most generally appreciated? If it be not an improvement, why introduce it at all? But who, it may also be asked, is to decide what are and what are not familiar Greek names? Mr. Grote, acting on his own suggestion, writes Nikias and Alkibiades; but retains the Roman consonant in Thucydides. Now, we can answer for ourselves, that through the usual medium of an English version of Plutarch, we had, in early boyhood, formed an intimate acquaintance with both Nicias and Alcibiades, many years before we have the least recollection of having heard of such a person as Thucydides.



ceptions. Aineias, Areius, Heracleius, Leiandros, the Heilots, and the Seirens are left in their modern state of mutilation —Æneas, Arius, Heraclius, Leander, Helots, Sirens. The Persian emperor is Dareius in the article on himself, but is changed into Darius in that on his conqueror Alexander. The heroines Medeia and Hecabe remain Greek in their own places in the Dictionary, but become Latin in the Medea and Hecuba of Euripides. In like manner the hero called Heracles when sane, becomes Hercules when dramatised as mad. For Aias, which according to Dr. Smith's general rule should be Æas, the monstrous Anglo-Latin corruption Ajax is retained. Our old friends Draco, Phormio, Philo, are elongated into Dracon, Phormion, Philon; while Plato, Apollo, Leo, preserve their abbreviated extremities. Moira, with her attended Moiragetes, maintains her native Greek diphthong, which is refused to the grammarian Mœris and the orator Mœrocles. In the Dictionary of Antiquities these anomalies are still more frequent, the Greek and Latin forms being alternately adopted or rejected in the same word and the same page, sometimes in contiguous lines. The rule as to the diphthong *ei* is violated in numerous instances, as in Daricus, Hypogeum, Mausoleum, Orichalchus, &c. In words compounded of Cheir, we have Cheirotonia and Cheironomia; elsewhere Chirographum, Chiridota, Chirurgia. The word written Cheiramaxium in one place becomes Chiramaxium in another. The *ou* diphthong, commonly latinised into *u*, is retained in Boule, Probouli, and some other forms. Gerusia alternates with Gerousia. The Boule of the Dictionary of Antiquities is relatinised into Bule in the Dictionary of Geography. On the other hand, the Odeum and Museum of the former work are rebellenised into Odeium and Museium in the latter; while the Lyceum of the geography is described in the biography as the Lyceum in the neighbourhood of the temple of Apollo Lykeios. The *ai* diphthong, transformed into *æ* in Hetæra, is retained in Hetairesis, also in Amphiaræia, Aliaia, &c. The *oi*, latinised in Metœci and Periœci, remains Greek in Apoi-kia, Synoikia, Chalcioikia (elsewhere Chalcioicia). Hodopæi and Hieropoi occur in contiguous lines. The Greek ypsilon is rendered in numerous words by the Latin *u*; as in Catalusis, Argurion, Thusia, Adunati, Orugma, Kerux, &c. These latter forms are so contrary to all precedent or analogy, that we at first supposed them to be oversights or misprints, until led to infer from their recurrence in different texts that they are part of the same capricious system.

All this anomaly and inconsistency is but a natural result of

an author venturing to set at nought the standard usage of his mother tongue, in deference to the speculative theories of fanciful innovators. Even could the system here so inconsistently applied be consistently carried into effect, the result might be very good Greek archæology, but it would still be abominably bad English style. An English writer is, we maintain, as much bound to write on Greek subjects in classical English, as if he wrote on English, French, or German subjects. For behoof of those who insist on rigidly Hellenic forms in treating of Hellenic history, the best plan will be to write in Greek at once. But it is not fair in authors who treat those matters in English, to shock their reader's taste by such solecisms as *Alexandreia*, or *Pheidias*, or *Lykeios*, or many others still more offensive that might be quoted from the page of popular advocates of these pedantic theories.

The departure from established usage in the Dictionaries has not certainly been carried to an extent which can diminish their practical value. In justice to Dr. Smith it must also be remembered, that much may here be owing in the first instance to the caprice of individual contributors, which, as formerly remarked, the editor may not have always found it easy to restrain. Still, however, the responsibility for purity and propriety of orthographical detail rests ultimately on his correcting pen, which we doubt not will be more freely adhibited in future editions. We are the less inclined to believe that he can deliberately have sanctioned such irregularities, from being able, with as much sincerity as satisfaction, to state that we scarcely know an author in his own peculiar department of literature, whose language generally is more simple and elegant, or more free from pedantry and affectation.

Dr. Smith's plan of allotting separate articles to the Greek and Latin varieties of the same deity, and treating the one variety under the Greek, the other under the Latin title, has no doubt much plausibility. In every scientific work on mythology, such a distinction requires to be drawn; and in a lexicon this mode of drawing it may seem natural and reasonable. Upon the whole, however, we prefer the old method of treating each deity in a single article under the more familiar Latin title. We prefer it, first because it is the old method, sanctioned by our native usage; and secondly, because we consider it the best method. Where, as in all, or most of the cases here in question, the characters and attributes of certain varieties of the same mythological personage have been so long connected, or it may be confounded, as to form branches of a single subject, the  
nicer



nicer investigation, either of the connexion or the confusion, is, we apprehend, more likely to be obstructed than promoted by their being treated as entirely different subjects.

We must also demur to Dr. Smith's appeal, in vindication of his own method, to the 'universal practice of the Germans.' Even were the appeal justified by the fact, we should dispute the inference, on the ground of there being here no sufficient analogy between our own case and that of our learned neighbours. The polite language of Germany first began to be settled less than a century ago. It is still but half settled, and, in regard to the feature here in question, is not likely to be ever entirely settled. The difficulty which the Germans experience in harmonising non-Germanic terms, ancient or modern, proper or common, with their own vernacular idiom, combined with their fondness for introducing them, is a prominent defect of their style of composition. Their habitual practice of writing Greek and Latin names in particular, in every conceivable variety of modes, Greek, Latin, French, and German, is still a chaos of crudities, savouring partly of barbarism partly of pedantry, such as we fervently hope will never be drawn into precedent by our native scholars.

In so far, however, as the authority of the German school may be worth anything, it is unfavourable to the new method. The latest verdict of that tribunal upon the question at issue is that of Professor Pauly's work, embodied in seven dense volumes, and attested by a list of fifty-seven contributors, comprising the well known names of Grotendorf, Creuzer, Nitzsch, Bähr, &c. In the preface the editor expresses his intention of adopting, as the title of each article, the Latin form of the name or word where such exists, the corresponding Greek term being, where necessary, parenthetically subjoined. And this intention has, upon the whole, been consistently fulfilled.

We may perhaps appear to have done but scanty justice to the very able Editor of the Dictionaries, as well as to the many excellent scholars who have assisted him in his arduous task, by dwelling so much on the few defects—so little on the many and obvious merits—of these volumes. But we have done so advisedly. The British classical public has long ago delivered a unanimous verdict in their favour, and it would be superfluous to commend in detail a series of works to which every scholar pays the tribute of habitual and constant reference. We have considered it therefore the more useful course to endeavour, in our capacity of censor rather than of eulogist, to contribute our mite to the improvement or ultimate perfection of what are already, and will long probably remain, the best and completest works

works on the important body of subjects which they embrace. In regard to the general plan of the English and German compilations, we have been led, on the whole, to give a preference to the latter. In learning and research the two may be considered as nearly on a par. But on a fair estimate of the actual substance of each, and of the intrinsic merits of the individual articles, whether as to completeness, sound practical commentary, or perspicuity and facility of style, we do not hesitate to award the palm of superiority to the Dictionaries. It is gratifying to reflect,—dependent as we have been of late years for so much of what is new and valuable in the educational branches of classical literature, on translations from foreign, chiefly German publications,—that in this instance our native scholars have produced a work which may more than challenge comparison in learning, extent, and critical method, with the best that have hitherto appeared in any other country.

Of the smaller compilations of Dr. Smith, the titles of which have also been placed at the head of this article, it will suffice to remark, that they are concise but comprehensive summaries, for the benefit of less advanced scholars, of the varied learning and critical research embodied in his more voluminous publications. They have thus the advantage, not very common in elementary books, of comprising the results of investigations more extended than could ever have been undertaken for such a subsidiary purpose, and of furnishing every tyro, in the clear and masculine language of the editor, with the latest conclusions of the best scholars at home and abroad.

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ART. V.—1. *Télégraphe Electrique: Documents relatifs à l'Établissement de Lignes Télégraphiques en Belgique.* Bruxelles, 1850.

2. *Electric Science: its History, Phenomena, and Application.* By F. C. Bakewell. London, 1853.

3. *The Electric Telegraph: its History and Progress.* By Edward Highton, C.E. London, 1852.

4. *Guide to the Electric Telegraph.* By Charles Maybury. 1850.

5. *Historical Sketch of the Electric Telegraph, including its Rise and Progress, in the United States.* By Alexander Jones. New York, 1852.

6. *The Electro-Magnetic Telegraph; with an Historical Account of its Rise, Progress, and present Condition.* By Lawrence Turnbull, M.D. Philadelphia, 1853.

7. *Traité*



7. *Traité de Télégraphie Electrique.* Par M. l'Abbé Moigno. 2nd edit. Paris, 1852.
8. *New York Industrial Exhibition.* Special Report of Mr. Joseph Whitworth. Presented to Parliament by command of Her Majesty. London, 1854.

IF a needle turning upon a pivot were fixed at York, and if, by a wire placed in close proximity to it, the needle could be made to move to the right or to the left through the agency of a power applied at the other end of the wire in London, and if it were agreed that one motion of the needle to the left should signify *a*, and one to the right *b*, &c.,\* we should have just such a contrivance as the common needle telegraph now in use.

Such is the dry statement of a problem the more detailed working of which we are about to explain to the reader.

When a schoolboy places a sixpence and a piece of zinc in juxtaposition with each other in his mouth, he immediately perceives a singular taste, which as instantly disappears upon their separation; it is an experiment which most of us have performed, wondered at for a moment, and then forgotten. How little did we ever dream that in so doing we were calling into life one of the most subtle, active, and universal agents in nature—a spirit like Ariel to carry our thoughts with the speed of thought to the uttermost ends of the earth—a workman more delicate of hand than the Florentine Cellini, and more resistless in force than the Titans of old!

If now we place a piece of zinc, Z, and of copper, C, in a glass of acidulated water, instead of in the saliva of the mouth, and if

\* Code of Letter Signals in the needle telegraph commonly used in England. Two needles are generally employed, in order to facilitate the transmission of signals:—

Let *a* denote a deflection of the left-hand needle to the left, *a'* to the right; *b* a deflection of the right-hand needle to the left, *b'* to the right. Then here is the code:—

+	<i>a</i>	H	<i>b</i>	R	<i>a b</i>
A	<i>a a</i>	I	<i>b b</i>	S	<i>a a b b</i>
B	<i>a a a</i>	K	<i>b b b</i>	T	<i>a a a b b b</i>
C	<i>a' a</i>	L	<i>b' b</i>	U	<i>a' a b' b</i>
D	<i>a a'</i>	M	<i>b b'</i>	W	<i>a' b'</i>
E	<i>a'</i>	N	<i>b'</i>	X	<i>a' a' b' b'</i>
F	<i>a' a'</i>	O	<i>b' b'</i>	Y	<i>a' a' a' b' b' b'</i>
G	<i>a' a' a'</i>	P	<i>b' b' b'</i>		

Thus F is indicated by two successive deflections of the left-hand needle to the right; R by a simultaneous deflection of both needles to the left. Where both needles are required they may be and are deflected simultaneously; where one only is used its deflections must of necessity be successive. The sign + means 'I do not understand; the letter E I do understand.'

we

we then attach to the piece of zinc the wire D K, and to the piece of copper the wire B A, and approximate the two ends, A K, until they touch, we shall have the philosophic expression of the contrivance of the boy—a decomposition of the water will immediately take place, and either as its cause or consequence—for scientific men have not yet decided which—an electric current will



flow in a continued stream from the zinc plate or positive pole to the copper plate or negative pole of the battery, and this action, provided the plates are kept clean and the acidulated water is supplied, will go on as long as the materials last. If this little instrument, which generates a very small amount of electric force,



is combined with others, as in figure 2,—the zinc plate of one cell being connected with the copper plate of the next by a piece of wire—we shall have the celebrated battery invented by Volta in 1800, in which the accumulated current, after flowing from one cell into

another, by means of the little hoops of wire, is transmitted along the large hoop, D K A B, from the one pole of the battery to the other. Within the narrow chambers of some such battery (which may be made of any number of cells, according to the force required), the motive power is generated by which the electric telegraph is worked, and the large hoop by which its two poles are connected represents the telegraphic wire we see running beside the railroad, whose office is to form a conducting pipe for the conveyance of the electricity. Different substances possess this property in various degrees; some, such as dry paper, not permitting the passage of the electric fluid to any sensible extent; and others transmitting it with great freedom. Of all known bodies, the metals are the most perfect conductors, and copper is in this respect superior to iron, but the latter, being cheaper and more durable, is commonly employed in the construction of the telegraph. Thus we have two of the indispensable requisites—a constant force and a channel which conveys it from place to place.

There was yet a third thing necessary—some contrivance by which the force could be made instrumental in forming signs or characters at its destined goal; and this final condition was supplied by Oersted's discovery in 1819 that a *magnetic* needle is deflected by the passage of a circuit of electricity through a wire parallel and in close neighbourhood



hood to it. The following cut will explain our meaning:—

When the fluid passes from the U pole of the battery in the direction of B A K L M Z, and enters V, its opposite pole, 'a current,' as it is called, is completed, running from left to right,

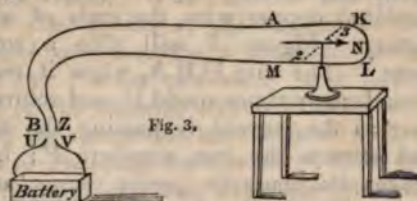


Fig. 3.

the effect of which upon the needle, N, is to deflect it in the direction of the dotted line (seen in perspective) 2, 3, or to an angle of 90 degrees, with the wire, if the current is sufficiently strong. If, however, the current be reversed, and the electric fluid made to traverse the wire from right to left in the direction of the letters V Z M L K A B to the U end of the battery, the needle will immediately reverse its position and place itself at 90 degrees in the opposite direction. This then is the whole principle and mystery of the needle telegraph, the one still most extensively used in this country. The break that occurs between the letters B U and Z V is intended to show the method in which the needle is made to work. Whilst the wires are thus apart the 'circuit is broken,' or the fluid no longer passes along the wire, but immediately they are approximated the circulation again commences, and the needle 'answers the helm.' By the opening and closing, then, of this small space, which is effected by a lever, the needle is made to oscillate at will.

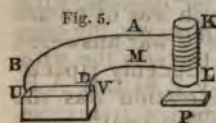
The mere fact, however, of an electric current passing along a wire in proximity to a magnetic needle was not sufficient to enable any person to construct a telegraph. Would the needle be deflected by a wire, the battery of which was placed at any considerable distance? it would not; therefore, for all telegraphic purposes Oersted's discovery was worthless. Schweigger, however, soon after ascertained that by passing a great number of times round the needle a wire, thoroughly insulated by a 'serving' of silk thread, as shown in figure 4, the deflecting powers of the current were *multiplied*, and the sensibility of the instrument marvellously increased.



Fig. 4.

In the same year that Oersted made his brilliant discovery M. Arago detected another law, which furnished a second method by which the electric current could be made to tell its tale. He announced to the French Academy the fact so pregnant in its consequences, that the fluid possessed the power of imparting magnetism to steel or iron; and shortly afterwards our own countryman, Sturgeon, invented the first electro-magnet, by

by coiling around a piece of soft iron a great length of fine insulated copper wire, the ends of which communicated with a battery. Figure 5 will give a rough idea of this instrument. The wire U B A, when it reaches the cylinder K L, is wound many times round it, and returns to the battery at V. As long as the current is passing, the soft iron becomes a magnet and attracts the iron armature P; but directly the circuit is broken its magnetic power ceases, and P, by the action of a spring, flies back. It will at once be seen that by alternately making and breaking the circuit, which can be done as fast as



the hand can move the handle of a lever, an up and down movement of the armature P will take place, and this is the principle of action in Wheatstone's electro-magnetic dial instrument and Morse's recording telegraph, so extensively used in America. The general *modus operandi* of the latter, which is a contrivance of singular merit and efficiency, can be easily understood. At the station at which the message is received, a poised iron lever has a metal pin on its upper surface at one end, and an armature on its under surface at the other end. When the magnet, which is placed beneath the armature, attracts and draws it down, the pin at the opposite extremity is raised, and presses against a strip of paper, which is moved between the metal point, and a roller supported above it, at a uniform rate by means of clock-work. The pin or style will then make a simple dot, or trace lines of variable length upon the paper, according as the electric current is kept up only for a single instant, or for a longer period. 'The impressions on the paper,' says Dr. Turnbull, 'resemble the raised printing for the blind.' Out of these dots and lines an alphabet is formed similar to that which we have given in a subsequent page, when speaking of the chemical telegraph of Bain. The instrument of Morse requires only a single wire to work it, and is, says the Abbé Moigno, 'an excellent telegraph, very simple, very efficacious, and very rapid in its transmissions. A practised clerk can indent on an average seventeen words a minute, which is consequently as many as a skilful writer could transcribe with a pen. It is, moreover, a great advantage to have fixed on a band of paper the messages which the needle telegraphs merely figure in the air.'

Since the year 1821 the principles of action of two of the working telegraphs of the present day were known to scientific men, and the question naturally arises, how was it that it still took so many years to make the telegraph a working fact? The answer is that the combination of circumstances necessary to bring



bring it to perfection had not arisen. What interest had practical men in carrying out the dreams of philosophers? No one imagined that it would ever become a necessary social engine, or that it would pay 'seven per cent.' to a public Company. The patronage of the Government could alone have been looked to by any of the proposers of the new method of telegraphy, and the sort of encouragement received from this quarter may be judged from the fact that when Mr. Ronalds attempted to draw the attention of some of the officials to the working of his instrument, they did not even deign to pay it a visit, but returned for answer 'That the telegraph was of no use in time of peace, and that the semaphore in time of war answered all the required purposes.' The occasion that suddenly ripened the invention and brought it into practical operation was the introduction of railroads. Were it not for the universal spread of this new means of locomotion, the telegraph might still have remained in that limbo from which so many discoveries have never emerged. The vast advantage to a railroad of a method of conveying signals instantaneously throughout its entire length was at once seen, and the continuity of its property, together with the protection afforded by its servants, presented facilities for its introduction and maintenance which had never before occurred.

A problem of great scientific interest as well as of practical importance in connexion with the electric telegraph had still to be solved. The experiments of Dr. Watson on Shooter's Hill, in the middle of the last century, proved, it is true, that *a shock of electricity* passed along a four mile circuit without any appreciable loss of time, but nothing was definitely known about the speed at which it really travelled. This difficult question was answered by Professor Wheatstone. His beautiful investigations on the subject were made by means of a very rapidly revolving mirror, upon which the passage of the electric fluid, at different and distant parts of a severed wire, was indicated by sparks, which appeared as lines of light on the rapidly turning glass, on the same principle that a bit of lighted charcoal whirled round and round in the air appears as a circle of fire. By this instrument, which we cannot render intelligible to the general reader, but for a fuller account of which we refer him to the Philosophical Transactions of 1834, he made it evident to the eye that one spark or leap of the electric fluid did occur before the other—thus proving that its transit along the wire *was* a matter of time. The manner in which he took measure of this infinitesimal period was extremely ingenious. By attaching a hollow piece of metal—a metallic humming-top as it were—to the spindle of his revolving mirror, and at the same time directing a current of air against it, he was enabled

enabled to test its speed, by the pitch of the sound produced: this once known, the measuring of the time that elapsed between the different sparks was easy. Thus he forced the lightning to tell how fast it was going. His admirably contrived apparatus has since proved of considerable use to philosophers in measuring very minute parts of time, and scientific men can now with the greatest ease ascertain the period a flash of light takes to traverse a distance of 50 feet—and light be it remembered travels at the speed of 200,000 miles a second!

By this experiment it appeared that electricity travels through a copper-wire with at least the velocity of light through the celestial space, though the recent experiments made for Professor Bache, Director of the National Survey of America, have proved that the velocity of the current through suspended iron wires is not more than 15,400 miles per second. The philosophic proof of the marvellous rate at which the electric current moved doubtless turned many minds once more in the direction of the long sought for telegraph, and it is not surprising that the eminent elucidator of the fact was among the number. A short time after this he insulated 4 miles of wire in the vaults of King's College, on which he performed most of his subsequent experiments.\* Thus in the silence of these gloomy vaults as early as 1836, the lightning that was to flash with intelligence round the world—the nervous system so shortly destined to spread itself through two hemispheres, string together continents and islands, and carry human thought under the wide-spreading seas, was slowly being trained to the service of man by one of the most

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\* It may interest our readers to reproduce the first published notice we can find of Professor Wheatstone's Experiments relating to the Electric Telegraph, and which appeared anterior to his connexion with Mr. Cooke:—"During the month of June last year (1836), in a course of lectures delivered at King's College, London, Professor Wheatstone repeated his experiments on the velocity of electricity which were published in the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1834, but with an insulated circuit of copper wire, the length of which was now increased to nearly four miles; the thickness of the wire was 1-16th of an inch. When machine-electricity was employed, an electrometer placed on any point of the circuit diverged, and, wherever the continuity of the circuit was broken, bright sparks were visible. With a voltaic battery, or with a magneto-electric machine, water was decomposed, the needle of a galvanometer was deflected, &c., in the middle of the circuit. But, which has a more direct reference to the subject of our esteemed correspondent's communication from Munich, Professor Wheatstone gave a sketch of the means by which he proposes to convert his apparatus into an electrical telegraph, which, by the aid of a few finger stops, will instantaneously, and distinctly, convey communications between the most distant points. These experiments are, we understand, still in progress, and the apparatus, as it is at present constructed, is capable of conveying thirty simple signals, which, combined in various manners, will be fully sufficient for the purposes of telegraphic communication."—*From the Magazine of Popular Science* (Parker, Strand) for March 1, 1837.

distinguished



distinguished of the many philosophers who have contributed to the development of this branch of science.

Following up his experiment, Professor Wheatstone worked out the arrangements of his telegraph, and having associated himself in 1837 with Mr. Cooke, a practical mechanic, who had previously devoted much time to the same subject, a patent was taken out in the June of that year in their joint names. Their telegraph had five wires and five needles; the latter being worked upon the face of a lozenge-shaped dial inscribed with the letters of the alphabet, any one of which could be indicated by the convergence of two of the needles. This very ingenious instrument could be manipulated by any person who knew how to read, and did not labour under the disadvantage of working by a code which required time to be understood. Immediately upon the taking out of the patent, the directors of the North Western Railway sanctioned the laying down of wires between the Euston Square and Camden Town stations, and towards the end of July the telegraph was ready to work.

Late in the evening of the 25th of that month, in a dingy little room near the booking-office at Euston Square, by the light of a flaring dip-candle, which only illuminated the surrounding darkness, sat the inventor, with a beating pulse and a heart full of hope. In an equally small room at the Camden Town station, where the wires terminated, sat Mr. Cooke, his co-patentee, and among others, two witnesses well known to fame, Mr. Charles Fox and Mr. Stephenson. These gentlemen listened to the first word spelt by that trembling tongue of steel which will only cease to discourse with the extinction of man himself. Mr. Cooke in his turn touched the keys and returned the answer. 'Never did I feel such a tumultuous sensation before,' said the Professor, 'as when all alone in the still room I heard the needles click, and as I spelled the words I felt all the magnitude of the invention, now proved to be practical beyond cavil or dispute.' The telegraph thenceforward, as far as its mechanism was concerned, went on without a check, and the modifications of this instrument which is still in use have been made for the purpose of rendering it more economical in its construction and working, two wires at present being employed, and in some cases only one.

A frequently renewed and still unsettled controversy has arisen upon the point of who is to be considered the first contriver of the telegraph in the form which made it available for popular use. Two names alone are now put forward to dispute the claim with Wheatstone—Steinheil of Munich and Morse of New York. From a communication of M. Arago to the French Academy of Sciences, it appears that the telegraph of Steinheil

was

was in operation, for a distance of seven miles, on the 19th of July, 1837, the same month in which Wheatstone put his own contrivance to the test upon the North Western Railway. But besides that the patent of Wheatstone was taken out in the preceding June, and was itself founded upon previous and thoroughly successful experiments, there is another material circumstance which gives him a claim to priority over Steinheil, viz., that the latter published no description of his instrument until August, 1838, that he altered and improved it in the interval, and that the only accounts we have of his contrivance describe its amended and not its original form. It was, however, a very meritorious performance, and, in addition to its other excellences, Steinheil was the first who employed the earth to complete the circuit—a most important fact, which we shall explain hereafter. Still his telegraph was inferior in its mechanical arrangements to that of Wheatstone, and the inventor himself soon abandoned it in favour of a modification of the instrument of Morse.

Morse dates his claim to *the invention of the telegraph* from the year 1832, when the first idea of such an instrument, he tells us, struck him as he was returning home from Havre in the ship Sully. A fellow passenger, Professor Jackson, it appears, was in the habit of amusing himself in common with the rest of the passengers, with some accounts of the wonders of electricity; and when Morse later developed his contrivance, Professor Jackson not only claimed it as a plagiarism from his own conversation, but added that Morse was so ignorant as to ask, upon hearing the term Electro-Magnetism, 'In what does that differ from ordinary Magnetism?' The telegraph was at best, on the part of both of them, a crude idea; and it was not till September, 1837, that Professor Morse was able to exhibit his still imperfect machinery in action. He ultimately succeeded, as we have before stated, in producing a telegraph of first-rate excellence; and, out of 15,000 miles of wire which had been erected by 1852 in the United States, 12,124 were worked on the system of Morse.

The question of priority is, in our opinion, after all of no sort of importance, at least as regards the rival claims of Wheatstone and Steinheil. When the progress of science has prepared the way for a great discovery, two geniuses will occasionally take the step together, because each is able to take the step of a giant. It was thus that the Calculus was found out by both Newton and Leibnitz, and the place of Neptune in the heavens by both Adams and Leverrier. It was the same with the telegraph. The investigations of Wheatstone and Steinheil were entirely independent



independent of each other, and it cannot lessen the merit of either that there was a second man in Europe who was equal to the task.

There are some who dispute Professor Wheatstone's claim, by urging that, inasmuch as all the main features of the telegraph existed before he took out his patent, there was nothing left to invent. It is true that much had been done, but it is equally certain that there was much to do. When Wheatstone first directed his attention to electricity as a means of communicating thoughts to a distance, the telegraph was a useless and inoperative machine. He and his partner established as a working, paying fact what had hitherto been little better than a philosophic toy. To those who now disparage the Professor's labours we think it sufficient to reply by the admirable saying of the French *savant*, M. Biot—'Nothing is so easy as the discovery of yesterday; nothing so difficult as the discovery of to-day.'

Let us return, however, to the history of the telegraph in England, from which we have digressed. After the successful working of the mile-and-a-quarter line, the Directors of the London and Birmingham Railway proposed to lay it down to the latter town if the Birmingham and Liverpool directors would continue it on their line; but they objected, and the telegraph received notice to quit the ground it already occupied. Of course its sudden disappearance would have branded it as a failure in most men's minds, and, in all probability, the telegraph would have been put back many years, had not Mr. Brunel, to his honour, in 1839, determined to adopt it on the Great Western line. It was accordingly carried at first as far as West Drayton, 13 miles, and afterwards to Slough, a distance of 18 miles. The wires were not at this early date suspended upon posts, but insulated and encased in an iron tube, which was placed beneath the ground.

The telegraph hitherto had been strictly confined to railway business, and in furtherance of this object Brunel proposed to continue it to Bristol as soon as the line was opened. Here, again, the folly and blindness of railway proprietors threw obstacles in the way, which led, however, to an unlooked-for application of its powers to public purposes. At a general meeting of the proprietors of the Great Western Railway in Bristol, a Mr. Hayward, of Manchester, got up and denounced the invention as a 'newfangled scheme,' and managed to pass a resolution repudiating the agreement entered into with the patentees. Thus within a few years we find the telegraph rejected by two of the most powerful railway companies, the persons above all others who ought to have welcomed it with acclamation.

To

To keep the wires on the ground, Mr. Cooke proposed to maintain it at his own expense, and was permitted by the directors to do so on condition of sending their railway signals free of charge, and of extending the line to Slough. In return he was allowed to transmit the messages of the public. Here commences the first popular use of the telegraph in England or in any other country. The tariff was one shilling per message. The effect of this low charge was to develop a class of business which seems beneath the notice of the powerful company now in possession of most of the telegraphic lines in the kingdom. The transactions of the retail dealers are considered too petty, perhaps, for their attention; but there can be no doubt that the comfort of the public would be vastly increased, and also the revenues of the company, if they would only condescend to take a lesson by the commercial experience of this shilling tariff, the working of which we will illustrate by transcribing from the telegraph book at Paddington a few specimens of the messages sent.

‘Commercial News. 1844, Nov. 1, Slough, 4.10 P.M.—“Send a messenger to Mr. Harris, poulterer, Duke-street, Manchester-square, and order him to send twelve more chickens to Mr. Finch, High-street, Windsor, by the 5.0 P.M. down train, without fail.” Answer: Paddington, 5.5 P.M.—“The chickens are sent by the 5.0 P.M. train.”

‘Slough, 7.35 P.M.—“A Mr. Thomas B., a first-class passenger, 6.30 P.M. train, left a blue cloak with a velvet collar in first-class booking-office. Send it by mail train if found.”

‘Paddington, 7.45 P.M.—“There are two such cloaks in the booking-office: has Mr. B.’s any mark on any part of it?” Slough, 7.47 P.M.—“Mr. B.’s has the mark  $\times$  under the collar, inside.”

‘Paddington, 7.55 P.M.—“Cloak found, and will be sent on as requested.”

‘Slough, Nov. 11, 1844, 4.3 P.M.—“Send a messenger to Mr. Harris, Duke-street, Manchester-square, and request him to send 6 lbs. of white bait and 4 lbs. of sausages, by the 5.30 train, to Mr. Finch, of Windsor; they must be sent by 5.30 down train, or not at all.”

‘Paddington, 5.27 P.M.—“Messenger returned with articles, which will be sent by 5.30 train, as requested.”

The chances are that, under the high tariff of the present company, the last message would not have been sent at all, and a very good dinner would perhaps have been spoiled in consequence; or, if it had been sent, the 50 words of which it consists, counting numerals as letters, would have come to 8s. 6d. ! The first application of the telegraph to police purposes also took place about this time on the Great Western Railway, and, as it was the first intimation thieves got of the electric constable being



being on duty, it is full of interest. The following extracts are from the telegraph book kept at the Paddington station :—

‘ Eton Montem day, August 28, 1844.—The Commissioners of Police have issued orders that several officers of the detective force shall be stationed at Paddington to watch the movements of suspicious persons, going by the down-train, and give notice by the electric telegraph to the Slough station of the number of such suspected persons, and dress, their names if known, also the carriages in which they are.’

Now come the messages following one after the other, and influencing the fate of the marked individuals with all the celerity, certainty, and calmness of the Nemesis of the Greek drama :—

‘ Paddington, 10.20 A.M.—“ Mail train just started. It contains three thieves, named Sparrow, Burrell, and Spurgeon, in the first compartment of the fourth first-class carriage.”

‘ Slough, 10.48 A.M.—“ Mail train arrived. *The officers have cautioned the three thieves.*”

‘ Paddington, 10.50 A.M.—“ Special train just left. It contained two thieves : one named Oliver Martin, who is dressed in black, *crape on his hat* ; the other named Fiddler Dick, in black trowsers and light blouse. Both in the third compartment of the first second-class carriage.”

‘ Slough, 11.16 A.M.—“ Special train arrived. Officers have taken the two thieves into custody, a lady having lost her bag, containing a purse with two sovereigns and some silver in it ; one of the sovereigns was sworn to by the lady as having been her property. It was found in Fiddler Dick’s watch-fob.”

It appears that, on the arrival of the train, a policeman opened the door of the ‘third compartment of the first second-class carriage,’ and asked the passengers if they had missed anything ? A search in pockets and bags accordingly ensued, until one lady called out that her purse was gone. ‘ Fiddler Dick, you are wanted,’ was the immediate demand of the police-officer, beckoning to the culprit, who came out of the carriage thunderstruck at the discovery, and gave himself up, together with the booty, with the air of a completely beaten man. The effect of the capture so cleverly brought about is thus spoken of in the telegraph book :—

‘ Slough, 11.51 A.M.—“ Several of the suspected persons who came by the various down-trains are lurking about Slough, uttering bitter invectives against the telegraph. Not one of those cautioned has ventured to proceed to the Montem.”

Ever after this the lightfingered gentry avoided the railway and the *too* intelligent companion that ran beside it, and betook themselves again to the road—a retrograde step, to which on all great public occasions they continue to adhere.

The telegraph even up to this period was very little known to the great mass of the public, and might have continued for some time longer in obscurity but for its remarkable agency in causing the arrest of the quaker Tawell. This event, which took place on the afternoon of Friday, January 3rd, 1845, placed it before the world as the prominent instrument in a terrible drama, and at once drew universal attention to its capabilities.

It must not be imagined, however, that Mr. Wheatstone's was the only patent taken out for a telegraph in the year 1837. A number of inquiring minds were simultaneously with the Professor wandering in the tangled wood of doubt, and when he burst his way through, others speedily emerged at different points, one after another. Consequently, the year 1837 was distinguished by a complete crop of telegraphs, any one of which would perhaps have held its ground had it stood alone, but not one of them was practically equal to the first, and they have all long since departed to the tomb already stored with the abortive results of so many merely ingenious minds.

The rapidity with which the needle instrument transmits messages, the small amount of electricity required to work it, and the simplicity of its construction, are its chief recommendations. Upwards of 200 letters can be forwarded by it within the minute. Its great drawback—a drawback that will appear greater every year—is that it can only be worked by a system of signs, which requires some practice to understand. As long as the public is content to send its messages open to the light of day, this plan will hold its ground, as a practised manipulator can indicate the letters as fast as it is possible to read, much less transcribe them, at the other end of the wire; but immediately that the public come to demand secrecy—to put a seal as of old on its letters—this telegraph will, we predict, fall into *public* disuse; and the revolving dial telegraph, invented by Mr. Wheatstone, in 1840, or the recording telegraph of Bain or Morse, or, more likely still, the American printing telegraph of House, will come into play.

This latter instrument appears to contain within itself capabilities of very high excellence; for instance, it requires no one to interpret, and then to rewrite its messages—this it does itself. In fact, it extends the compositor's fingers as far as the wire can be stretched. Messages are thus printed at the rate of fifty letters a minute, say at five hundred miles distance, in common Roman characters, on long slips of paper similar to those used for the recording instrument. Any description of its complicated mechanism would be utterly unintelligible to general readers. 'While the arrangements of the telegraph of Morse,' said Mr.

Justice



Justice Woodbury of America, in giving judgment in a patent case, 'can be readily understood by most mechanics and men of science, it requires days, if not weeks with some, thoroughly to comprehend all the parts and movements of the telegraph of House.' His system is in use for 1358 miles of the American lines. Bakewell's copying telegraph is naturally suggested by the telegraph of House, from the fact that it reproduces its messages, although in a different manner. The sender of the message may be said to write with a pen long enough to stretch to the most distant correspondent—that is, he not only forwards instantaneously the substance of a message, but it is conveyed in his own handwriting. The principle is similar to that of Davy's chemical recording telegraph. The person sending the message writes it on a piece of tin foil with a pen dipped in varnish or any other non-conducting substance; this message is then placed round a metal cylinder, which is made to revolve at a certain regulated pace. In contact with this cylinder is a blunt steel point, which, by the action of a screw, makes a spiral line from the top to the bottom of the cylinder, thus touching every portion of the written message enveloping it. In connexion with the steel point is the conducting wire, and at the end of the wire is a similar steel point working spirally upon a like cylinder. It will be at once seen that the current will always be transmitted, except at those portions of the tin foil which are covered with the non-conducting varnish, and which therefore cut off the flow of electricity, and the handwriting will appear at the other end of the telegraphic wire upon a piece of chemically prepared paper rolled upon its cylinder, and moving synchronously with it. The transmitted letter appears to be written in white upon a dark ground, the white parts of course indicating where the current has been broken, and where consequently no decomposition of the chemical paper has taken place.

To return, however, to our subject after this little digression. At the same time that the first working telegraph was being simplified and improved, the system was gradually spreading, and, by the end of the year 1845, lines exceeding 500 miles in extent were in operation in England, working Messrs. Wheatstone and Cooke's patents. In the following year, capital, as represented by the powerful Electric Telegraph Company, commenced its operations, and an immediate and rapid development of the new method of carrying intelligence was the result.

'A period of eight years has elapsed,' as they say in a certain class of drama, and let us now look upon the condition of electro-telegraphy in England. We left it exerting its influence in a disjointed manner over a few railways, and striking out its

wires here and there at random, without governing head or organization; and how do we find it?

Jammed in between lofty houses at the bottom of a narrow court in Lothbury, we see before us a stuccoed wall, ornamented with an electric illuminated clock. Who would think that behind this narrow forehead lay the great brain—if we may so term it—of the nervous system of Britain, or that beneath the narrow pavement of the alley lies its spinal chord, composed of 224 fibres, which transmit intelligence as unperceived as does the medulla oblongata beneath the skin? Emerging from this narrow channel, the 'efferent' wires branch off beneath the different footways, ramify in certain plexuses within the great centre of intelligence itself, and then shoot out along the different lines of railway until the shores of the island would seem to interpose a limit to their further progress. Not so, however: beneath the seas, under the heaving waves covered with stately navies, they take their darksome way, until, with the burthen of their moving fire, they emerge once more upon the foreign strand, and commence afresh their career over the wide expanse of the Continent.

And now, like a curious physiologist, let us examine the various parts of this ingeniously constructed sensorium, and endeavour to show our readers how in this high chamber, fashioned by human hands, thoughts circulate, and ideas come and go. The door of the 'Central Telegraph Station' leads immediately into the Central Hall, an oblong space, open quite up to the roof, which presents an appearance something like the Coal Exchange or the Geological Museum, two tiers of galleries being suspended from the bare walls, and affording communication to the different parts of the building. If we ascend the first gallery and lean over the balustrade, we shall get a very clear bird's eye view of the method in which messages are received and transmitted. Here, man, like the watchful spider, sits centered within his radiating web, and 'lives along the line.' Beneath us runs a sweep of counter forming three sides of a quadrangle, divided into compartments of about a square yard, by green curtains. A desk and printed forms, to be filled up, are placed in each of these isolated cells, towards which we see individuals immediately make, and then bury themselves, being for the time profoundly intent upon the printed form.

We all know the jocose excuse of the correspondent for having written a long letter—that he had not time to make it shorter. And truly it requires some art to be laconic enough to satisfy the pocket in this establishment. Let us watch for instance yonder youth: he seems to have filled his sheet very close—now he gives it in to the receiving clerk, and something  
evidently



evidently is wrong, for he looks perplexed—it is some hitch about the charge, for his attention is directed to the scale of prices printed at the head of the paper.

‘Messages (not exceeding 20 words) can be sent between all the principal towns in Great Britain at a charge of 1s. within a circuit of 50 miles, of 2s. 6d. within a circuit of 100 miles (geographical distance), and of 5s. beyond a circuit of 100 miles, with an additional sum of 6d. portage within half a mile of the station.’

‘Economy,’ says a French writer, M. de Courcy, ‘teaches conciseness. The telegraphic style banishes all the forms of politeness. “May I ask you to do me the favour” is 6d. for a distance of 50 miles.’ How many of those fond adjectives therefore must our poor fellow relentlessly strike out to bring his billet down to a reasonable charge! What food for speculation each person affords, as he writes his hurried epistle, dictated either by fear, or greed, or more powerful love!—for we have not yet got into the habit of employing the telegraph like the Americans, on the mere everyday business of life. Every message—and of these there are 350,000 transmitted by this Company yearly for the public, and upwards of 3,500,000 for the Railways—is faithfully copied, and put by in fire-proof safes—those sent by the Recording Telegraph being wound in tape-like lengths upon a roller, and appearing exactly like discs of sarcenet ribbon. Fancy some future Macaulay rummaging among such a store, and painting therefrom the salient features of the social and commercial life of England in the nineteenth century. If from the Household-book of the Duke of Northumberland, or still later, from the Paston Letters, we can catch such glimpses of the manners of an early age, what might not be gathered some day in the twenty-first century from a record of the correspondence of an entire people?

‘Softly, softly,’ interposes the Secretary of the Company, ‘we have no such intention of gratifying posterity, for after a certain brief period all copies of communications are destroyed. No person unconnected with the office is under any consideration allowed to have access to them, and the servants of the Company are under a bond not to divulge “the secrets of the prison house.”’ Very good as far as the present generation is concerned, nevertheless it is devoutly to be wished that an odd box or two of these sarcenet ribbons, with their linear language, may escape for future Rawlinsons to puzzle over and decipher for the instruction of mankind.

Whilst we have been thus speculating, however, a dozen messages for all parts of the kingdom have successively ascended through the long lift before us, to the instrument rooms, of which there

there are two, situated in the attics of the establishment, on either side of the top gallery of the central hall:—these, to carry out our anatomical simile, might be called the two hemispheres of the establishment's cerebrum. The instruments of one of these rooms are worked by youths, while those of the other are manipulated by young ladies; and it seems to us as though the directors were pitting them against each other—establishing a kind of industrial tournament—to see which description of labourer is worthiest. As yet little or no difference can be detected: this however is in itself a triumph for the fair sex, as it proves their capacity for a species of employment well calculated for their habits and physical powers, and opens another door for that superabundance of female labour of a superior kind which has hitherto sought employment in vain.

Click, click, go the needles on every hand as we enter. Here we see the iron tongues of the telegraph wagging, and talking as fast as a tea-table full of old maids. London is holding communication with Manchester. Plymouth is listening attentively to a long story, and every now and then intimates by a slight movement that he perfectly comprehends. But there is one speaker whose nimble tongue seems to be saying important things by the stir around him—that is *the Hague* whispering underneath the North Sea the news he has heard an hour or so ago from Vienna of a great victory just gained by the Turks. We are witness to a series of conversations carried on with all corners of the island, and between the metropolis of the world and every capital of northern and central Europe, as intimately as though the speakers were bending their heads over the dinner table and talking confidentially to the host. And by what agency is this extraordinary conversation carried on? All that the visitor sees is a number of little mahogany cases, very similar to those of American clocks, each having a dial with two lozenge-shaped needles working by pivots, which hang, when at rest, perpendicularly upon it. Two dependent handles, situated at the base of this instrument, which the operator grasps and moves from side to side at his will, suffice to make and break the currents or reverse them, and consequently to deflect the needles either to the right or left. Two little stops of ivory are placed about half an inch apart, on either side of the needle, to prevent its deflecting too much, and to check all vibration. It is the sound of the iron tongue striking against these stops that makes the clicking, and to which the telegraphists are sensitively alive. In the early days of telegraphy the operator's attention, at all the stations, was drawn to the instrument, by the sudden ringing of an alarum, which was effected by the agency of an electro magnet; but the horrid din it occasioned



sioned became insupportable to persons in constant attendance, and this part of the instrument was speedily given up, the clicking of the needle being found quite sufficient to draw his attention to the arrival or passing of a message. We say *or passing* of a message, because when a communication is made, as for instance, between London and Edinburgh, the needles of all the telegraph stations on the line are simultaneously deflected, but the attendant has only to take notice of what is going on when a special signal is made to his particular locality, informing him that *he* is spoken with. A story is told of a certain somnolent station clerk, who, in order to enjoy his nap, trained his terrier to scratch and awaken him at the first sound of the clicking needles.

There are but two kinds of telegraph used by the Company, the Needle Telegraph and a few of the Chemical Recording Telegraph of Bain. The latter instrument strikes the spectator more perhaps than the nimble working needle apparatus, but its action is equally simple. Slits of variable length representing letters, according to the alphabet in the note,\* are punched out from a long strip of paper called the message-strip, which is placed between a revolving cylinder and a toothed spring. The battery is connected with the cylinder; the wire, which goes from station to station, is joined to the spring. As dry paper is a non-conductor, no electricity passes while the unpierced portion of the message-slip interposes between the cylinder and the tooth; but when the tooth drops into a space and comes in contact with the cylinder the current flows. If we now transfer our attention to the station at which the message is received we find a similar cylinder revolving at a regular rate, and a metal pin, depending from the end of the telegraph-wire, pressing upon it; but in this case the paper between the cylinder and the pin has been washed with a solution of prussiate of potash, which electricity has the effect of changing to Prussian blue at the point where the pin touches it. Therefore, as the chemically-prepared paper moves under the pin, a blue line is formed of the same length as the slits at the other end, which regulate the duration of the electric current; and thus every letter punched upon the message-strip is faithfully transferred to its distant fellow. Such is the celerity with which the notation is transmitted by this method, that 'in an experiment performed by M. Le Verrier and

a —	f —	h —	g —	x —
b —	g —	l —	r —	y —
c —	h —	m —	s —	z —
d —	i —	n —	t —	
e —	j —	o —	u —	
		p —	v —	
			w —	

Dr. Lardner

Dr. Lardner before Committees of the Institute and the Legislative Assembly at Paris, dispatches were sent 1000 miles at the rate of nearly 20,000 words an hour.\* In ordinary practice, however, the speed is limited to the rate at which an expert clerk can punch out the holes, which is not much above a hundred per minute. Where the object was to forward long documents, such as a speech, a number of persons could be employed simultaneously in punching out different portions of the message, and the message-strips would then be supplied as fast as the machine could work.

This system is used on 1199 miles in America. A weaker current of electricity than what is required for deflecting needles or magnetising iron, suffices to effect the requisite chemical decomposition. The conducting power of vapour or rain carries much of the electricity from the wires in certain states of the atmosphere, 'and in such cases, where both Morse's and Bain's telegraphs are used by an amalgamated company in the same office, it is found convenient to remove the wires from Morse's instruments and connect them with Bain's, on which it is practicable to operate when communication by Morse's system is interrupted.'—(*Whitworth's Report*, p. 51.)

This Chemical Telegraph has also the advantage, in common with all recording instruments, that it leaves an indelible record of every message transmitted, and therefore is very useful when the mistake of a single figure or letter might be of consequence, which we will illustrate by a case which happened very lately. A stockbroker in the City received, during a very agitated state of the funds, an order to buy for a client in a distant part of the country, by a certain time of the day, 80,000*l.* of Consols. This order being unusually large for the individual, the broker doubted its accuracy, and immediately made inquiries at the office. The message had luckily been sent by the recording instrument, and upon looking at the record it was immediately seen that the order was for 8,000*l.*—the transcriber having put in an 0 too much, for which, according to the rules of the Company, he was incontinently fined. Now here the error was immediately traced to the person who made it, and there was no need of telegraphing back to inquire if all were right, two matters of vital importance in such a transaction as this, involving so much personal responsibility, for if the purchase had been made and turned out unfortunate, the loss would indubitably have fallen upon the unhappy sharebroker.\*

In all ordinary transactions, however, the needle instrument is

\* In justice to the Company, which is very properly jealous of the particulars of its messages transpiring, we beg to state that we acquired the above fact from a person totally disconnected with the Electric Telegraph Office.

preferable,



preferable, because it transmits its messages much more quickly. The speed with which the attendants upon these instruments read off the signals made by the needles is really marvellous: they do not in some cases even wait to spell the words letter by letter, but jump at the sentence before it is concluded, and they have learned by practice, as Sir Francis Head says in 'Stokers and Pokers,' to recognise immediately who is telegraphing to them, say at York, by the peculiar *expression of the needles*—the long drawn wires thus forming a kind of human antennæ by which individual peculiarities of touch are projected to an infinite distance. To catalogue the kind of messages which pass through the room, either on their way from London or in course of distribution to it, would be to give a history of human affairs. Here, from the shores of this tight island, comes the morning news gathered by watchers, telescopes in hand, on remote headlands, of what ships have just hove in sight, or what craft have foundered or come ashore—to this room, swifter beyond comparison than the carrier-dove of old, the wire speeds the name of the winner of the Derby or the Oaks. How the four winds are blowing throughout the island; how Stocks rise or fall every hour of the day in all the great towns and in the continental capitals; what corn is at Mark Lane, and what farmer Giles got a quarter of an hour since in a country town in Yorkshire, are equally known in the telegraph room. Intermixed with quotations of tallow and the price of Wall's End coals, now and then comes a love-billet, which excites no more sympathy in the clerk than in the iron that conveys it; or a notice that the sudden dart of death has struck some distant friend is transmitted and received as unconcernedly as an account of the fall in Russian Stock. When business is slack the telegraphists sometimes amuse themselves by an interchange of badinage with their distant friends. Sir Francis Head informs us that an absolute quarrel once took place by telegraph, and the two irritated manipulators were obliged to be separated in consequence.

In addition to this Private Message department there is, below stairs, an Intelligence Office, in which news published in the London morning papers is condensed and forwarded to the Exchanges of Liverpool, Bristol, Manchester, Glasgow, &c. A few years since the Company opened subscription rooms in all the large towns of the North, in which intelligence of every kind was posted immediately after its arrival in London; but the craving for early intelligence was not sufficient to induce the people to incur the expense, and, with the exception of the room at Hull, the establishments have all been shut up.

On Friday evening especially this department is very busy  
condensing

condensing for the country papers the news which appears in that exciting column headed *By Electric Telegraph, London, 2 A.M.* Thus the telegraph rides express through the night for the broad sheets of the entire kingdom, and even steps across from Portpatrick to Donaghadee into the sister country, with its budget of latest intelligence, by which means the extremities of the two islands are kept as well *up* in the progress of important events as London itself. Upwards of 120 provincial papers each receive in this manner their column of parliamentary news of the night, and the *Daily Mail* published in Glasgow gets sometimes as much as three columns of the *Debates* forwarded whilst the House is sitting. A superintendent and four clerks are expressly employed in this department; and early in the day towards the end of the week the office presents all the appearance of an Editor's room. At seven in the morning the clerks are to be seen deep in the *Times* and other *Daily* papers, just hot from the press, making extracts, and condensing into short paragraphs all the most important events, which are immediately sent off to the country papers to form '*Second Editions*.' Neither does the work cease here, for no sooner is a second edition published in town, than its news, if of more than ordinary interest, is transmitted to the provinces. For instance, whilst we were in the Company's telegraph room a short time since, the following intelligence was being served out to Liverpool, York, Manchester, Leeds, Bristol, Birmingham, and Hull:—

'EASTERN WAR—BATTLE ON THE DANUBE—FROM EVENING EDITION OF THE MORNING CHRONICLE.

*'Vienna, Saturday, April 8th.*

'The journal *Fremden Blatt* announces, under date of Bucharest, 4th April, that a great battle was being fought at Rasso, about midway between Hirsova and Silistria, in the Dobrudscha. The result was not known. Mustapha Pasha is at the head of 50,000 men.'

Arrived at the above-mentioned places, swifter than a rocket could fly the distance, like a rocket it bursts and is again carried by the diverging wires into a dozen neighbouring towns. The announcement we have quoted comes opportunely to remind us that intelligence, thus hastily gathered and transmitted, has also its drawbacks, and is not so trustworthy as the news which starts later and travels slower. The '*great battle of Rasso*' has not yet been fought, and the general action announced through the telegraph was only a sanguinary skirmish.

The telegraphic organization of London, meagre as it is at present, would form alone a curious paper: '*a province covered with houses*,' it demands a special arrangement, and accordingly we see day by day new branches opened within its precincts, by which



which means every part of the metropolis is being put in communication with the country and Europe.

The Branch Stations are, London Docks (main entrance); No. 43, Mincing Lane; General Post Office, St. Martin's-le-Grand; No. 30, Fleet Street; No. 448, West Strand; No. 17a, Great George Street, Westminster; No. 89, St. James's Street; No. 1, Park Side, Knightsbridge; No. 6, Edgeware Road; Great Western Railway Station; London and North Western Railway Station; Great Northern Railway Station; Highbury Railway Station; Eastern Counties' Railway Station; Blackwall Railway Station; London and Brighton and South Coast Railway Station; and the London and South Western Railway Station: of these only two are open night and day. The central office, strange as it might appear, is closed at half-past 8 o'clock P.M., and its wires are put in connexion with those at the Charing-Cross Station, which takes upon itself the night work—a singular proof, by the way, that London proper is deserted shortly after the hours of business are over. The Eastern Counties' Office is also open at night, and forms the East End Office of the Company. These stations communicate with the central office in Lothbury, and form in fact direct feeders to it, just as the hundred suckers do to the zoophyte.

We have yet, however, to notice the special telegraphic communication which exists in the metropolis between place and place, either for governmental purposes or for social convenience. The most curious of these lines is the wire between the Octagon Hall in the New Houses of Parliament and the St. James's Street Commercial station. They should name this line from the 'whipper-in' of the House, for it is nothing more than a call-wire for Members. The Company employ reporters during the sitting of Parliament to make an abstract from the gallery of the business of the two Houses as it proceeds, and this abstract is forwarded at very short intervals to the office in St. James's Street, where *it is set up and printed*, additions being made to the sheet issued as the M.S. comes in. This flying sheet is posted half-hourly to the following Clubs and establishments:—Arthur's; Carlton; Oxford and Cambridge; Brookes's; Conservative; United Service; Athenæum; Reform; Traveller's; United University; Union; and White's. Hourly to Boodle's Club and Prince's Club; and half-hourly to the Royal Italian Opera. The shortest possible abstract is of course supplied, just sufficient in fact to enable the after-dinner M.P. so to economize his proceedings as to be able to finish his claret and yet be in time for the ministerial statement, or to count in the division. The following, for instance, is a fac simile of the printed abstract of the debate on the Address to her Majesty on the declaration of war:—

THE

# THE ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH COMPANY.

(INCORPORATED 1846.)

HOUSE OF COMMONS, FRIDAY, MARCH 31st, 1854.

TIME.		REMARKS.
H.	M.	
4	0	House made.
4	30	Private business and Petitions.
4	40	Mr. Napier brought up report of Dungarvan Election Committee: Maguire duly elected, and attention called to state of law upon the withdrawal of Petitions.
5	0	Notices.
5	30	Lord John Russell moving reply to message of Her Majesty.
6	0	Stating various transactions and negotiations which have taken place with Russia.
6	30	Mr. Layard approved of the sentiments expressed.
7	0	Still speaking.
7	20	Compared the language and opinions of different Members of the Cabinet, and called attention to various articles in the "Times," which he maintained to be written with a full knowledge of the contents of the secret and confidential correspondence.
8	0	Mr. Bright replied to Mr. Layard, adverse to policy of the Government.
8	30	Still speaking.
9	0	Still speaking.
9	30	Mr. J. Ball was prepared to support the war, though not agreeing in the reasons put forward to justify it.
10	0	The Marquis of Granby expressed his regret at the language used by certain of the Government with respect to the Emperor of Russia, whose conduct regarding Turkey he vindicated.
		Lord Dudley Stuart.
10	30	Still speaking.
11	0	Lord Palmerston vindicating the policy of the Government.
11	30	Mr. Disraeli supported the address, but severely criticised the conduct of different Members of the Cabinet.
12	0	Analysing the secret and confidential correspondence to show that a plan for the partition of Turkey was assented to by the English Government in 1844, when the Earl of Aberdeen was Secretary for Foreign Affairs.
12	30	Lord John Russell replying to Mr. Layard, and the observations of other speakers.
12	40	Colonel Sibthorp: observations.
		The address to Her Majesty agreed to, and on the motion of Lord John Russell, and seconded by Mr. Disraeli, to be presented by the whole House.
1	0	HOUSE ADJOURNED.

## HOUSE OF LORDS.

Lord Aberdeen stated, in reply to Lord Roden, that it was intended to appoint a day for solemn prayer for a blessing on Her Majesty's arms by sea and land.

Earl of Clarendon moved the address in reply to the Queen's message.

Earl of Derby: observations.

(7:30). Earl of Aberdeen replied to Lord Derby.

(7:45). Earl of Malmesbury regretted the tone taken by the Prime Minister.

(8:20). Earl Granville: observations.

Lord Brougham ditto.

Earl Grey ditto.

(8:50). Earl of Hardwicke wished for a larger Naval Reserve.

(8:55). Marquis of Lansdowne said it was necessary to check Russia.

(9:5). Address agreed to, to be presented on Monday.

LORDS ADJOURNED, 9:25.

Saint James's Street Branch Station, No. 89, at the End of Pall Mall, Opposite Saint James's Palace.



The wire to the Opera is a still more curious example of the social services the new power is destined to perform. An abstract of the proceedings of Parliament similar to the above, but in *writing*, is posted during the performance in the Lobby, and Young England has only to lounge out between the Acts to know if Disraeli or Lord John Russell is up, and whether he may sit out the piece, or must hasten down to Westminster. The Opera House even communicates with the Strand Office, so that messages may be sent from thence to all parts of the kingdom. The Government wires go from Somerset House to the Admiralty, and thence to Portsmouth and Plymouth by the South Western and Great Western Railways; and these two establishments will shortly be put in communication, by means of subterranean lines, with the naval establishments at Deptford, Woolwich, Chatham, Sheerness, and with the Cinque Ports of Deal and Dover. They are worked quite independently of the Company, and the messages are sent in cipher, the meaning of which is unknown even to the telegraphic clerks employed in transmitting it. In addition to the wires already spoken of, street branches run from Buckingham Palace and Scotland Yard (the head police office) to the station at Charing Cross, and thence on to Founder's Court; whilst the Post Office, Lloyd's, Capel Court, and the Corn Exchange communicate directly with the Central Office.

The function then of the Central Office is to receive and redistribute communications. Of the manner in which these ends are accomplished nothing can be gained from a glance round the instrument rooms. You see no wires coming into or emerging from them; you ask for a solution of the mystery, and one of the clerks leads you to the staircase and opens the door of what looks like a long wooden shoot placed perpendicularly against the wall. This is the great spinal chord of the establishment, consisting of a vast bundle of wires, insulated from each other by gutta percha. One set of these conveys the gathered up streams of intelligence from the remote ends of the continent, and the farthest shores of Britain, conducts them through London by the street lines underneath the thronging footsteps of the multitude, and ascends with its invisible dispatches directly to the different instruments. Another set is composed of the wires that descend into the battery chamber. It is impossible to realize the fact by merely gazing upon this brown and dusty looking bundle of threads, nevertheless so it is, that they put us in communication with no less than 4,409 miles of telegraph, which is coterminous with the railway system of the island, and forms a complete net-work over its entire surface, with the exception of the highlands of North Wales and Scotland.

It

It will not be long before it penetrates into the wilds of the latter country, as we see the wire is to be carried on from Aberdeen to Balmoral.

The physiologist, minutely dissecting the star fish, shows us its nervous system extending to the tip of each limb, and descants upon the beauty of this arrangement, by which the central mouth is informed of the nutriment within its reach. The telegraphic system, already developed in England, has rendered her as sensitive to the utmost extremities as the star fish. Day by day, and hour by hour, everything that happens of importance is immediately referred to its centre at Lothbury, and this centre returns the service by spreading the information afresh in every direction. Thus should an enemy appear off our coast, his presence, by the aid of the fibre, is immediately felt at the Admiralty, and an immediate reply sends out the fleet in chase. Should a riot occur in the manufacturing districts, the local authorities communicate with the Home Office, and orders are sent down to put the distant troops in motion. Does a murderer escape, the same wire makes the fact known to Scotland-Yard, and from thence word is sent to the distant policemen to intercept him in his flight. The arm is scarcely uplifted quicker to ward off a sudden blow—the eye does not close with more rapidity upon an unexpected flood of light, than, by the aid of the telegraph, actions follow upon impressions conveyed along the length and breadth of the land. But, says our reader, suppose these wires should be severed or damaged, your whole line is paralysed, and how are you to find out where the fault may be? Against these eventualities human foresight has provided: by testing from station to station along the line, the office soon knows how far the wires are perfect; and if the breach of continuity should be in the subterranean street wires, there are iron testing posts at every 500 yards distance, by the aid of which the workman knows where to make his repairs. Whilst all is being made right again, however, a curious contrivance is brought into play, in order to keep the communication open. Every one is acquainted with the action of the railway ‘switch,’ by which a train is enabled to leave one line of rails and run on to another. The telegraph has its switch also, and thus a message can be transferred from one line to another, or can be sent right *through* to any locality, without making a stoppage at the usual resting place on its way. By this device then the ‘sick wires’ can be altogether avoided. Suppose, for instance, that some accident had happened to the direct Bristol line, and it would not work in consequence, then the clerk at the Lothbury station would signal to Birmingham to switch the wire through to  
Bristol,



Bristol, or, in other words, to put him in communication with that place; this done, the message would fly along the North-Western line, look in at the Birmingham station, and immediately be off down the Midland wire to Bristol, arriving, to all perception, in the same latitude as quickly as though it had gone direct by the Great Western wire. Every large station is provided with a switching apparatus, and the Lothbury Office has several. Here also there is a very curious contrivance called the 'testing box,' which enables the manipulator to connect any number of batteries to a wire, in order to give extra power, without going into the battery vault.

These switches, testing, and battery boxes are of great service in certain conditions of the atmosphere. For instance, a thunderstorm, or more often a fog, will now and then so affect the conducting power of a wire, working through a long distance, that it is found impossible to send a message along it, in which case the clerk 'dodges' the passing storm or fog by switching the dispatch round the country through a fine weather wire. If however the foggy weather should continue, the manipulator has only to go to the battery box and couple on one or more batteries, just as fresh engines are put on a train going up an incline when the rails are 'greasy.' By thus increasing the power of the electric current the message is driven through the worst weather. Sometimes as many as six or eight 24-plate batteries are necessary to speed a signal to Glasgow. The more general way in such cases, however, is to transmit the dispatch to some intermediate station, where the message is repeated.

Let us now descend into the battery vaults—two long narrow chambers, situated in the basement of the building. Who would think that in this quiet place, night and day, a power was being generated that exerted its influence to the very margin of this sea-girt isle, nay, invaded the territories of Holland, Belgium, and France? Who would think that those long, dusty boxes on the shelves were making scores of iron tongues wag hundreds of miles off? There are upwards of sixty Daniel's batteries in full employment in these vaults. They are ranked as sixes, twelves, and twenty-fours, according to the number of their elements or plates; and just like guns, the higher they rank the farther they carry. The powerful twenty-fours work the long ranges of wire, and the smaller batteries the shorter circuits. Of course some of these batteries have harder work to do than others, and the 'twenty-fours' working the North-Western line have much the busiest time of it. Considering the work done by them, their maintenance is not very costly. A twenty-four, when in full work, does not consume

consume

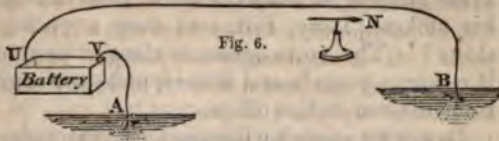
sume its zinc plates under three months, and a gill of sulphuric acid, diluted, is its strong but rather moderate allowance of liquid per month. Other batteries of the same force are satisfied with 1 lb. of sulphate of copper per month, with a little sulphate of zinc, and salt and water. The entire amount of electric power employed by the Company throughout the country is produced by 8000 12-plate batteries, or 96,000 cells, which are lined with 1,500,000 square inches of copper, and about the same of zinc. To work these batteries six tons of acid is yearly consumed, and fifty-five tons of sand; the principal use of the latter is to prevent the chemicals from slopping about, and the metal plates from getting oxidized too rapidly. The language of the 'wire,' with respect to the working of the telegraph, is very curious. For instance, when a distant station clerk finds that a battery is not up to its work by the weak action of the needles, he sends word that it requires 'refreshment,' and it is accordingly served with its gill of aquafortis, and, totally opposed to the doctrines of temperance, a 'long-lived battery' owes its vitality to the strongest drink.

We have followed the wires down to one pole of their respective batteries, and now we have to pursue them out of the opposite pole until they take to 'earth.' No electricity will flow from the positive pole Z of the battery (Fig. 2) unless the wire D K A B is connected, either by being itself unbroken, or by the interposition of some other conductor where a gap occurs, to the negative pole C. In the earlier telegraphs it was usual to have a return wire to effect this purpose. But, strange as it may sound, it was discovered that the earth itself would convey the current back to the negative pole, and thus an entire length of wire was saved. Accordingly the earth completes the two hundred and odd different circuits, which pass their loops, as it were, through the central office. In order to get a 'good earth' a hole was dug deep in the foundations, until some moist ground was found, *dry* soil being a very bad conductor, and into this a cylinder of copper, four inches in diameter and 40 lbs. in weight, was sunken, surrounded by a mass of sulphate of copper in crystals. All the earth wires of the establishment were then put in connexion with this mass of metal, or earth plate.

The non-scientific reader will perhaps require a figure to explain to him our meaning, when we say that the earth is capable of completing the 'circuit.' In the accompanying diagram (No. 6) we have a battery, U V, in the central office in London, deflecting a needle N, say in Liverpool. The fluid passes from the positive pole of the battery U, traverses the wire of the North-western Railway, and after working the telegraph in Liverpool, descends



descends into the earth by the wire B, which has a metal or earth-plate attached to it. From this point the electric fluid starts homewards, through the solid ground, and



finding out the earth-plate\* under the foundations at Lothbury, ascends along the wire A, into the negative pole of the battery V. By reversing the current, it flows first through the earth from V A to B, and returns by the wire to the opposite pole U.

Nothing in telegraphy impresses the thoughtful mind more than the fact that the electric fluid, after spanning, may be, half the globe, should come back to its battery, through adamantine rocks, through seas and all the diverse elements which make up the anatomy of the globe. The explanation of the phenomenon is still a matter of pure speculation. Indeed it may be objected that our flight of the electric principle is altogether a flight of fancy—that there is in fact no flow of electricity at all, but that its progress through bodies, according to the generally received theory, is owing to opposite poles of contiguous particles acting upon each other. The hypothesis, however, first received in science gives birth to its language, which usually continues the same, although it may have ceased to be an adequate expression of the current doctrine of philosophers.

The traveller, as he flies along in the train, and looks out upon the wires which seem stretched against the sky like the ledger lines of music, little dreams of these invisible conductors that are returning the current through the ground. In ninety-nine cases out of a hundred, indeed, the wires and their sustaining posts represent to the spectator the entire telegraph. The following conversation between two navigators, overheard the other day by a friend, gives the most popular view of the way the telegraph works. 'I say, Jem, how do 'em *jaw* along them wires?' 'Why, Bill, they pulls at one end, and rings a bell at t'other.' Others again fancy that messages are conveyed by means of the vibrations of the metal, for on windy days they sometimes give out sounds

\* The use of the metal or earth-plate will be understood from the following statement of Steinheil: 'Owing to the low conducting power of water or the ground compared with metals, it is necessary that at the two places where the metal conductor is in connexion with the soil, the former should present very large surfaces of contact. Assuming that water conducts two million times worse than copper, a surface of water proportional to this must be brought into contact with the water. If the section of a copper wire is 0.5 of a square line, it will require a copper plate of 61 square feet surface in order to conduct the galvanic current through the ground, as the wire in question would conduct it.'

like an *Æolian harp*: a fact which, according to Sir Francis Head, called forth the remark from a North-Western driver to his stoker, 'I say, Bill, aint they a giving it to 'em at Thrapstone?' The more ignorant class of people actually believe that it conveys parcels and letters, and they sometimes carry them for transmission to the office.

Iron wire coated with zinc, or 'galvanized,' as it is termed, to prevent its rusting, is now universally used as the conductor of the electric fluid when the lines are suspended in the air. The first rain falling upon the zinc converts it into an oxide of that metal, which is insoluble in water, so that henceforth in pure air it cannot be acted upon by that element, and all further oxidation ceases. Mr. Highton says, however, that in the neighbourhood of large manufacturing towns the sulphur from the smoky atmosphere converts the oxide into a sulphate of zinc, which is soluble, and consequently the rain continually washes it off the wire. He asserts that he has had wires in this manner reduced from the eighth of an inch to the diameter of a common sewing-needle. There has been a great controversy as to the best means of insulating the wires from their supporting poles, which would otherwise convey the electricity from the wires to the earth. There is no method known of effecting this completely, but we believe it is now decided that stoneware is the best material for the purpose, both on account of its non-conducting qualities, and the readiness with which it throws off from its surface particles of water. The latter quality is extremely important, for, in very rainy weather, if the insulator should happen to get wet, the electric fluid will sometimes make a bridge of the moisture to quit the wire, run down the post to the earth, and make a short circuit home again to its battery. Indeed, when there are many wires suspended to the same pole on the same plane, a dripping stream of water falling from an upper to a lower one will often suffice to return the current before it has done its work, much to the telegraphist's annoyance. Not long ago, a mishap, having similar consequences, occurred on the line between Lewes and Newhaven, owing to the following very singular circumstance: a crane, in its flight through the rain, came in contact with the wires, and having threaded his long neck completely through them, the current made a short cut along his damp feathers to the wire below, and by this channel home. Moisture, however, much as it may interfere for a time with the working of a line, rarely does any permanent injury. Lightning, on the contrary, if not guarded against, is capable of producing great mischief. It has been known to strike and run for miles along a wire, and, in its course, to enter station after station, and melt



melt the delicate coils and the finer portions of the instruments into solid masses. In most cases it reverses the polarity of the needles, or renders permanent the magnetism of the electro-magnets. All these dangerous and annoying contingencies are easily avoided by the application of a simple conducting apparatus to lead away the unwelcome visitor. The method adopted by Mr. Highton is to line a small deal box, say ten or twelve inches long, with a tin plate, and to put this plate in connexion with the earth. The wire, bound up in bibulous paper—which is a sufficient insulator for the low-tensioned fluid of the battery—is carried, before it enters the instrument, through the centre of the box, and is surrounded with iron filings. The high-tensioned electricity of the lightning instantly darts from the wire, through the pores of the paper, to the million points of the finely divided iron, and so escapes to the earth. There are, of course, many kinds of lightning conductors used on different lines, but this one is simple in its construction, and, we are given to understand, answers its purpose exceedingly well.

Notwithstanding that the Electric Telegraph Company has been established for eight years, it is only just now that the public have begun to understand the use of the 'wire.' The very high charges at first demanded for the transmission of a message, doubtless, made it a luxury rather than a necessary of life; and every reduction of the tariff clearly brought it within the range of a very much larger class of the community, as will be seen by the following table issued by the Company, which shows the advance of the system under its management.

In the half years ending	Miles of Telegraph in operation.	Miles of Wires.	Number of Messages.	Receipts.	Dividends paid.
				£. s. d.	
June 1850 . . . . .	1684	6,730	29,245	20,436 10 0	4 per Cent. per Ann.
December 1850 . . . . .	1786	7,200	37,389	23,087 13 9	4 per Cent. per Ann.
June 1851 . . . . .	1965	7,900	47,259	25,529 12 4	6 per Cent. per Ann.
December 1851 . . . . .	2122	10,650	53,957	24,336 8 10	& 2 per Cent. Bonus. 6 per Cent. per Ann.
Note.—In this half-year the paid-up Capital of the Company was increased, and the tariff diminished about 50 per cent. from the original rate of charge.					
June 1852 . . . . .	2502	12,500	87,150	27,437 4 8	6 per Cent. per Ann.
December 1852 . . . . .	3709	19,560	127,927	40,087 18 2	6½ per Cent. per Ann.
June 1853 . . . . .	4008	20,800	138,060	47,265 16 3	6½ per Cent. per Ann.
December 1853 . . . . .	4409	24,340	212,440	56,919 0 1	7 per Cent. per Ann.

It will be seen from the above what an impulse was given to the business by the reduction in the tariff which took place in December, 1851; for if we compare the messages of the half-

year ending June, 1850, with those of the half-year of June 1852, we shall find that whilst the miles of telegraph in work had not increased one-half, the messages transmitted had nearly trebled. It is only within this last year or two, however—as will be seen by the table—that a very large augmentation of business has taken place, which is doubtless owing to the public being better acquainted with its capabilities. The tariff has since been further reduced, with the result of a still further increase of the messages sent and of the money received—the profits allowing at the present moment of a seven per cent. dividend! The lowest point of cheapness, in our opinion, is yet very far from being reached; and it would only be a wise act on the part of the Company to at once adopt an uniform charge for messages, say of twenty words, for one shilling. If this were done, the only limit to its business would be the number of wires they could conveniently hang, for the present set would clearly be insufficient. Means should also be taken to obviate one great objection, at present felt with respect to sending private communications by telegraph—the violation of all secrecy—for in any case half-a-dozen people must be cognizant of every word addressed by one person to another. The clerks of the English Electric Telegraph Company are sworn to secrecy, but we often write things that it would be intolerable to see strangers read before our eyes. This is a grievous fault in the telegraph, and it *must* be remedied by some means or other. Our own opinion is that the public would much prefer the dial telegraph, by the use of which two persons could converse with each other, without the intervention of a third party at all—or the printing step by step instrument would be equally good. At all events, some simple yet secure cipher, easily acquired and easily read, should be introduced, by which means messages might to all intents and purposes be ‘sealed’ to any person except the recipient. We have reason to believe that Professor Wheatstone has invented a cipher of this description, which has not yet been made public. ‘One-eighth of the despatches between New Orleans and New York,’ says Mr Jones in his *Historical Sketch of the Electric Telegraph*, ‘are in cipher. For instance, merchants in either city agree upon a cipher, and if the New Orleans correspondent wishes to inform his New York friend of the prices and prospects of the cotton market, instead of saying “Cotton eight quarter—don’t sell,” he may use the following:—“Shepherd—rum—kiss—flash—dog.”’

The Company has lately made an arrangement, by which the very absurd and inconvenient necessity of being obliged to attend personally at the telegraph station with a message

has



has been obviated. 'Franked message papers,' pre-paid, are now issued, procurable at any stationer's. These, with the message filled in, can be dispatched to the office when and how the sender likes, and the Company intend very quickly to sell electric stamps, like Queen's heads, which may be stuck on to any piece of paper, and frank its contents without further trouble. Another very important arrangement for mercantile men is the sending of 'remittance messages,' by means of which money can be paid in at the central office in London, and, within a few minutes, paid out at Liverpool or Manchester, or by the same means sent up to town with the like dispatch from Liverpool, Manchester, Bristol, Birmingham, Leeds, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Hull, York, Plymouth, and Exeter. There is a money-order office in the Lothbury establishment to manage this department, which will, no doubt, in all emergencies speedily supersede the Government money-order office which works through the slower medium of the Post-office.

We have spoken hitherto only of the Old Electric Telegraph Company. There are several other Companies in the United Kingdom working different patents. We have chosen, however, to describe the proceedings of the original Company, because it is the only one that has an amount of business sufficient to give it universal interest; it is the only Company, in fact, that has seized the map of England in its nervous grasp, and shot its wires through every broad English shire. The European and the British Telegraph Companies have laid their lines, insulated with gutta percha and protected by iron tubes, beneath the public roads. The European Company works between Manchester, Birmingham, London, and Dover, and, by means of the two submarine cables of Dover and Calais and Dover and Ostend, puts the great manufacturing and commercial emporiums in connexion with France, Belgium, and the rest of Europe by a double route. The British Telegraph Company works, as our telegraphic map of England shows, principally in the northern counties.\* Of the other lines, we need only mention at present the United Kingdom, which has not yet commenced operations;† and the

\* Whilst this paper is going through the press we are given to understand that a 'fusion' has taken place between the British and the European Companies—the British has also thrown a cable across to Ireland, not far distant from that belonging to the English and Irish Magnetic Company—consequently, a new electric service is constituted, having its central office at Cornhill, which puts the three kingdoms in communication with each other. This consolidated company has reduced its tariff 50 per cent., and is now the cheapest working line in the kingdom.

† This company intends to adopt the excellent plan of charging an uniform rate of 1s. for its short messages, whatever the distance. The telegraphs to be employed are based on the plans and patents of Mr. Thomas Allan, of Edinburgh—a gentleman to whom we are indebted for improvements in almost every department of the electric telegraph.

English and Irish Magnetic Company, which works wires between London, Belfast, and Galway, by means of a subterranean line as far as the west coast of Scotland and of a submarine cable stretched between Portpatrick and Donaghadee.

It will, perhaps, be a source of wonder to our readers that one Company should virtually possess the monopoly of telegraphic communication in this country, but this will cease when they consider that this Company was the first to enter the field, that it came forward with a large capital, speedily secured to themselves the different lines of railway—the only paths it was then considered that telegraphs could traverse with security—and that it bought up, one after another, most of the patents that stood any chance of competing with its own. The time is fast approaching, however, when most of these advantages will fail them, and when the Company, powerful as it is, must be prepared to encounter a severe and active competition, and that for the following reasons:—

1. The plan of bringing the wires under the public roads turns, as it were, the flank of the railroad lines.

2. The patents of the old Company are year by year expiring.

3. The very large capital expended by it—upwards of 170,000*l.* being sunk in patent rights alone—independently of the vast expense attaching to the first introduction of the invention, forms a dead weight which no new Company would have to bear.

In the ordinary course of events, then, the other lines at present in existence will gain strength; new Companies will spring up, and the supply of a great public want will be thrown into the arena of competition. Would it not be wise for the legislature to consider the question of telegraphy in England before it is too late? We all know what the principle of reckless competition led us into in our railway system. For years opposing Companies scrambled for the monopoly of certain districts, and the result was the intersection of the country with bad lines, and, in many cases, with useless double routes. Millions were spent in litigation; railway travelling became, as a natural consequence, dear; the property of the original shareholders rapidly deteriorated; and it has all ended in half a dozen powerful companies swallowing up the smaller ones; and that competition, in whose name so much was demanded, has turned out to be only 'a delusion and a snare.' The conveyance of intelligence cannot safely and conveniently be left in the hands of even one company without a strict Government supervision, much less can half a dozen systems be allowed to distract the land at their own will. Indeed, the question might with propriety



propriety be asked, Is not telegraphic communication as much a function of Government as the conveyance of letters? If the do-nothing principle is to be allowed to take its course, we shall have to go through a similar state of things to that which occurred only a few years since in the United States, when different competing lines refused to forward each other's messages, and the whole system of telegraphic communication was accordingly dislocated. Indeed, even with the most perfect accord between different companies, the dissimilarity of instruments used by them would prove a great practical evil,—as great a one, if not greater, than the break of gauge in the railway system. Messages could not be passed from one line to another, and delays as vexatious as those which occur on the Continental lines would take away much of the value of the invention. It seems to us, then, that even if Parliament should refuse to interfere with the principle of competition in the case of the telegraphic communication, it should, at least, provide for the use of the same kind of instruments, and make it a finable offence for one line to refuse to forward the messages of another.

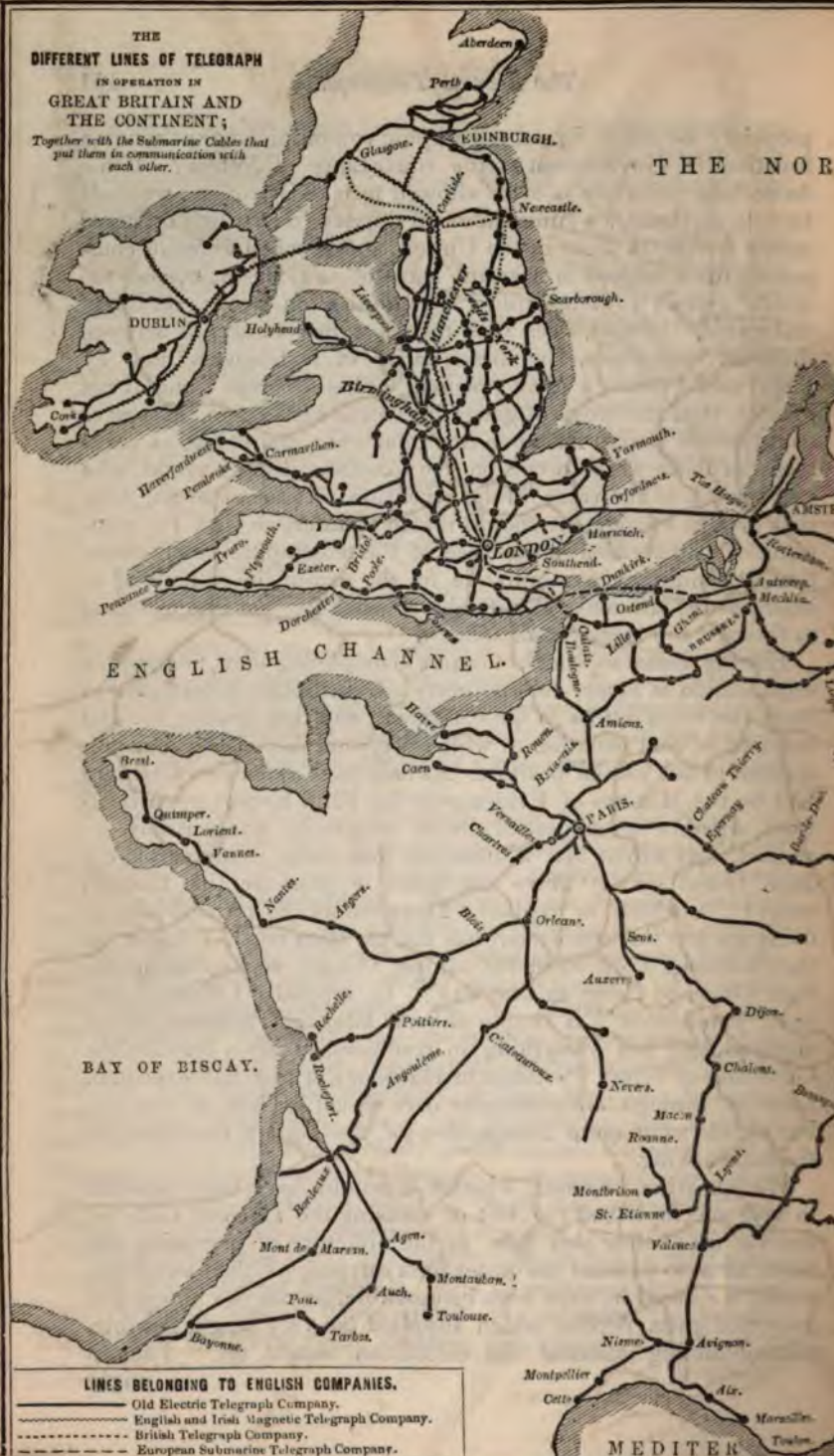
Having done so much towards completing our telegraphic organization at home, our engineers adventurously determined to carry the wires across to the Continent, and thus destroy the last remnant of that isolation to which we were forced to submit on account of our insular position. As long back as the year 1840, we find by the Minutes of Evidence in the Fifth Report upon Railways, wherein the subject of electric telegraphy was partially examined, that whilst Mr. Wheatstone was under examination, Sir John Guest asked 'Have you tried to pass the line through water?' to which he replied, 'There would be no difficulty in doing so, but the experiment has not yet been tried.' Again, on the chairman, Lord Seymour, asking, 'Could you communicate from Dover to Calais in that way?' he replied, 'I think it perfectly practicable.' A couple of years later the Professor indeed engaged, and had everything in readiness, to lay a line for the Government across Portsmouth Harbour; it was not executed, however, through circumstances over which he had no control, but which were quite irrespective of the perfect feasibility of the undertaking.

We question, however, whether it would have been possible to have accomplished the feat of crossing the Channel with the electric fire before this date, as the difficulty of insulating the wires, so as to prevent the water from carrying off the electricity, would, we imagine, have been insuperable, but for the happy discovery of gutta percha, which supplied the very tough, flexible, non-conducting material the electrician sought for. Thus it might

THE  
DIFFERENT LINES OF TELEGRAPH  
IN OPERATION IN  
GREAT BRITAIN AND  
THE CONTINENT;

Together with the Submarine Cables that  
put them in communication with  
each other.

THE NOR

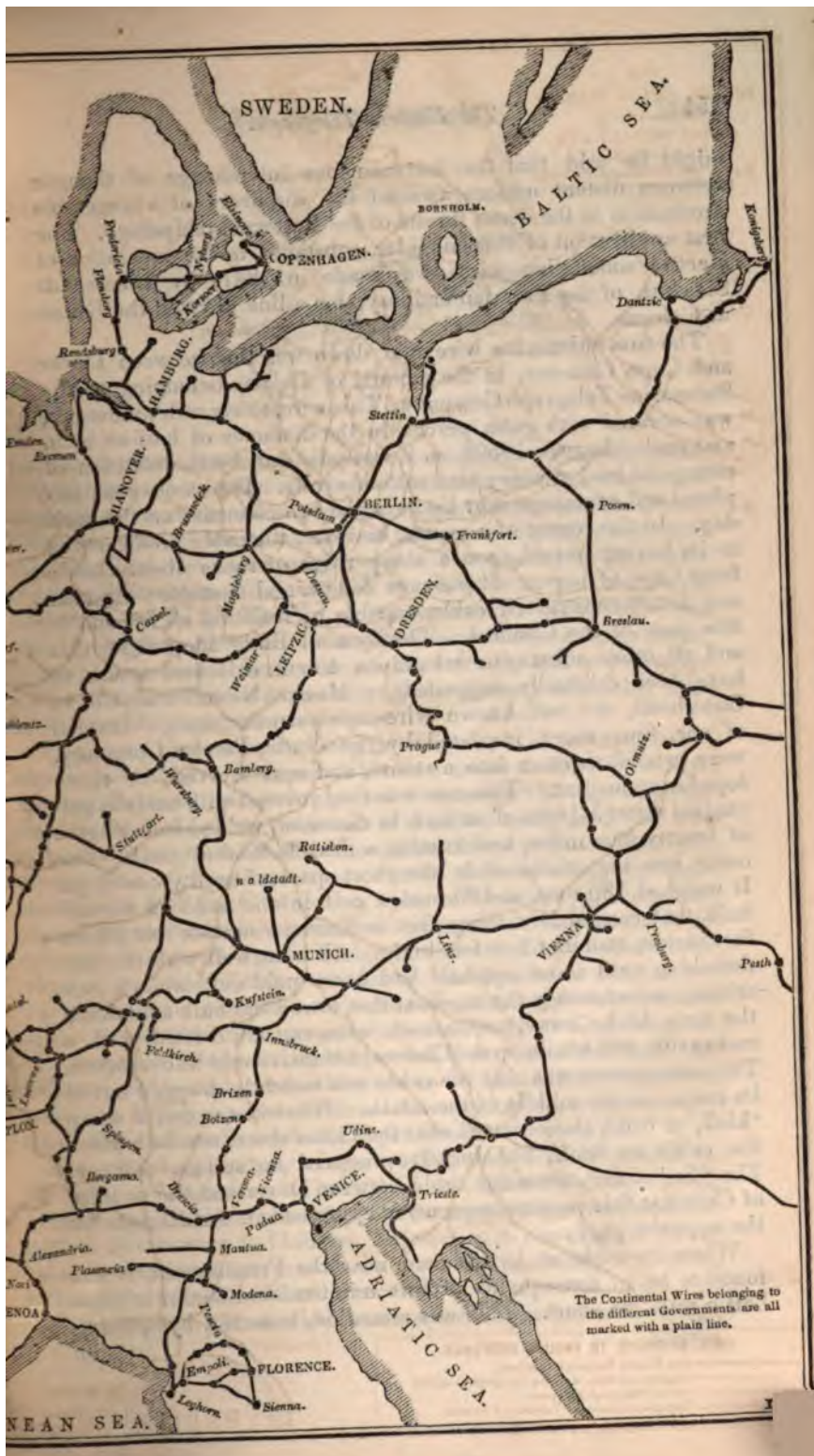


LINES BELONGING TO ENGLISH COMPANIES.

- Old Electric Telegraph Company.
- English and Irish Magnetic Telegraph Company.
- - - British Telegraph Company.
- - - European Submarine Telegraph Company.

MEDITER



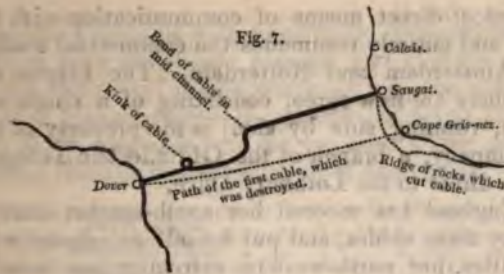


might be said that the instantaneous interchange of thought between distant nations awaited the discovery of a vegetable production in the dense forests of the Eastern Archipelago. The first application of this singular substance to the insulation of electric conducting wires was made in 1847, by Lieutenant Siémens, of the Prussian artillery, for a line to cross the Rhine at Cologne.

The first submarine wire laid down was that between Dover and Cape Gris-nez, in the vicinity of Calais, belonging to the Submarine Telegraph Company. This wire, thirty miles in length, was covered with gutta percha to the diameter of half an inch, and sunk (August, 1850), as it was paid out, by the addition of clumps of lead at every sixteenth of a mile. The whole was completed and a message sent between the two countries on the same day. In the course of a month, however, the cable broke, owing to its having fretted upon a sharp ridge of rocks about a mile from Cape Gris-nez. It was now determined to make a stronger and better-constructed cable, capable of resisting all friction in this part of the Channel. The form of cable adopted for this and all other submarine telegraphs now in existence seems to have been originally suggested by Messrs. Newall and Co. of Gateshead, the well-known wire-rope manufacturers. Instead of one, four wires, insulated by the Gutta Percha Company, were twisted together into a strand, and next 'served' or enveloped in spun-yarn. This core was then covered with ten iron galvanised wires 5-16ths of an inch in diameter, welded into lengths of twenty-four miles, and forming a flexible kind of mail. The cable was manufactured in the short space of twenty-one days. It weighed 180 tons, and formed a coil in the hold of the old hulk that carried it of thirty feet in diameter outside and fifteen feet inside, standing five feet high. All went well with the undertaking until about one-half had been 'paid out,' when a gale arising, unfortunately the tug-boat that towed the hulk containing the rope broke away, and vessel, wire, and all, drifted, with a racing tide, full a mile up the Channel before it could be overtaken. The consequence was that the cable was violently dragged out of its course in the middle of the straits. What was worse, a sharp 'kink,' or bend, also occurred near the Dover shore, which doubled the cable on itself, but luckily produced no serious damage. The 'lie' of the submarine cable between Dover and the vicinity of Calais at this present moment, is expressed in the diagram on the opposite page:—

When the cable at length came near the French coast, it was found to be in consequence of this unintentional détour at least half a mile too short. This was remedied, however, by splicing  
on





on a fresh piece ; and, on securing it at Saugat, the new place of landing fixed upon on account of its sandy shore, it was found that the communication was good, and good it has remained ever since—a proof of the admirable manner in which the wires were insulated and the cable constructed. The placing of this successful cable was superintended by Mr. Wollaston, the Company's engineer, and by Mr. Crompton, the contractor. Mr. Wollaston, who is a nephew of the illustrious philosopher of the same name, and who also presided over the earlier attempt, will accordingly, in the annals of electricity, carry off the honours of having first laid down the ocean telegraph.

The same Company, not long afterwards, laid another cable across to Ostend. This established a connexion with Europe through Belgium, and was planned to prevent this line of communication falling into the hands of another company ; and was not, as was suspected at the time, a matter of political foresight on the part of the directors to enable them to carry on their intercourse with the Continent in spite of France, supposing war should break out between the two countries. Who would have believed five years ago in Belgium that the day would come when it would be quicker to convey intelligence to France by way of England than directly across the frontiers ? Yet such is at the present moment actually the case ; for it is a thing of very frequent occurrence for despatches from Ostend to cross the Channel to Dover by one cable, and to be immediately switched across to Calais by the other—thus paying us a momentary triangular visit underneath the rapid Straits.

The notion, however, of preventing competition proved to be vain. A third cable was laid on the 30th May, 1853, between the English coast at Orfordness, near Ipswich, and the port of Schevening in Holland, and thence to the Hague. This cable is the longest at present in existence, extending 120 miles under the turbulent North Sea. It was, however, paid out during a violent gale of wind without the slightest accident, and  
affords

affords the most direct means of communication with the north of Europe, and entirely commands the commercial traffic of the cities of Amsterdam and Rotterdam. The Hague cable (or cables, for there are now three, consisting of a single wire conductor each, running side by side) is the property of the International Company, a branch of the Old Electric Telegraph, and its wires go direct to the Lothbury office.

Whilst England has moored her south-eastern shores to the Continent by three cables, and put herself *en rapport* with all its principal cities, her north-western extremity has been secured, after many failures, to the sister kingdom—the Electro-Magnetic Company having laid a submarine wire from Portpatrick to Donaghadee, in the neighbourhood of Belfast, and the British Electric Telegraph Company another between Portpatrick and Whitehead in Belfast Lough. England, as befits her, led the way in these adventures upon the sea with the electric fire, and the Danes, Dutch, Russians, and others, are now following in her track.

The map we give of the continental lines shows at a glance how the telegraph has spread over Europe. France, of all the great continental states, with the exception of Spain and Russia, is the worst supplied. This is owing, in a great measure, to the jealousy entertained by the Government to its first introduction, and the opposition made to the new system by the officials employed in the old aerial telegraph. Will it be believed that in 1841, long after the electric telegraph was working in England, scientific men were seriously discussing in the French Chamber the propriety of establishing a night telegraph on the visual principle, and that when at length it was determined to call in the aid of electricity, instruments were ordered to be so constructed that signals could be given after the fashion of the old semaphore, in order that the officials might be spared the trouble of leaving their ancient ruts? The needles were accordingly displaced for a mimic post, to which moveable arms were attached and signs were transmitted by elevating or depressing them by electricity, instead of by hand. Of course this absurd system was after a while abolished, and the instrument now made use of is a modification of the dial telegraph constructed by Breguet. The first telegraph planted in France was constructed by Mr. Wheatstone, from Paris to Versailles, in 1842. The principal line is that running from Calais via Paris to Marseilles, which puts the English Channel and the Mediterranean in communication, and transmits for us the more urgent items of the India and China mail.

Belgium and Switzerland are perhaps the best supplied of all  
the



the continental kingdoms with telegraphic communication. The Belgian lines were excellently planned and cheaply constructed, consequently their tariff is comparatively low, the average charge for a message being 3 francs 48 centimes, or about 2*s.* 10½*d.* Of the nature of the messages sent we can form a very good idea by the following classification of a hundred dispatches:—

Government	. . . . .	2
Stock-jobbing	. . . . .	50
Commercial	. . . . .	31
Newspaper	. . . . .	4
Family affairs	. . . . .	13
		<hr/>
		100

A comparison of the average division of messages in every state would afford a very fair index of the nature of the occupations of their peoples. We have attempted to obtain materials for this purpose in vain, foreign governments, as well as English companies, being very jealous of giving any information relative to their messages. The history of the telegraph in Switzerland is an evidence of what patriotic feeling is capable of accomplishing. Although by far the best and most extensive for a mountainous country in the world, it was constructed by the spontaneous efforts of the people. The peasantry gave their free labour towards erecting the wires and poles, the landlords found the timber and gave the right of way over their lands, and the communes provided station room in the towns. Thus the telegraph was completed, so to speak, for nothing. The peculiarity of the Swiss telegraph is that, like the great wall of China, it proceeds totally regardless of the nature of the ground. It climbs the pass of the Simplon in proceeding from Geneva to Milan—it goes over St. Gothard in its way from Lucerne to Como—it mounts the Splugen, and again it goes from Feldkirch to Innsbruck by the Arlberg pass—thus ascending the great chain of the Alps as though it were only a gentle hill-side. The wires course along the lakes of Lucerne, Zug, Zurich, and Constance; sometimes they are nailed to precipices, sometimes they make short cuts over unfrequented spurs of the mountains—going every way, in short, that it is found most convenient to hang them. The completion of the telegraphic system of this little republic, which stands in the same relation to Southern as Belgium does to Northern Europe, was of great consequence, as it forms the key-stone between France, Prussia, Austria, Piedmont, and Italy.

In Prussia the lines are insulated in gutta percha and buried  
in

in the ground in leaden tubes, a very costly process, but with many great advantages in freedom from injury and atmospheric influences over the more usual method of suspending them in the air on poles. Upwards of 4000 miles of wire have already been laid down in this kingdom. Although Austria only commenced operations in 1847, she already possesses 3000 miles of telegraph, which puts the greater part of her extensive empire in communication with Vienna; her Hungarian system already extends to Belgrade, the nearest point to the seat of war. The distance between this frontier post and Schumla, to which place the engineers of the allies are already carrying the telegraph from Constantinople, is very small, and when the termination of hostilities enables Turkey to fill up the gap, the frontiers of Asia will be reached.

Whatever injury the Eastern war might inflict upon the world, it will, at least, infuse fresh vigour into the telegraphic system, as independently of the lines planned to put Constantinople in communication with the Danubian frontier, Russia has been stimulated to order the immediate construction of a line between St. Petersburg and Helsingfors, in the Baltic, and a continuation of the line already extending from the capital to Moscow, down to Bucharest, Odessa, and Sebastopol. One feature distinguishes the management of continental telegraphs over those of England and America; they are all, with the exception of the short line between Hamburg and Cuxhaven, possessed and worked by the different governments, who seem afraid of the use they might be put to for political purposes, and accordingly exercise a strict surveillance over all messages sent, and rigidly interdict the use of a cipher. What other States have done will be seen from the European map of telegraphs accompanying these pages, which is corrected up to the latest moment.\* The Anglo-Saxon race, however, has far surpassed any other in the energy with which it has woven the globe with telegraphic wires. The Americans in the West and the British in the East alike emulate each other in the magnitude of their undertakings of this nature. The United States, although she came into the field long after England—her first line from Washington to Baltimore not having been completed until 1844—has far outstripped the mother country in the length of her lines, which already extend over 16,729 miles. Every portion of the Union, with the exception of California and

\* It may be as well to state that nearly all the continental telegraphs have formed themselves into a confederacy, called the Austro-Germanic Union, which includes the lines of Austria, Prussia, Saxony, Bavaria, Hanover, Würtemberg, the Netherlands, Denmark, and the Grand Duchy of Baden. The union regulates the tariff and all questions relative to the working of the allied lines.



the upper portion of the Mississippi, is covered with a net-work of wire.

New York and New Orleans communicate with each other by a double route—one skirting the sea-coast, the other taking an inland direction by Cincinnati. These lines alone, following the sinuosities of their routes, are upwards of 2000 miles in length.

Other lines extend as far as Quebec, in Upper Canada, so that messages may be forwarded in the course of a couple of hours from the freezing north to the burning south. The great chain of lakes which form the northern boundary of the Union is put in communication with the Missouri and Mississippi rivers, and the great valley traversed by the latter will, ere long, interchange messages with the Pacific coast,—Congress having under its consideration a plan to establish a telegraph across the continent to San Francisco as the precursor of the proposed railroad.

This we suspect is the project of Mr. O'Reilly, the engineer, who has already executed the boldest lines in America. In constructing such a line, man, not nature, is the great obstacle to be encountered. The implacable Indians inhabiting this portion of the States certainly would not pay any respect to the telegraphic wire; on the contrary, they would in all likelihood take it to bind on the heads of their scalping tomahawks. To provide against this contingency, it is proposed to station parties of twenty dragoons at stockades twenty miles apart, along the whole unprotected portion of the route; two or three of these soldiers are also to ride from post to post and carry a daily express letter across the continent.

When this project is executed, it is asserted that 'European news may be published in six days on the American shores of the Pacific, on the shortened route between the old and new world.' The 'shortened route,' it should be mentioned, lies between Cape Race, in Newfoundland, and Galway, in Ireland, a passage calculated to take, on the average, only five days.

It may be asked how is it that such lengths of wire, carried through thinly settled parts of the country, and sometimes through howling wildernesses, can pay? The only manner that we can account for it is the cheapness with which the telegraph is built in America, the average price being 150 dollars, or about 31*l*. a mile—less than a fourth part of the cost at which the early lines of the English Electric Telegraph Company were erected. Again, the low prices charged for the transmission of messages produce an amount of business which the lines running through thickly inhabited England cannot boast. For instance, let us take the following advertised 'specimen message' of the latter Company,  
and

and compare the price charged for it here with what it could be sent for in America:—

From James Smith, London,	To S. R. Brown, Exchange, Liverpool.
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‘I will meet you at Birmingham to-morrow, three P.M. Don’t fail me.’

Now the London charge for the above, if forwarded to Liverpool, would be five and sixpence; but the American tariff for the same, on the Louisville and Pittsburgh rail, would be only one cent a word, or sixpence halfpenny English. On very long distances our friends on the other side of the steam ferry have a still greater advantage over us: for instance, a message of ten words can be sent on O’Reilly’s line, from New York to New Orleans, a distance of 2000 miles, for sixty cents, or two and sixpence—not half the sum it would cost to send the same message from London to Bristol, just 112 miles. We give as a curiosity the scale of prices on this line: \*—

	Per word.
200 miles or under . . . . .	1 cent.
500 „ or over 300 miles . . . . .	2 cents.
700 „ „ 500 „ . . . . .	3 „
1000 „ „ 700 „ . . . . .	4 „
1500 „ „ 1000 „ . . . . .	5 „
2000 „ „ 1500 „ . . . . .	6 „

These charges, it is true, are unusually low; but if they will pay one Company, why should they not another? There are as many as twenty Telegraph Companies in America, and consequently there is great competition, three or four competing lines in many cases running between the same towns. Great confusion has arisen from this competition, as we have before stated; but it cannot be doubted that prices have materially fallen in consequence. It is common to send a message 1000 miles in the United States without its being read and repeated at intermediate stations; and brother Jonathan boasts that he can communicate in fine weather instantaneously between New York and New Orleans. This, if done at all, must be at the expense of enormous battery power, as 2000 miles of No. 8 wire would expose a conducting surface of no less than 450,000 square feet to the air. The wires in America are all suspended upon poles, and those passing through the southern pine forests are in consequence particularly liable to injury from the falling of trees, and watchers are posted

\* See Tariff of the Rates charged for general Dispatches on the Pittsburgh and Louisville Telegraph, Jones’s Electric Telegraph, New York, page 105.



at every twenty miles' distance to patrol the line. The telegraph is rarely seen in America running beside the railway, for what reason we do not know; the consequence however is, that locomotion in the United States is vastly more dangerous than with us. A comparison of the casualties occurring on railroads in the two countries, in the year 1852, will show this at a glance; for in the State of New York alone, during that year, 228 persons were killed out of 7,440,653 travellers, whilst during the same period only 216 people perished in Great Britain out of a total number of 89,135,729 passengers: thus the average in America was 1 killed in 286,179, and in Great Britain 1 in 2,785,491! Of course property suffers in an equal degree with life on the American lines. The people of Boston, on the recommendation of Dr. Channing, have constructed a municipal telegraph, the many uses of which will be obvious. Mr. Alexander Jones, in his historical sketch of the electric telegraph in America, gives the following account of the application of the electric wire in cases of fire:—

‘A central office or station is fixed upon, at which the main battery, with other instruments, is placed. From this two circuit-wires proceed, like those of the common telegraph wires, fastened to house-tops or ingeniously insulated supports. One of the wires communicates from the main fire bell-tower to all the others, and connects each with machinery, which puts in motion the largest size hammer, and causes it to strike a large fire-bell the desired number of blows; the other wire proceeds on a still more circuitous route, and from one local street or ward signal-station to another. Each station is provided with a strong box and hinged door and lock. Inside of this box there is a connecting electro-magnet and connecting lever, an axle with a number of pins in it to correspond to the number of the station. The axle is turned by a short crank, and in its revolutions the pins break and close the circuit, by moving the end of the lever as often as there are pins or bogs, the result of which is communicated to the central station. If the alarm indicates a fire in the local district No. 3, the alarm can be instantly rung on all the bells in the city. If it is a subject requiring the speedy and efficient attention of the police, information by alarms can be given at each police-station, or the despatches can be recorded by instruments at each place. The local street alarm-boxes are placed in the charge of a person whose duty it is to give the alarm from the local to the central station, when called upon, or circumstances require him to do so.’

Canada has also sketched out a plan of telegraphs, which every year will see filled up. Already she has lines connecting all her principal towns, and extending over nearly one thousand miles of country, all of which lock in with the American system.

In India, Dr. O'Shaughnessy has for some time been engaged in carrying out a telegraphic system proposed by Lord Dal-

housie, and approved by the East India Company, which will ultimately put all the important towns of the peninsula in communication with the seat of government and with each other. A considerable portion of this line, extending from Calcutta to Delhi on the one hand, and from Bombay to Delhi on the other, is already at work; and Dr. O'Shaughnessy has pledged himself to carry the wires across the country to Bombay and Hydrabad in eighteen months' time. The fine No. 8 galvanized iron wire, which in Europe runs along from pole to pole, like a delicate harp-string, is discarded in this country for rods of iron three-eighths of an inch in thickness. The nature of the climate, and the character of its animal life, has caused this departure from the far more economical European plan. Clouds of kites and troops of monkeys would speedily take such liberties with the fine wires as to place them *hors-de-combat*. Again, the deluges of rain which occur in the wet season would render the insulation of a small wire so imperfect that a message could not be sent through it to any distance. The larger mass of metal, on the contrary, is capable of affording passage for the electric fluid through any amount of rain, without danger of 'leakage;' and as for the kites and other large birds of the country, they may perch on these rods by thousands without stopping the messages, which will fly harmlessly through their claws; and the weight of the heaviest monkey is not sufficient to injure them. These rods are planted, without any insulation, upon the tops of bamboo poles (coated with tar and pitch), at such a height that loaded elephants can pass beneath without displacing them; and even if by chance they should be thrown down, bullock-carts or buffaloes and elephants may trample them under foot without doing them injury. In some places the rods, if we are rightly informed, run through rice-swamps, buried in the ground, and even here the only insulating material used is a kind of cement made of rosin and sand. The telegraph, like a swift messenger, goes forward and prepares the way for the railroad, which is planned to follow in its footsteps. When these two systems are completed, the real consolidation of England's power in the East will have commenced, and the countless resources of the Indian peninsula will be called forth for the benefit of the conquered as well as of the conquering race.

The restless spirit of English engineers, having provided for the internal telegraphic communication of Great Britain and her principal dependencies, seems bent upon stretching out her lines to the East and to the West, so as ultimately to clasp the entire globe. The project of connecting, telegraphically, England with



with America is at the present moment seriously engaging the attention of scientific and commercial men. The more daring engineers are sanguine of the practicability of laying a submarine cable directly across the Atlantic, from Galway to Cape Race in Newfoundland. Now that we have Lieut. Maury's authentic determination of the existence of a shelf across the North Atlantic, the soundings on which are nowhere more than 1500 fathoms, the feasibility of the project is tolerably certain. The principal question is whether if a line were laid an electric current can be passed through 3000 miles of cable. No doubt, by the expenditure of enormous battery power, this might be accomplished through wires suspended in the air, but it is a question whether it can be done along a vast length of gutta-percha coated wire, passing through salt-water. There is such a thing as *too great an insulation*. Professor Faraday has shown that in such circumstances the wire becomes a Leyden jar, and may be so charged with electricity that a current cannot, without the greatest difficulty, move through it. This is the objection to a direct cable between the two Continents: if, however, it can be overcome, doubtless the ocean path would in all possible cases be adopted where communications had to be made between civilized countries having intermediate barbarous, or ungenial lands. To escape this at present dubious ocean path it is proposed to carry the cable from the northernmost point of the Highlands of Scotland to Iceland, by way of the Orkney, Shetland, and Ferroe islands—to lay it from Iceland across to the nearest point in Greenland, thence down the coast to Cape Farewell, where the cable would again take to the water, span Davis's Straits, and make right away across Labrador and Upper Canada to Quebec. Here it would lock in with the North American meshwork of wires, which hold themselves out like an open hand for the European grasp. This plan seems quite feasible, for in no part of the journey would the cable require to be more than 900 miles long; and as it seems pretty certain that a sandbank extends, with good soundings, all the way to Cape Farewell, there would be little difficulty in mooring the cable to a level and soft bottom. The only obstacle that we see is the strong partiality of the Esquimaux for old iron, and it would perhaps be tempting them too much to hang their coats with this material, just ready to their hands. The want of settlements along this inhospitable arctic coast to protect the wire is, we confess, a great drawback to the scheme; but, we fancy, posts might be organized at comparatively a small cost, considering the magnitude and importance of the undertaking. The mere expense of making and laying the cable would not be much more

than double that of building the new Westminster bridge across the Thames.

Whilst England would thus grasp the West with one hand, her active children have plotted the seizure of the East with the other. It is determined to pass a cable from Genoa to Corsica,\* and from thence to Sardinia. From the southernmost point of the latter island, Cape Spartivento, to the Gulf of Tunis, another cable can easily be carried. The direction thence (after giving off a coast branch to Algeria) will be along the African shore, by Tripoli to Alexandria, and eventually across Arabia, along the coasts of Persia and Beloochistan until it enters Scinde, and finally joins the wire at Hyderabad, which in all probability by that time will have advanced from Burmah, across the Indian peninsula, to welcome it. America will shortly carry her line of telegraph to the Pacific shore, and run it up the coast as far as San Francisco. Can there be any reasonable doubt that, before the end of the century, the one line advancing towards the West and the other towards the East—through China and Siberia—will gradually approach each other so closely that a short cable stretched across Behring Straits will bring the four quarters of the globe within speaking distance of each other, and enable the electric fire to ‘put a girdle round the world in forty minutes?’

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\* The cable to connect the mainland with Corsica, 110 miles in length, is already completed, and, in all probability, by this time has reached its destination. It was manufactured by W. Kuper and Co., of East Greenwich. We witnessed the spinning of this cable, and were struck with astonishment at the ease with which half-a-dozen different processes were being carried on upon the same rope at the same time; the laying round each other of the six wires insulated with gutta percha, the envelopment of these in tarred spun-yarn, and the coating of the whole with twelve iron wires of No. 1 gauge, went on in different parts of the factory simultaneously. At one entrance, in fact, all the materials in a disconnected state were continually entering, and at another the finished rope was continually emerging at the rate of two miles and a half in the twenty-four hours. The rope, when finished, measured seventy-five feet in diameter, and twenty-four feet from the convex to concave of one side of the coil. The six wires which it enclosed were connected together, when all was completed, and extra insulated wire added until the length of 1000 miles was made up. Along this enormous distance the current was passed freely enough at first, yet it was evident that some moments of time were necessary to discharge the accumulated electricity in it, which in some degree bears out the idea we before expressed,—that a too well insulated rope of a very great length becomes, for the moment, a Leyden jar. It may be as well to state that the rope belongs to the Mediterranean Electric Telegraph Company, and that the shareholders are principally English.



- ART. VI.—1. *Life in Fejee, or Five Years among the Cannibals.*  
By a Lady. 1851.
2. *Journals of the Bishop of New Zealand's Visitation Tours.*  
Printed for the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.
3. *A Letter to His Grace the Duke of Newcastle on behalf of the  
Melanesian Mission of the Bishop of New Zealand.* By Lewis  
M. Hogg, Rector of Cranford, Northamptonshire. London.  
1853.
4. *Remarkable Incidents in the Life of the Rev. Samuel Leigh,  
Missionary to the Settlers and Savages of Australia and New  
Zealand.* By the Rev. Alexander Strachan. London. 1853.
5. *Our Antipodes: or, Residence and Rambles in the Australasian  
Colonies.* By Lieut. Col. Godfrey Charles Mundy. 3 vols.  
London. 1852.
6. *Auckland, the Capital of New Zealand, and the Country adjacent;  
including some Account of the Gold Discovery in New Zealand.*  
London. 1853.

WE endeavoured in a late number to trace the recent history of the spread of Christianity in the multitudinous islands of the Eastern Pacific, inhabited by the Polynesian race. We observed on that occasion on the remarkable similarity of the type of features, stature, and language among tribes so widely dispersed over the surface of that great ocean, belonging to this common stock. It is necessary that we should recur for a moment to the subject, in order to render more intelligible the distinction taken by modern geographers between Polynesia and Melanesia.\*

It was long ago suggested that the root of the common Polynesian speech is to be found in the 'Kawi,' a branch of the Malay language; the researches of William Humboldt are said to have established the fact; and learned men have already affixed to those who speak it the name of 'Malayo-Polynesians.' We are in no degree qualified to dispute these conclusions. But

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\* The three volumes of the French popular publication 'L'Univers Pittoresque,' devoted to 'Océanie,' are compiled by M. Dumeny de Rienzi, himself a voyager in the South Seas and the East. They contain a great deal of information, and, although published in 1836, remain the best 'Handbook' with which we are acquainted for vast tracts of the populous Pacific. This writer divides that ocean into four regions: Polynesia, comprising the groupes we have already described, and also the extensive archipelagos of the Caroline and Pellew Islands, north of the equator and west of 180°; Melanesia, including (besides the groupes we have placed in it) Australia and New Guinea; Malaisia, or the Malay archipelago; and Micronesia, containing the many clusters of small islands in the Northern temperate Pacific.

the fact of these islands having been actually colonized from the regions now inhabited by the Malay family, or, as some have supposed, by the Dyaks of Borneo, has always seemed to us of the most problematical character. Those who maintain it, including, we are bound to admit, not only theoretical geographers, but very close observers, such as John Williams, have to get over the difficulty of a series of migrations from West to East, that is, against the steady breeze of the unvarying Trades, and by the aid of those irregular westerly gales, the 'mad winds,' as some of the islanders call them, from their caprice and uncertainty, which prevail at most for only two months of the year. They have to controvert the equally unvarying current of Polynesian tradition, which (as Mr. Ellis points out) speaks of colonization as uniformly proceeding from the East; corroborated by the insulated cases of migration which have taken place since the Pacific was known to Europeans—all, we believe, in the same direction, when accomplished in native vessels. They have to answer the puzzling question, How is it, if the Eastern Polynesians came from Asia, that they inhabit the part of the ocean farthest from Asia—that a vast portion of the insular region, lying directly between the presumed colony and the presumed mother country, is occupied by a totally different race, the Melanesians, or Oceanian Negroes, whom no one, so far as we know, has connected with any Asiatic origin? Again, we know of no similarity, except that of language, which has been established between the Malays and Polynesians. The slender Malay resembles neither in hue, nor face, nor figure, the tall and big-boned islander; nor has any really significant analogy of habits or religion been pointed out. And to what does a mere radical identity of language amount, as a proof of identity of race? Does any one doubt, for instance, that the mass of the French people are of Celtic, not of Roman, descent?—and yet has not the antiquary the greatest difficulty in detecting a single Celtic root in the common language of the country, which (with the exception of more recently-imported words) is wholly and exclusively Roman? The fact is, that some families of mankind have always shown a readiness to abandon their pristine tongue on occasions of conquest or migration, and acquire a new one, as remarkable as the obstinacy with which others adhere to it.

Supposing the colonization of the Eastern Pacific to have proceeded from its American shore—supposing it effected by one wave of that vast migration, of which another wave carried the Aztecs to the tropical plateau of Mexico—it will be not an unreasonable hypothesis, also, that the singular family of mankind

to



to which recent geographers give the name of Melanesians, comprises the remnant of the original native races whom that colonization disturbed. The confused and fragmentary dispersion of these tribes, so far as we are acquainted with them, as well as their general inferiority, seems to countenance such an hypothesis. Even circumscribed within its narrowest limits—lying north of the parallel of New Zealand, west of the 180th meridian, east of Australia, and south of the equator—Melanesia seems to include rather a multitude of distinct nations than a single people. The inhabitants of these islands differ from the Polynesians proper in being much darker of colour—approaching to the real Asiatic negro of New Guinea, or ‘Negrillo’ of the Papuan race, with whom they have been sometimes allied by ethnographers. But, with this exception, they seem to possess no common and distinctive feature. They present, therefore, a remarkable contrast, and very unfavourable one for missionary purposes, to the singularly homogeneous character which, as we have seen, characterises the Eastern Polynesians. Some tribes, as those of Fiji, are remarkable for gigantic stature: others, the reverse. The language of some seems a Polynesian dialect; other groupes have many languages of their own, said to be totally distinct both from the Polynesian and from each other. Some have estimated that in the New Hebrides there is on the average a different language, or dialect, for every 5000 souls. The whole archipelago presents, in short, to the ethnographer a kind of labyrinthine confusion, out of which the patient labours of the missionary and the philologist will no doubt ultimately educe some systematic arrangement.

Within two days’ westerly sail of the Society Islands lies the first Melanesian groupe, that of the FIJI or Feejee Islands (we adopt the continental orthography, to which English writers, not without a struggle, seem at last to have generally resigned themselves in foreign nomenclature), which, like the former, is a province of the Wesleyan missionaries. Of all the races of the Pacific hitherto known to Europeans the men of Fiji are the most sanguinary and ferocious in their practices; and at the same time nearly the highest in point of natural endowments. And, consequently, the beginning contest between light and darkness here assumes an intensity which marks it in no other quarter. It seems as if the very approach of dawn had added new horrors to the night: never were war and massacre, with their attendant atrocities, so rife among these savages as now. ‘The progress of the battle’ (says Mr. Lawry in one of the works cited in our former article) ‘now going on in Feejee between the old murderer and his conqueror and lord is waxing hot, and hastening

hastening to its close.' The strangest features of the collision between civilised and savage life seems here brought prominently forward: in one little 'lotu' or 'converted' island, the missionary with his gentle and submissive flock: on another, within sight, the smoke rising from the burning village, and the cannibal revelry of its conquerors: on a third, eager traffic driving between a chief and his people and an European or American cruiser. The missionaries here are in their true element.

'They preach the Gospel to all who will hear it, morning, noon, and night. They administer medicine to the sick, and settle disputes for all parties. They are consulted about every important enterprise, and have their hand in everything that is going on. They are lawyers, physicians, privy councillors, builders, agriculturists.'

They are exposed, without arms and without protectors, to the evil passions of the most bloodthirsty of all known races of mankind. And great is their reward—the progress of their mission is eminently encouraging, not only as regards the extent, but the character of their conquests.

This great archipelago, as yet very imperfectly known, contains, it is thought, not less than 300,000 inhabitants. The two principal islands (of which Viti Leuvu is the largest) are represented as equal in size to ordinary English counties. They are intersected by lofty ridges of volcanic mountains. There are dwellers in the interior of Viti Leuvu who have never seen the sea—not, however, so much by reason of actual distance, as from the certainty to which the adventurous tourist would be exposed of being literally, not figuratively, eaten up before he could reach his object. The valleys are singularly fertile and well watered, and abound in the vegetable riches of the Eastern and Western Pacific, which seem to meet at this central point. Mr. Lawry says he has seen and handled 'the tea plant of China, carraway-seed, nutmeg, arrowroot, capsicum, and sarsaparilla.' The ethnography of this noble group is puzzling; and has much exercised the ingenuity of scholars in that science. The colour of the people is many shades darker than that of the more easterly islanders, and, together with other peculiarities, seems to betray a Melanesian origin: but many of their customs, as well as their stalwart proportions and lofty stature ('far above the height of any other nation which I have seen,' says Sir E. Belcher) resemble those of the Polynesians proper; while their language is said to be a polyglot, compounded of many elements. Their industry, energy, and personal activity contrast strongly with the indolent habits of most of their neighbours. Mr. Lawry expatiates on their very superior character as servants,  
to



to the Tongans, 'who, though they are more comely in our eyes, are not so sharp, nor so well-disciplined, as the Feejeeans: an advantage, however, more than compensated by the inbred ferocity of the latter: witness the horrid story which he elsewhere tells of a young girl 'daughter of the king of Opo,' who was taken as nursemaid into a missionary family, and set forth-with about murdering the infant. 'Her plan was to avail herself of those times when the child was cross, to hug it in her arms so strongly as to crush its frame together!' It died soon after the device was detected from the internal injuries inflicted through these vindictive embraces. 'In Tonga,' says the same writer, 'the children at school sit with all the gravity of judges on the bench: whereas the raw and lively children of Feejee, just wild from the sea-shore and the bush, are like so many merry-andrews.' Their taste for commerce and barter is well known to navigators in those seas. Captain Erskine notes that the position of their women is rather elevated, and

'the intercourse between the sexes, without pretending to any exalted feelings of modesty or principle, is conducted with great delicacy, excepting in cases where the bad example of dissolute white men has spread its contamination.'

And—to complete the catalogue of their better qualities—they seem to have a due appreciation of literary merit. A Feejeean poet, says Mr. Hale, will often get twenty tambuas (whale's teeth) for a song or dance—a rate of payment, proportionally speaking, which an European *maestro* might find it difficult to attain.

This fine people are bowed down by the most crushing and hideous superstitions known to exist in the world. In Captain Wilkes's volumes will be found long dissertations on their voluminous theology. They seem to have more definite notions of a First Cause than are common among the South Sea islanders: and a strong belief in the immortality of the souls of all animated things. Next to the Maker of all—who is acknowledged under various names—they worship the God Ndengei, said to be enshrined, in the form of a serpent, in the district of Nakauvandeia in Viti Leuvu.\* This deity 'slews or turns himself over every

\* Whence arises the extraordinary universality of the popular belief in the existence of monsters of the serpent class? We have seen it attributed to a dim recollection of the great Saurian reptiles which once inhabited the earth; but the period of these creatures was a comparatively early geological age; and the huge extinct quadrupeds of much later times have left no such general tradition behind them. The symbolical Dragon of China seems to be the very same fabulous animal whose conquest has immortalised St. George and More of More Hall; the same whose 'ancient brood' is still believed by the matter-of-fact Swiss peasant to lurk in the caverns of the High Alps; whose portraiture is preserved, as seen by a burgo-master,

every sleep he takes, which is from three to seven years long,' and thus produces earthquakes.] Ravuyalo, 'the destroyer of souls,' endeavours to intercept and annihilate the spirit of the dead on its escape from the body. He is believed to reside at a place called 'Nambang Gatai,' on the road to 'Bulu,' the 'separate state,' or land of souls.

'The town is inhabited by people of this world; and the town occupied by Ravuyalo and his sons, though in this vicinity, is nevertheless out of sight. The people of the natural town are, nevertheless, well acquainted with what is going on in the spiritual town, by means of a parouet, which gives notice whenever spirits are passing to another world. If only one is coming, he calls once; if two, twice; and so on according to number.'

Such is the romantic myth told by Mr. Lawry; it should, however, be added, for the caution of grave inquirers who seek to enrich their collections with legendary stores, that the people of Fiji are (according to John Jackson, the sailor, whose strange narrative of his two years' residence among them forms an appendix to Captain Erskine's 'Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific') 'the greatest adepts at fabricating a lie, or exaggerating, that ever I heard of.'

Fiji is under the double yoke of a chiefhood and priesthood, whose relations to each other we cannot distinctly trace in any of the volumes before us, but whose combined power has reduced the mass of the people to a state of abject submission, in which the most unheard-of cruelties are both witnessed and suffered

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master, issuing, full clawed and tailed, from the flank of Mount Pilatus, in the work of the learned naturalist Scheuchzer. We know the obstinacy with which British tars and Norway fishermen cling to their sea-serpents; and the Indians of the Mississippi swamps, not content with the real terrors of their alligators and gar-fish, people the marshes with the legendary 'cawani.' The reader may consult Sir George Grey's little narrative of one of his journeys in New Zealand (printed in Maori and English) for the legend of the three 'Taniwhas,' evidently draconic monsters, and the feats of the Maori chivalry in subduing them. But a living reptile, equally horrible, was actually seen by Jackson the sailor in the interior of a Fiji island, if we can believe him. 'One day, when I was at a place called Vusaratu, the natives gave me some eels to eat, and asked me if we had any in papalangi' (white man's country). When I said we had, they asked me if there were any king-eels among them? I answered, No; when they straightway conducted me to a fresh-water hole, with a temple erected at one end. In this hole there was an immense sized eel; his body at the thickest part was as big round as a stout man's thigh, and his head was enormously large and frightful; but his whole length I could not tell. They said he was two fathoms long. I inquired the meaning of the temple. They said it was his, and that he was a "kalou" or spirit. I thought I would prove the veneration they held him in, so I pointed my musket at him, and cocked it. They seemed to be extremely agitated, and begged me to desist, and then ran off and fetched some cooked bread-fruit to propitiate him for the insult offered, which he took from their hands. They told me he was of a great age, and that he had eaten several infants, which they had given him at different times; children of prisoners taken in war.'

with



with apathy, as part of the common lot of man. Buried alive in the holes dug for the posts of the chief's home—strangled in masses at his funeral—their living and writhing bodies used as 'rollers,' over which the monstrous war-canoes are dragged up the beach (a barbarity which struck Mr. Ellis with horror in Otaheite, where it was only practised on corpses)—the Fijians take it all as part of the inevitable burden laid on them, '*gravi sub religione*.' A district called Dreketi, according to Jackson, 'is considered the lowest of all, and is actually kept for human sacrifices and for food upon any public occasion. They are not allowed to lift arms in their defence, but are supposed to be not only neutral, but passive and resigned to their fate, from whatever hand it may come. Although there are many canoes on each side their river, they never get ferried over, but always swim; and in fact they never expect it. So habitual is their hard fate, that they look upon it as a matter of course, and not only resigned are they, but even pleasant!'

We will select a less revolting instance of aristocratic outrage from Jackson's narrative. Revelita, a great chief, had paid a visit to a village of serfs with his suite, and called for his dinner.

'The poor inhabitants, having been paid such visits before, knew what sort of guests they had to entertain, and hurried accordingly. They, in their haste and desire to please, took the victuals up before they were properly cooked, and brought them in the most humble way. The lazy courtiers and tasters informed Revelita that the victuals were quite raw, and observed, at the same time, that it was an old offence of that place in particular. The chief flew into a passion, thinking that his dignity was slighted, and ordered the inhabitants to assemble before him. They did so, and it happened to be on a beach that was completely covered with pumice-stone. They crawled on their hands and knees, waiting with resignation the result of the anger of the chief. At last he looked out of the door, and began to abuse them at a tremendous rate, and said he did not know how to punish them, as it was of no use killing them, because they would be glad to get off so easy. One of the courtiers observed, that it would be easier for them (the inhabitants), hardened slaves as they were, to make a hearty meal from the pumice-stones, than for such a chief as Revelita to eat the pork underdone. Revelita said, "Well thought of," and commanded the poor Batiki fellows to begin at once, which they immediately obeyed, and despatched such quantities of pumice-stone, that you could in a little while observe the stones diminishing, although the beach was thirty or forty yards long.'—*Erskine*, p. 456.

The practice, common to many other savage nations, of burying living persons when they become a burden to others, is so ordinary, that (according to Captain Erskine) an aged or decrepit person is rarely seen among them. But it is attended with horrors peculiarly their own. Mr. Williams (a missionary who has lived

lived four years in these islands) gave Captain Erskine an account of an attempt which he had ineffectually made to induce Tui Thakau, an elderly chief, to embrace Christianity during an illness:—

‘On the following morning Mr. Williams, whilst standing at the door of his house, was a good deal surprised, having left the chief in such high spirits so short a time before, by being informed, by a Feejeean, evidently proceeding on some important business, in a low tone of voice, as if not desirous of being overheard, that Tui Thakau was dead, and that preparations were going on for his burial. Not doubting the truth of the information, but knowing that the preparations partly consisted in strangling the wives of the deceased, Mr. Williams, hurriedly apprising his colleague, Mr. Hazlewood, of the circumstance, hastened with him to the chief’s residence, with the humane intention of endeavouring to save the lives of some at least of the destined victims.

‘As they crossed the threshold they stepped over the body, yet warm, of the first strangled wife, whilst two men, each holding the end of the fatal cord, were performing the office of the executioner on the second, then in the agonies of death. Tui Kila-Kila, the heir to the chieftainship, sat at a short distance, with a scowl of fierce determination on his countenance, whilst in a more remote corner, to the astonishment of the missionaries, reclined old Tui Thakau himself, apparently in no more infirm condition than on the previous day. A remonstrance on the atrocity of such proceedings during the life-time of the chief was met by a stern announcement from Tui Kila-Kila that “his father was dead; the spirit had quitted him yesterday: he before them was no living man, but a corpse whom they were about to carry to the tomb.” Seeing that no expostulations were likely to be of any avail in favour of the old man, whose mind, from his composed silence, was evidently made up to his fate, the missionaries turned their attention to the surviving wives, whose lives they were successful in saving, the two already sacrificed being considered as sufficient for the occasion.

‘The principal wife, a woman of higher rank than any person present, had escaped the usual fate, Feejeean custom requiring that the ceremony of strangulation shall be performed by one of an equal grade. The bodies having been placed in a litter, and the old chief in another, the funeral procession began, the principal wife and son fanning his face as they conducted him to his living grave.’—*Ib.*, p. 231.

The particulars of a still more repulsive case will be found, by those who are studious of such horrors, in the last page of Jackson the sailor’s extraordinary narrative. The women, however, are usually willing and often eager to meet the fate which awaits them when a husband dies. In an instance which came under the cognisance of Mrs. Wallis (the wife of an American who traded to these islands, and the accuracy of whose little work—‘Life in Feejee’—is attested by the missionaries), the chiefs of

Bau



Bau would not consent to strangle any of the women of a deadly enemy whom they had succeeded in clubbing. They wished him to feel the effects of their hatred in the next world by not allowing him to have a wife to cook for him—a thing indispensable according to the Fiji creed. 'Come, strangle me quick,' said his faithful partner, 'that my spirit may go with the spirit of Nalela, and comfort him; he is even now faint for food.' When she found that no one would do her the friendly office, she resolved to starve herself, and tasted nothing from the 21st to the 30th of the month. It was with the greatest difficulty that Mrs. Wallis then persuaded, or rather compelled her to eat.

In the practice of cannibalism the people of Fiji 'equal, if they do not exceed, all known races.' It is impossible to give, except by reference to the ample details of the volumes before us, any idea of the excesses to which it is carried. This custom, the existence of which at all it was at one time the fashion to disbelieve, has been traced, in some regions, to motives of ferocious revenge; in others, to superstitious fancies—to an unnatural appetite—to actual deficiency of other nourishment: but in Fiji all these causes seem to co-operate. Whether by way of rendering the last honours to a deceased enemy, or treating his remains with the extreme of contumely, the Fijian warrior equally devours him—only with some difference of language and ceremony. It is related by one of the missionaries that the king of Bau, when a rebel chief was killed, commanded his tongue to be cut out. Holding it in his hand, he joked over it, and apostrophised it as the instrument of evil, as a preliminary to eating it. The heart, liver, and tongue, are favourite morsels. Tuihilahila, king of Somoromo, thus addressed the baked body of a once intimate friend, whom he had captured and slaughtered—'Thou hast been my brother; had I fallen into thine hand, should I not have been eaten forthwith? And dost thou think of an escape?—No, verily!' But Thakombau, another eminent warrior, when lectured by Captain Erskine on the subject, defended the usage on strictly economical grounds. 'It was all very well for us, who had plenty of beef, to remonstrate—but they had no beef but men!' The missionaries even assert that the language 'contains no word for a simple corpse; but the word used, "bakola," conveys the idea of eating the body.' It is common to call a human being, when considered as an article of diet, 'a long pig.' All enemies killed in battle are, 'as a matter of course,' eaten by the victors. A body, properly roasted and prepared, is sent as a present of great value to friends:—

'the limbs are tied, say in a sitting form, and there they remain; when dressed,

dressed, they take the body up, paint the face red, put a wig upon the head, put a club or fan in the hands, as they may happen to fancy, and then carry the whole as a present to be eaten by their friends. They sometimes travel far with this spectacle, which, when met in the path, may easily be mistaken for a living man in full dress.'

The hideous banquet excites a kind of frenzy resembling intoxication. Even whites have sometimes yielded to the maniacal propensity. M. Gervais, one of Dumont Durville's officers, found that the crew of a whaler who accompanied him on a visit to a Fiji chief had great difficulty in resisting his invitation to join the feast: and Forster observed a similar longing in some of Cook's crew of the *Resolution*, while others 'suffered the same effects as from a dose of ipecacuanha' from the mere proposal.

When war will not afford the requisite victims, a Fiji party will often surprise persons by stratagem, solely for the purpose of devouring them—a whole village will lie in wait for a man and his wife, returning from their plantation. Women are preferred, when choice is free. If a chief has been well feasted by a friend, it becomes a point of honour with him to return the compliment with equal munificence, however scarce the requisite game may be. An instance of this kind gave occasion for that exploit of heroic humanity on the part of the two missionaries' wives, Mrs. Lyth and Mrs. Calvert, who interrupted the work of massacre by their presence, to which we called attention in our former article. It is no detraction from the merit of these brave women to notice, that the success which crowned their interference was possibly owing, in part, to the superstitious feeling prevalent among the natives that it is unlucky to persist in an undertaking which has been once interrupted—a feeling powerful enough to unnerve the fiercest warrior, in the full excitement of the orgie or the fight. Thus, in one of the Tahitian attacks on the French, a poor missionary stepped forward to implore the natives to desist, and fell by a chance shot—'This is no good fight,' the chiefs exclaimed, and drew off their men immediately. Jackson has a remarkable story of the same kind. A certain queen, smitten with a partiality for an American negro, ordered a slave woman, 'extremely good-looking and intelligent,' to marry him. She declined, and, in spite of all threatening, refused to have anything to do with the 'kuke' (all blacks are called cooks in Fiji, from the ordinary profession which they follow on board ship). Her mistress, in a rage, ordered two subordinate chiefs 'to lay hold of her knees and break her thigh.' Jackson, according to his own account, rushed in, 'knocked down one of the chiefs like a bullock,' and rescued the poor wretch.



wretch. He was instantly seized and pinioned, and told that 'as I had saved the woman's life (which I discovered I had effectually done by the queen's observations, it being considered dangerous to undertake a second time anything which has been once prevented), I must lose my own instead'—a fate, from which he escaped with difficulty.

The fact is, that cruelty, as well as courage, among the South Sea islanders seems to be of a very impulsive character. Generally speaking, they cannot comprehend the 'patient search and vigil long' of the Red Indian's hatred; nor the deliberateness of European criminal justice; which seems to them much the same thing.

'You speak of cruelty,' said a Maori chief to Samuel Leigh: 'I saw them hang a white man at Sydney; and never did I witness so horrible a spectacle. They kept him in prison several days after they told him he must die: was there no cruelty in that? We have no such custom in our country. When we intend to kill, we watch for a convenient opportunity, and when the person least expects it, with one blow of the *maree* we bring him to the ground in a moment.'

The work of change in these islands will probably advance much more rapidly than present appearances would indicate. As Captain Erskine truly observes—

'The certainty that a line of communication will soon be opened between the whole of the western coasts of America and our gold-producing colonies in Australia, to the success of which a series of intermediate points is necessary, of which the Feejee Islands will probably be one of the most important, renders this prospect no longer one of distant speculation; nor the conversion of a people, to whom we must be indebted for many useful supplies, from a fierce barbarism to a rational civilisation, a question of mere sentimental fancy.'—p. 279.

Two days' westerly sail before the steady trade-wind brought Captain Erskine, in the 'Havannah,' from Fiji to Aneiteum, the most easterly land of the interesting group of the NEW HEBRIDES, 'a long chain of volcanic islands, extending 400 miles from north to south,' inhabited by many tribes of the Melanesian family; some, says Captain Erskine, nearly allied to those of Fiji; others of smaller stature, and seeming to belong 'to a less robust and less advanced people.' The use of the betel-nut and chunam among some of these islanders already announces to the voyager from the East the influence of Asia. To this groupe (and the neighbouring sub-groupe of the low coral formation, called the Loyalty Islands) belong Erromango, Vate, Tana, Vanikoro, the scene of La Pérouse's shipwreck, and other spots more or less famous in the annals of maritime

time and missionary adventure. Tana is known by its great volcano, which recent voyagers have noticed in constant activity—the Stromboli or natural lighthouse of these seas, well known as a beacon by the crew of the Bishop of New Zealand's little missionary vessel.

The New Hebrides were discovered by the Spaniard Quiros in 1606, who considered them part of the great Terra Australis, and cherished gigantic schemes for their colonization. They were visited afterwards by Bougainville and Cook, but few additions have been made to our knowledge of them since the time of those great navigators. The sandal-wood traffic has been carried on thither with more or less activity since 1828, chiefly from Sydney, and somewhat in the Dutch spirit of monopoly:—

‘The apprehension of the trade being thrown open to competition,’ says Captain Erskine, ‘has induced a habit of secrecy with respect to all their transactions on the part of the traders; and the commerce itself has, with a few exceptions, been conducted in a manner very discreditable to the white men employed in it, who have often shown themselves in no way behind the natives in cruelty and treachery, and indeed, with the sole exception of cannibalism, in the practice of all the vices we generally ascribe to savages.’

Many of these islands, says another authority,

‘are infested by Europeans, who are either runaway convicts, expirées, or deserters from the whalers. . . . They live in a manner easily to be imagined from men of this class, without either law, religion, or education to control them—with an unlimited quantity of ardent spirits, which they obtain from distilling the toddy that exudes from the cocoa-nut tree. This spirit is not very palatable, but it serves, to use their own expression, “to tickle the brain.”’

The seamen who frequent this dangerous region recount with horror the deeds of ‘the monster Jones,’ one of these miscreants, who in 1841 destroyed eleven Europeans, deserters from the ‘Woodlark,’ Sydney whaler:—

‘He invited them all to visit him to partake of a feast, and, when he had got his victims intoxicated with this island spirit, he gave them food in which he had previously mixed poison. This proved fatal to seven, and the remaining four having refused to eat, he watched his opportunity, and shot them.’

The cause of the crime, reported by Captain Simpson, of the barque ‘Giraffe,’ in the Nautical Magazine of 1844, was jealousy of the influence of these new-comers over the natives. Had the victims only belonged to the latter class, the matter would have excited but little attention. These myriads of islets and reefs abound but too plenteously in memorials of dark and undetected crime, like those of the Gulf of Mexico in the old buccaneering days:—

‘Some



‘Some desert isle or key,  
Where Spaniards wrought their cruelty;  
Or where the savage Indian’s mood  
Repaid it back in deeds of blood.’

Many have been the massacres committed on these shores on tribes of unoffending natives; and many a barque, long since catalogued in Lloyd’s list of ‘vessels lost at sea and never heard of,’ has paid with the lives of all her crew the penalty for some such guilty act. The murder of John Williams by the natives of Erromango, reputed the most savage of the New Hebrideans, in 1839, is supposed to have been committed in retribution for outrages perpetrated by nameless European visitors. And the work of mutual wrong still continues. Captain Richards, master of a vessel trading to these islands, told Captain Erskine that the mate of a Sydney sandal-wood trader had boasted to him but a few weeks previously, of having shot six men, as she sailed along the coast, with the charitable purpose of spoiling the market of those who might follow; and the same or another miscreant was reported to have shot a friendly chief in sport, when, having concluded his traffic, he was swimming on shore from the vessel.

The volumes before us abound with most painful instances, both of the frequency and savage nature of these outrages on the native population, and of the lamentable inadequacy of English law rather than of English executive authority to repress them. The commander of a Queen’s ship, however anxious to put down such enormities, finds his movements impeded by the thousand snares which our jurisprudence, in its abundant caution, has contrived, as if on purpose to embarrass the march of justice. The ‘case of Mr. Lewis,’ contained at length in the appendix to Captain Erskine’s work, affords an instructive commentary on the hopelessness of such endeavours. John Charles Lewis, late of Sydney, master mariner, had shot three natives of the isle of Maré. Strange to say, preliminary difficulties were so far got over, that Lewis was actually put on his trial, on the 15th November, 1849, at Sydney, for the wilful murder of ‘a certain male adult, whose name was to the Attorney-General unknown.’ ‘His Honour suggested that the words male adult would not necessarily mean a human being.’ This objection, benevolently taken by the court, was, however, got rid of by an amendment, and the trial proceeded—to a triumphant acquittal, on the ground apparently that the naked male adult in question was shot ‘under circumstances which might reasonably create in the mind of Captain Lewis a belief that his life was in danger.’ Mark the result. ‘Within a month after the trial of Mr. Lewis, his employer, who had him sent back to his station, received informa-

tion, which has since been confirmed, of the capture by the people of Maré of his cutter the 'Lucy Anne,' and the murder of the whole of her crew.'

A still more serious instance of similar atrocity and revenge will be found in the Parliamentary New Zealand Papers of August 1848; the narrative of an outrage committed at Rotuma by the crew of a Sydney schooner and brig 'engaged in obtaining men from islands hereabouts at 2*l*. by the head as wages, as they are designed to be shepherds and labourers in New South Wales.' The vessels were entered in a shipping-list kept at Rotuma by a pilot established there as 'trading for cannibals!' The case seems to have been taken up by the Governor of New Zealand, but to have fallen through for want of available evidence. Similar ill success (according to Colonel Mundy) attended the prosecution of another Sydney master, who had obligingly lent his ship's coppers for the purpose of cooking New Zealanders' heads.

Another offender, on a smaller scale—one Stephens, who had led a native war-party—Captain Erskine took on himself to remove from the island of Tana by compulsion—much to the man's own surprise, that the captain should have thought such an affair worth noticing.

'I was desirous of showing to the vagrant English, who, when amongst these islands, fancy themselves above all restraint, that offences wantonly committed here were punishable by our own laws; and although in this case it was not probable that any evidence could be procured which would weigh with a Sydney jury, even in the doubtful case of their considering the murder of a savage a blameable action, yet the inconvenience the culprit would be put to by his removal might operate in some degree as a check upon others, if it were understood that our domiciliary visits were to be annually repeated.'—*Erskine*, p. 308.

Again; we have before us a proclamation of Sir Charles Fitzroy, Governor of New South Wales, stating that certain British subjects, resident in the Fiji Islands, have been for some time past accustomed to make purchases of native women from their relatives, and keep them in a state of slavery: adding, truly enough, that such conduct on the part of British subjects is illegal under our slave-trade acts wherever perpetrated by Englishmen, and warning such offenders of the consequences. But in what practical way is this menace of the 'utmost rigour of the law' to be enforced? and is the good done by such a demonstration equal to the mischief of holding out threats which are well known by all concerned to be futile?

This is a state of things which, we have no hesitation in saying, deserves the serious attention of our statesmen and legislature. Difficulties there may be in the way of effective enactments,



ments, but they chiefly proceed from reluctance to encounter those phantoms raised by legal ingenuity, of which we are daily learning more and more to appreciate the unsubstantial nature. Our English criminal procedure, thanks to the obstructive wisdom of ages, is the most cumbrous of all instruments for punishing offences committed under any unusual and exceptional circumstances; wherever, for instance, there is necessity for the arrest of the culprit in one jurisdiction and trial in another, or wherever the case requires the transmission of culprit and evidence to a distance. We believe that we are borne out in the assertion, that criminal extradition treaties between ourselves and other countries have been hitherto almost a dead letter, as far as our side is concerned, on account of the difficulties which our rules of evidence interpose in the way of the reception of documents to authorise the arrest of the alleged offender. For somewhat similar reasons, to succeed in prosecuting to conviction, in any British court, an individual charged with outrages such as those which we have described, would be an achievement not only of the greatest industry but singular felicity. To justify this impotence of law and right, on the score of tenderness for the liberty of the subject, is really to adopt some of the merest cant of the legal profession. British justice shows no symptoms whatever of such sentimental softness where her prey consists only of the 'small deer' of common gaol deliveries; witness the astounding summariness with which the victims of the Central Criminal Court are usually cut short in their endeavours to baffle their pursuers. It is only to the perpetrator of offences of peculiar atrocity—especially if committed outside of her ordinary preserves, and under conditions not admitting the application of every-day precedents—that she offers the luxury of a long chase and plenty of 'law.' For our own parts, we believe that not only justice to our uncivilised fellow men, and the claims of our common Christianity, but the protection of our own traders from the vindictive fury of the savage, require that the commanders of our cruisers should be invested with extensive police and even court-martial powers, in regard to offences of violence committed in savage countries by British subjects. Undoubtedly, in order to make such provisions thoroughly effectual, the co-operation of other states would be required; and we hope that the sense of universal justice, on which international law is founded, will ultimately prevail, through the extinction of some subsisting prejudices and mutual distrust, until such offenders, like pirates, are dealt with as enemies of the human race.

Even in this unpromising region of the Western Pacific, the work of conversion has been of late years sedulously  
plied.

plied. But it has hitherto been found impracticable to plant resident European missionaries in the New Hebrides. The labour has devolved on native teachers of the Eastern Polynesian race, chiefly from Samoa and Rarotonga, pupils reared in the institutions established by John Williams. Few incidents in the wide history of South Sea missions are more touching than the unpretending, unwearying zeal of these obscure assistants in the cause—their selves, or their parents, just rescued from the darkness of idolatry, and devoting their simple lives in order to communicate their own spiritual blessings to a people of alien manners and language. They have none of the *prestige* about them which attaches to Europeans. They inspire the savage with no fear or respect. They are the ready victims of his arbitrary violence or superstitious terrors. It is with them as with the early Christians, ‘*si cælum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues,*’ they are the appropriate sacrifice. In 1843 the people of Rotuma murdered two Samoan teachers and their families ‘on account of the prevalence of dysentery.’ Instances are recorded by Capt. Erskine of their slaughter, or narrow escape, in endeavouring to rescue European crews from massacre. The Bishop of New Zealand (according to Mr. Hogg) ‘knows of forty (including wives and children), within the last eight years, who have either been murdered or fallen victims to the fever of these islands; every set of fresh boys that comes here (to New Zealand) has a story to tell of murdered Samoans, who came to preach to them of ‘Jesus up above, and Satan down below.’ Such is the self-devotion, however, of these Polynesian neophytes, that no difficulty is found by the London Society in supplying their places from the institution in Upolu; and advantage has been constantly taken of any favourable symptoms to place teachers among the different populations; ‘they being, with their wives and families, and generally a Samoan canoe, conveyed to their destinations by the missionary barque the John Williams, which is dispatched on a periodical voyage for this purpose, as well as to furnish supplies to these men, who are often dependent on head-quarters for the common necessities of life.’

The Rev. William Nihill, one of the bishop’s companions, observes, in a journal before us, that—

‘These people [the Samoan teachers and their converts] spend more time in worship and religious exercises than any I have ever known. . . . Every Sunday these people devote seven and a half or eight hours to public worship, during the whole of which time, broken up into five parts, they are hearing either prayer, or reading, or a sermon, or being catechised, or singing. Everything is conducted with the greatest solemnity and decorum; and I am quite anxious and perplexed



perplexed because I fear that this cannot last; and that, without God gives these simple converts a greater share of grace to keep them steadfast than is usually vouchsafed to men, there must be a falling away. Religion has become the business of their lives; and without their mode of life is changed, and something given them to do, they cannot, I fear, withstand the temptations which their easy mode of life must continually expose them to when the novelty has worn off.'—*Colonial Church Chronicle*, vol. vi. p. 425.

As yet, however, the labours of these primitive teachers have been but scantily rewarded; and it was on fully considering the imperfection of the means hitherto made available that the Bishop of New Zealand framed, and has carried out with assiduous patience, his scheme of 'Melanesian missions,' described in several recent publications, and particularly in the pamphlet of Mr. Hogg. This scheme, originally framed by himself, and since concurred in by the other Australian bishops of the Church of England, was to consist of regular visits to the New Hebrides and other Melanesian isles, for the purpose of periodically renewing relations with the several chiefs and tribes; advising where advice was sought, arbitrating in disputes, and suggesting improvements: and, above all, inducing promising youths from the island population—in numbers limited hitherto only by the capacity of the bishop's little vessel to receive them—to accompany him back to the English settlements for the purpose of receiving a Christian education. The bishop's own foundation of St. John's College, at Auckland, was at first destined to admit these along with English and Maori scholars; the ultimate purpose of their instruction being to train future teachers and evangelizers for the region of their nativity. But as the winter climate, even of the most northerly part of New Zealand, was found too trying for the constitutions of many of these children of the tropics, the bishop has hitherto so contrived it as to take back several of them annually to pass that season in their own country. It may easily be imagined that this plan involved no small difficulties of arrangement and execution, considering the great extent of ocean to be regularly traversed; but, from 1849 to 1852, it was most happily accomplished in the bishop's own small vessels, the 'Undine' (of 23 tons and four men) and the 'Border Maid' which has succeeded the former classical vessel. The bishop has already answered by anticipation those—if there be any such—who might be disposed to regard with disfavour this dedication of so large a portion of his time and labour to objects apart from his immediate duties:—

'The venerable primate,' he says, 'at whose hand I received my consecration, charged me, in the name of the archbishops and bishops  
of

of the Mother Church, not to confine my efforts to New Zealand, but to watch over the progress of the Gospel throughout the coasts and islands of the Pacific.'

On his last return, with the particulars of which we are acquainted, in October, 1852, the bishop was accompanied by twenty-five youths, of various ages, and two little Melanesian Topsyies; and we do not know whether we are derogating from the dignity of history in recounting that these black damsels (whose archness and adroitness, when compared with the ways of their heavier contemporaries of Maori blood, greatly amused the ladies of Auckland) were decently clad in robes made out of the bishop's counterpane, stitched and 'sloped,' on the voyage, by his own episcopal hands.

One of these little 'Negrillo' maidens was to be educated as the affianced bride of a young countryman—one of the bishop's first and most promising Melanesian pupils—Siapo, or 'George,' a lad from Maré, who first joined the mission in 1849.

'His handsome, thoughtful face,' says Mr. Nihill, 'was a true index to his mind. The bishop made his acquaintance when he went down to the bottom of one of the coral-pits in his own island to draw water for the strange white man. The bishop, who is an accomplished physiognomist, was struck with his expression as he looked up at him from the bottom of the pit, and resolved, if possible, to induce him to come to New Zealand. He came with two companions, and from that time to his death continued to be a steady friend and helper in the cause of Christianity, using his influence (which was considerable from his being a near relation and the intimate friend of the young chief) always in the best way, both among his schoolfellows in New Zealand and his friends the young men at home. At Mallicolo he risked his life on shore in the watering party, when the bishop and his companions were in danger. Before returning to the college for his last visit, he said to one of the chiefs who had adopted him when a boy, "I am afraid I shall die some day in New Zealand." And his friend replied, "Even if you do, it is better that you should go." So he came, bowing meekly to the decision of the chief of his tribe, and of the bishop, his English father.'

The poor fellow's presentiment did not deceive him. His delicate tropical constitution did not long withstand change of climate and habits; he died at Auckland, of consumption, in January, 1853. He was of a very reserved character, we are told; and it was not until the very last that 'the fire kindled, and at last he spake with his tongue.'

'In an hour or two before he breathed his last he was constantly giving kind messages by the boys to his friends at home, on Mr. Nihill's behalf. "Wadokala, take care of Mr. Nihill when I am gone. Poor Mr. Nihill, you and I have gone together, and now I die, and you go alone!"'

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The achievements of the fifth voyage of the mission (1852) are thus summed up in the 'Colonial Church Chronicle':—

' Fifty-three islands (named) were visited or sighted by the *Border Maid*: in twenty-six of these we were able to hold some intercourse, more or less, with the people; from eleven we have received scholars; in seven mission stations have been established by the London Society, three of which are proposed to be given up to the Church Mission. The aggregate of population cannot be less, at the lowest estimate, than 200,000 souls, with a different language or dialect, on a probable average, for every 5000 souls!'

This rapid sketch affords no place for personal panegyric, nor does it furnish a proper opportunity for dwelling on the higher and holier characteristics of a missionary's calling; and we believe it possible that even such a character as that of George Selwyn may have its gloss tarnished for a moment by that incense of indiscriminate and fulsome eulogy of which our habits of religious 'demonstration'—party demonstration especially—are apt to make us profuse. We will leave it, therefore, to others to expend their encomiastic propensities on so good a subject; but, in reference to our present purpose, we cannot but dwell for a moment on some of those secondary but most useful qualities which have marked him out as an eminent agent for his present work; a work to which, with the highest honours of his great profession open to him at home, he has dedicated his life. The extreme polish of English social refinement, the touch of chivalrous sentiment, the finished classical elegance of taste, which are the ultimate results of such an education as his acting on such abilities, are apt, in nine cases out of ten, to unfit their owner for all exertion requiring close and constant communication with various classes of men. They produce fastidiousness—a more unconquerable enemy to generous expansiveness in active life than pride, or indolence, or profligacy itself. But in those cases where this danger is avoided, whether through a happy natural disposition, or by resolute watchfulness and self-control, not a stroke of the chisel, which has given this fine and elaborate polish to the man, has been bestowed in vain. No other training gives in such perfection the aptitude to do the right thing in point of time, place, and circumstances; to be 'all things to all men' without loss of self-respect, or compromise of principle. The kind of dignity which it communicates is such as cannot be obscured by want of outward show and appliances, or derogated from by condescension; such as involuntarily attracts, or subjugates, both the coarsest civilised, and the wildest savage nature. Captain Erskine's volume gives examples enough of the impression made by the presence of 'the great missionary chief'

chief 'Alikī Asori,' with his body-guard of four unarmed sailors, among the islanders of the New Hebrides; together with the innocent and simple affection of his own adopted children for his person.

Nor ought we to omit some allusion to the physical education which has gone to complete the bishop's missionary character, for this gives a lesson and example which may be followed with profit by numbers whose training, in other respects, must differ widely from his. We have often wondered at the sedentary, stay-at-home kind of life which seems to be led, by predilection, by numbers of those whose lot has been cast as missionaries in these distant regions. We say by predilection; because, though ready enough to confront toil and travel, as well as danger, whenever called on to change their sphere of exertion, their great aim seems to be, when this is accomplished, to settle down in a quiet and domestic routine, with little more of physical exertion than is necessary to perform their ordinary round of duty. Nor would we depreciate the advantages of 'quietness and confidence;' yet, on the whole, a little more taste for bodily exertion, a little more of the locomotive spirit, would probably add both to their own energies and to those of their pupils, with whom they would, moreover, be brought into much more frequent contact. The absence of such qualities is scarcely to be wondered at, when the original training of these men is considered. It has been frugal, and in a sense laborious, but almost always sedentary. How many Polynesian missionaries, Protestant or Romanist, can paddle a canoe, or navigate a twenty-ton yacht? How many have even that command of their own legs and wind which is attained by an ordinary Swiss tourist or Highland sportsman? Now, the proficient in all Eton and Cambridge manly science, the acknowledged chief of athletic exercises among the most athletic sons of men, was able to apply himself to his work with advantages which we feeble literary folk can only contemplate with envy and admiration. *Voir c'est avoir*, says the French proverb; and the two great and rugged islands of New Zealand have been fairly taken possession of, in this sense, by their bishop, and the few who could keep up with him, from one end to the other. Swimming the rivers, and climbing the mountains, the intrepid visitors performed, habitually, distances on foot which the natives themselves would only achieve in occasional fits of fierce exertion. But, above all, the aquatic accomplishments of the prelate enabled him to do much which, in that sea-indented region, was altogether beyond the power of the mere land traveller. He has made himself as practically familiar with the navigation of its seas, as with the topography of its English settlements and Maori villages of the interior.

'This



‘This is the only port of New Zealand (he says, speaking incidentally of Nelson in one of his visitation tours) where the Undine employs the service of a pilot: the outline of almost every hill, and the position of every rock, being by this time written on the minds of her master and myself. If there be any truth in phrenology, I believe that the map of New Zealand will be stamped on some part of the organic substance of my brain. It is this intimate knowledge of localities, derived from frequent visits, which gives such a peculiar charm to the whole country, and makes it seem like one’s own—and so it is; for, like the gypsies, I pitch my tent where’er I please, or anchor my floating palace in any sheltered cove; and wherever I go, by sea or land, I am received as a friend, and find some objects of moral and religious interest to leave upon the mind a pleasant recollection of the place.’ . . . ‘It may be an unusual taste (he elsewhere says), but I must acknowledge that seafaring is to me a source of enjoyment and benefit, from the vigorous health which it imparts, and the leisure which it affords for reading and thought. It is not that I dislike society, but that the incessant interruptions of a new community, requiring constant superintendence, leave me scarcely any time for myself.’—*Journal of 1848*, p. 52.

With the turn of mind and habits which these extracts display, formed by much experience and observation of society in many stages both of civilised and barbarous life, it will be no surprise to the reader, whether he concurs or no, to find that the bishop pronounces himself strongly against exclusive training for the missionary service, and constituting Protestant missionary colleges on the principle of Romanist seminaries: which has been often advocated by others, and in some cases, no doubt, found indispensable. His principle, on the contrary, carried into practice as far as his limited educational means admitted, was to avoid confining his students, either European or native, to that single though invaluable object—to exact no pledges as to their future life—to train them as men to be fitted equally for secular employment, should they embrace it, as for that missionary career to which he hoped to attach the best qualified among them. But on this subject likewise his own words will best convey his meaning.

‘If we had not been led by conviction, we should have been driven by necessity, to adopt our present plan, of associating our young men with the college in some secular capacity, without pledges as to their future course of life; but with the understanding that the bishop’s eye is over them all, and that, when their term of probation is ended, he will advise them whether it will be expedient for them to enter upon a stricter course of study, with a view to Holy Orders, or to persevere in the practice of the art which they have learned. It will be no reproach to a student if he should prefer the secular employment; nor will his parents have incurred any pecuniary obligation, as his charges  
at

at the College will have been borne, in great part, by the work of his own hands. This complex system gives a character to our institution which strangers can scarcely understand, who have been accustomed to the academic figments of dress and ceremony, which often veil more ignorance, and idleness, and vice, than, I trust, we shall ever have occasion to lament. There is an open and undisguised reality about our work, which seems to be highly favourable to the discrimination of character, and therefore to the due selection of instruments: a class of demure students in black and white, with face and tone of voice and manner conformed to the standard which they believe to be expected, would be a poor exchange for a healthful and mirthful company of youths, as yet unconstrained by pledges and professions, who show their true character in every act of their lives, whether of business or amusement. You will, I hope, excuse the length of this apology for our college system, for when a man is obliged to be singular, he owes to the world an explanation of his reasons for differing from it; without which, the first and just presumption would be, that he who departs so widely from the practice of his fellow men, as he cannot be an angel, must be a fool.<sup>7</sup>

These opinions lose nothing of their force from the circumstance that the confident enthusiasm of their author has received one of those heavy discouragements, without which no missionary enterprise seems to ripen to ultimate perfection. St. John's College, according to the last accounts, has been broken up, at least for the present, owing, as it is reported, to dissensions and untoward events wholly unconnected with the Melanesian experiment which concerns us at present. But, in one form or another, the views which gave birth to that foundation will undoubtedly survive, and the next attempt to realise them will proceed on the basis of dearly-bought experience.

Of the group called NEW CALEDONIA, which has very recently excited attention from the announced determination of the French Government to form a settlement there, it may perhaps be said that less is known than of any other considerable Polynesian region. Lying between 20° and 22° S., and 160° and 175° E., it commands, as will be seen by the map, rather an ominous advanced position with reference both to New South Wales and New Zealand. But its western flank is covered by one of the largest and most dangerous coral reefs of the world, nearly a hundred leagues in length; and between it and the coast of New South Wales the ocean is a perfect labyrinth of these treacherous islets, on one of which the great Australian navigator Flinders was lost. The chief island, called by some Balad (but Captain Erskine says this is only the name of a district), is reported to be 200 miles long and 30 or 40 in breadth, and possesses some of the finest harbours in the world. Port St. Vincent, on the  
western



western or dangerous side, is said to be twice the size of Port Jackson, and equally secure. Forster, the companion of Cook, expatiates on the magnificent vegetation of this region—its strange columnar araucarias, resembling the Norfolk Island species, from which the Isle of Pines, one of the group, has its name. We have before us the plan of 'Benjamin Sullivan, a retired officer,' published at Sydney in 1842, for forming a British colony in these islands by the aid of a joint-stock company, 'with a capital of three millions sterling;' containing carefully developed calculations of means and results; the projector being 'most happy to give his services in any capacity wherein they may be considered requisite for carrying it into effect'—one of those elaborate day-dreams which are conjured into existence by the working of the brains of thoughtful men in compulsory inaction—seeds scattered on the winds, of which, one, perhaps, in a thousand is caught up, and takes root somewhere in the minds of the practical and enterprising, to grow, we scarcely trace how, into a great reality.

Captain Erskine, together with Bishop Selwyn in his little 'Undine,' visited the main island in September, 1850, but did not penetrate far into the interior. The natives they saw were of the ordinary Melanesian type, but more resembling those of Fiji than any others whom the Captain had observed. The country appeared cultivated with more than usual care, and the people in very strict subordination to their chiefs. They pass, however, for a bloodthirsty and ferocious race, and have, according to French authorities, a strong propensity, like the African negroes and savages of Australia, to believe in magical influences, and to persecute with great atrocity those who are suspected of employing them.

New Caledonia has hitherto been scarcely visited by Protestant missionary enterprise. Some teachers from Samoa attempted lately to form a community on the Isle of Pines, but were, we believe, driven away. The French priests have, however, laboured in this quarter for many years with a zeal and courage worthy of better results than they have obtained. It is not easy to obtain a connected view of these attempts from the loose and disjointed statements contained in the '*Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*,' the only authority to which we have had access. We find that for several years there has been a 'Vicar-Apostolic' of Melanesia and Micronesia, whose headquarters have varied according to circumstances. One of these dignitaries, Bishop Epalle, was murdered about five years ago in the exercise of his vocation, at the Solomon Islands, in the neighbourhood of New Guinea. The priests, his companions,

nions, absolutely forbade the reprisals which a French officer would fain have exercised for his death, and the mission in that quarter has since been abandoned. Bishop Epalle has been succeeded in his vicariate by Monseigneur Collomb, titular Bishop of Antiphelle, whose head-quarters for some time were in New Caledonia. In 1843 Monseigneur Douarre, titular Bishop of Amata, with two religious laymen—M. Marziou, a merchant of Havre, and Lieut. Marceau, of the French navy—conceived the curious idea of establishing a ‘commercial and religious association *en commandite*, capital a million francs, in 2000 shares, for Melanesian trade and conversion. The company dispatched in that year a ship from Nantes, ‘L’Arche d’Alliance;’ and Père Rougeyron, one of the priests whom she carried to New Caledonia, describes the country in glowing language as a beautiful region of mountains, forests, and waterfalls—‘je n’ai pas vu de pays,’ he affectionately says, ‘qui me rappelât aussi bien mon Auvergne.’ But here our records of the progress of this pious company unfortunately cease. In 1845 and 1846 we find priests continuing to labour, with very indifferent success, among these impracticable savages; and in 1847 a ferocious onslaught on their little quarters in Balad, in which two priests were killed, and Bishop Collomb himself narrowly escaped with life. The assault was wholly unprovoked; but one of the party seems to have unfortunately exhibited a gun in self-defence, which heightened the exasperation of the assailants, and violent though deserved retribution was taken for it by the crew of a French vessel of war. The French occupation in this instance seems therefore to have been preceded for some years by the missionary efforts of their ecclesiastics; and, except as regards the rumoured intention to establish a penal settlement, we cannot bring ourselves to regard it as other than a blessing. It must certainly open to commerce and civilization a region which seems to lie beside, though adjoining, the line of our own direct influence. It can only promote the trade of our neighbouring colonies; and, whenever political events may revive the mutual fears and jealousies of past days, it will probably serve as a means of drawing together the bands of British brotherhood, and reminding our distant cousins of what the flush of wealth and prosperity may at times make them forget—that their interests, as well as their speech and thought, are in reality identical with those of Old England.

Far beyond the many constellations of islands with which, we fear, we have already wearied our readers, to the north and westward, the ocean is studded with still more numerous groups with which the European navigator has formed, as yet, scarcely a partial acquaintance—the Solomon Islands, the great archipelago  
of



of the Carolines, the Pellews, and numbers more, conducting his steps to the mysterious confines of Japan, the Philippines, and the Spice Islands of the Dutch. But these we must leave unnoticed: as yet, indeed, they offer almost an untouched field to missionary enterprise. We have left ourselves only room for a hasty glance at the Britain of the southern hemisphere—New Zealand, a region under whose bright and temperate skies, widely differing from the parched Australian atmosphere, our transplanted race has already begun to expand in vigorous manhood. But alongside of our colonists there flourishes a still numerous and Christian nation, rapidly adopting the social life of England, as it has already adopted her faith. To rescue this people from the ordinary fate of conquered native races, and elevate it to the rank of a civilised community, is among the most interesting problems that remain to be worked out by British statesmen at the present day.

New Zealand is said to be inhabited by two families—the Maori and the Manga-Manga (said to mean, respectively, ‘indigenous’ and ‘imported’). The latter are thought to approach the Melanesian or Austral-Negro type, though by no means wanting in intellectual development. But the former furnish the noble and priestly castes; and also, we imagine, the bulk of the population. The male Maoris are among the finest specimens of the great Polynesian race; the women seem from most accounts to be inferior, not equalling the beauty of the sex in the Society Isles and Marquesas.

The loose statements of casual observers respecting the physical condition of the Maori race have been brought to something approaching a test of exact comparison by Dr. Thomson, surgeon to the 58th regiment, whose remarks on the subject have been included in a late number of the *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, and in the *British and Foreign Medico-Chirurgical Review* for April of the present year. The general conclusions at which he arrived are, that the average stature of male New Zealanders in the neighbourhood of Auckland was 5 feet 6 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches, or two inches more than that of the Belgians (5 feet 4 $\frac{3}{4}$  inches, Quetelet), and a little above Haller’s estimate of the mean height of men in the temperate countries of Europe (5 feet 5 to 6 inches), but considerably below the average height of students at Cambridge and Edinburgh (about 5 feet 8 inches), which students, however, we cannot regard with Dr. Thomson as average specimens, in point of stature, of the natives of Great Britain—they are probably much above it. Dr. Thomson found the average weight of the New Zealanders without their clothes to be 10 stone, which is ‘rather under that of the natives of

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Great Britain' (here, again, he speaks of the picked classes of soldiers and students), and above that of the Belgians and French; while in strength (tested by lifting weights) they fell considerably short of British soldiers. It must be observed respecting the whole experiment, that the Maoris in question were indiscriminately taken from those who presented themselves at the hospital for vaccination, or worked on the government roads; excluding therefore, or nearly so, the class of Chiefs, whose personal superiority to the common people is notorious. Dr. Thomson measured one of these heads of tribes who was 6 feet 5½ inches high. Taking all the circumstances together, it must be regarded as confirming the high opinion generally entertained of their physical qualities. Their figure differs from that of Europeans. Their bodies are an inch and a half longer, and their legs, from the knee-joint, an inch and a half shorter. Their feet, according to English notions, are ill-shaped, for they are broader than with us, and about an inch less in length. 'Clothed,' says Dr. Thomson, 'in his native dress, the New Zealander looks like the lion of the forest; in European clothes he is squat and vulgar.' The number of the natives in the northern island is estimated at more than 100,000, though much diminished, and still, it is feared, diminishing; while in the great southern island 'Te Wai Pounamu' (absurdly called 'Middle Island' in official nomenclature, with reference to a third or southern one, which bears about the proportion to the others of the Isle of Wight to Great Britain) a few thousands only are to be found, to the particular convenience of the settlers of Canterbury and Otago, who are rapidly converting their unoccupied and open plains into a pastoral region on the Australian scale.

Over the early history of the New Zealanders, such as Cook\* and his successors found them, we shall not detain our readers. It would but be to repeat descriptions with which our sketches of Fiji life must have satiated them. But to native ferocity and cannibalism were soon added (if possible) even darker elements of evil. English and American whalers and sealers, runaway

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\* A chief, who remembered the arrival of Captain Cook, was still living at the close of 1852, when he spoke at a meeting of the natives called together by the government to settle the compensation to be made to the owners of the soil for permission to work the gold-producing districts. He was accustomed to tell 'how they all thought that the ship was a large kind of whale, and that the men on board were gods; how for some time he himself, then but a little boy, was afraid to go on board; and how Captain Cook spoke little, less than the others, but took more notice of the children, patting them kindly on the head.' The work from which these particulars are taken—'Auckland, the Capital of New Zealand'—contains in a small compass an accurate and comprehensive account of the place, the climate, the inhabitants, and the commerce. It is published anonymously, but we have heard that it is the production of Mr. Swainson, the eminent naturalist.

sailors,



sailors, military deserters, escaped convicts from Australia, 'sawyers and lumberers, adventurers and evasives of every sort'—such were the first founders of European settlement in the northern island. They clustered there in considerable numbers, formed little colonies of their own—chiefly about the Bay of Islands in the extreme north, intermarried extensively with the natives, joined in their wars and political affairs, and introduced among them the worst blood, the worst habits, and the worst diseases of modern ultra-civilisation.

It was among a people thus prepared for the reception of Christianity that Mr. Marsden, colonial chaplain at Sydney, founded the first Church Missionary settlement in the Bay of Islands, in 1814. The Wesleyans followed soon after, establishing themselves, about 1822, at Wangaroa, on the Eastern coast. From these two points—both situate in the extreme northern peninsula which projects from the northern island—the work of conversion was carried on for many years with a steadiness and perseverance rarely equalled, and with perfect harmony between the two Christian communities engaged in it. The details may be learnt from the volumes of the Church Missionary Society, and from the Life of Samuel Leigh, by Mr. Strachan, which is among the volumes we have placed at the head of this article. Several years later (but before the assumption of sovereignty by Great Britain) a Roman Catholic mission, under Bishop Pompallier, also established itself at the Bay of Islands.

Very dark, indeed, were the prospects of the missionaries for many years. According to the common history of such events, the evils of heathenry grew darker as its extinction approached. The acquisition of European weapons and the example of European outcasts added great destructiveness to war, and fresh ferocity to the 'Utu' or Maori 'Vendetta,' the implacable demand of satisfaction for blood. The missionaries conceived that they had made an impression on one of the most powerful chiefs of the north, by name 'Hongi;' they sent him to England, where he attracted much notice, and obtained many presents. The wily savage exchanged them all at Sydney, on his return, for double-barrelled guns, muskets, and ammunition. Thus prepared, he started at once on a work of general conquest and extermination,—

'which,' says Colonel Mundy, 'he found no difficulty in effecting, when opposed only by clubs, spears, and stone tomahawks. Sweeping onwards from the north, he drove all before him—the great chief, Te Rauperaha, even flying from the "villainous saltpetre." Te Rauperaha, in his turn unseated from his hereditary lands, cleft his way towards the south, and, paying in the coin he had received, stayed not his

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his blood-stained course until, crossing Cook's Straits, he had reached their southern shore on the Middle Island'—

where he established himself in his turn, by dispossession and massacre of the ancient inhabitants.

The wars of Hongi and Rauperaha were by far the bloodiest of which New Zealand tradition retains the memory. In a single action three thousand warriors were said to have fallen. Vast tracts were depopulated, and never again have, and probably never will, become occupied by the race of their former owners. The last deed of blood of the exterminator Hongi was his attack on the Wesleyan mission at Wangaroa, on January 10th, 1827:—

'In the vicinity of his camp the ovens were crowded with victims of war, while all parts of the human body, those of the mother and sucking infant, lay in undistinguishable masses. He pursued the flying enemy as far as Hunehuna, where they made a stand. During the fight Hongi stepped from behind a tree to discharge his musket, when a ball struck him: it broke his collar-bone, passed in an oblique direction through his right breast, and came out a little below his shoulder-blade close to the spine. This shot interrupted his career. The wound never closed; and the wind whistling through it afforded amusement to the sinking warrior.'—*Life of Leigh*, p. 278.

The condition of New Zealand, especially the northern part, was at this time truly fearful. The utter insecurity of native institutions and rights, and of life itself, against the terrible and new powers of destruction now wielded by the 'man-eating' warriors, seem to have produced a general recklessness and abandonment to sanguinary practices. Cannibalism became more common than ever: it was at this time that a horrible trade in preserved heads of New Zealand natives as articles of ornament prevailed for a short while. Infanticide, particularly of female children, began to threaten the utter extinction of the race. The suppression of the maternal instinct was so complete, that a substitute was actually found for it in the trifling impulse of maternal vanity. Mrs. Leigh, observing that

'the native mothers were proud of seeing their children with any article of dress peculiar to the *Pakeha* (European), employed her scholars to make several sets of baby-dresses. With these she clothed the infants in the families to which her young people respectively belonged. . . . In a short time several mothers arrived with their infants: placing them on the floor, they said, "These are your children, Mrs. Leigh: you must dress them like the Europe people." Mrs. Leigh would take the little creatures one by one into her lap and dress them. On returning them to their mothers she would say, "What beautiful children these are! See that you take great care of them. I will call occasionally and see how they thrive." It was generally found, that when



when a native woman could be induced to preserve the life of her child for twelve or fourteen days, the strength of maternal affection was sufficient to save it afterwards from destruction. "In this way," said Mr. Leigh, "at a small expense, and in a short time, we saved scores of lives."—*Life*, p. 200.

We have no doubt that the great prevalence of this practice of female infanticide in the last generation is the main cause of that continuing depopulation which is observed in some districts in our own time. 'There is a great disproportion of the sexes throughout this district,' says Missionary Woon, of Waimaté, in the recent Papers: 'there are more men than women: and when a man has lost his wife he becomes unhappy and unsettled.' The same writer reports a diminution by deaths and removals of one-third of the natives in eight years. The same thing is reported to Governor Grey by Dr. Wilson, the medical officer in charge of the New Plymouth district.

'It is doubtless a sad truth, that in the rising generation one sees among them everywhere that, to whatsoever cause it is to be attributed, the number of the females has no relative proportion to that of the males.'

The leading missionaries abandoned their former seats for a time after the destruction of Wangaroa; and of that early seat of New Zealand Christianity we believe no traces are left. The operations of the missionaries can indeed scarcely be said to have begun in earnest until about the year 1831. Then a sudden and remarkable change took place. Perhaps the utter desolation produced by Hongi's wars—the breaking down of the power of old chieftains, the mixture of tribes, the confusion of rights and breaking up of old ideas, predisposed the minds of the survivors to the reception of the Gospel; but it was now embraced with all the imitative eagerness so characteristic of the race.

From that time forth their success was without a check. The general conversion of New Zealand, it may be said, was a work of little more than ten years. When Bishop Selwyn arrived in 1842, the greater part of the natives near the settlements seem to have already embraced Christianity; now, the heathens nowhere form more than a small and rapidly declining minority.

We must pass over the political history of New Zealand during this period: the assumption of sovereignty by Great Britain, the administrations of Governors Hobson and Fitzroy, the famous Treaty of Waitangi, acknowledging the rights of the native tribes to their lands, and the various comments and controversies to which it gave rise. Suffice it for our present purpose to say, that the 'land questions' thus raised produced at last, after many insulated acts of hostility between

natives and settlers, the singular and formidable 'rebellion' of 1845 in the Northern Island. The celebrated leader of that rebellion, 'John' (in native pronunciation Honi) 'Heké,' was, perhaps, rather an instrument than a ringleader. He was not a chief by birth: 'he lived as a boy,' says Colonel Mundy, 'in the capacity of servant at the Church Missionary Station at Paihia. The exterminator Hongi—Christian, like himself, by very loose profession—gave him his first lesson in war and his daughter in marriage.' By his handsome person, gallant address, and national boastfulness, he acquired great influence among the youthful and enterprising part of the community, while more legitimate leaders either looked on him with suspicion or used him for their own ulterior purposes. 'His longings took the peculiar form of cutting down the British flag-staff, which designing persons had taught him to regard as the symbol of Maori subjugation and slavery.' Three times he and his turbulent followers cut down 'Te Kara,' 'the colour,' the last time in 1844, at Kororarika, with great solemnity, 'after performing prayers with arms in their hands.' Want of regular military—and natural aversion to the alternative of committing settlers and savages to a desolating warfare—induced the local government long to tolerate his outrages. At last they sent for forces from New South Wales—but on the very day when these left Sydney, 11th March, 1845, occurred the strange and disastrous sacking of Kororarika by Heké and his comrades—much to the astonishment of the settlers and authorities. The details of the attack may be read in Colonel Mundy's work, and also in Bishop Selwyn's letter of April 1846 to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel: for the Bishop was on the spot, and busied throughout the fire in removing the wounded, the women and children, and after its cessation in burying the dead. He mixed without fear or molestation among the triumphant victors—who not only respected him, but listened patiently to his remonstrances, and abstained, on his reproof, from emptying the casks of liquor they had captured. They warred against the soldiers and the flag, they said, not against the missionaries or the settlers. In the afternoon, says the Bishop,

'One of those circumstances occurred which mark, more than words can express, the confidence with which the old settlers live among the inhabitants of the country. I had gone about half-way to the Wai-mate, when I met a settler from Hokianga, riding quietly down to the bay, with one native on horseback behind him, to learn the particulars of the engagement. He had come thirty miles through the country from which Heké's forces were drawn, and was going to the scene of action: and I afterwards met him returning by the same route without the slightest apprehension of danger. The truth is, that there is something



thing in the native character which disarms personal fears in those who live among them and are acquainted with their manners. All suspicion of treachery seems to be at variance with the openness and publicity of their proceedings. Heké published beforehand his determination to attack Kororarika, the day on which it was to be done, and even the particulars of his plan for the assault.'

But surely we may go farther, and attribute much to what Colonel Mundy terms 'the great instinctive magnanimity of the Maori race'—and much to fifteen years of missionary training, which had converted war, from a mere display of animal ferocity to a game of even ultra-chivalrous loyalty.

It had, however, in no degree tamed their valour or abated their military skill. A series of partial military disasters to the British arms followed, ending with the unfortunate day of the 30th of June, 1845, when Colonel Despard, at the head of 400 British soldiers, was repulsed with the loss of one-fourth of his men, from Heké's strong 'pah' or stockade, at Waimate. It is not easy to calculate what might have been the results of a real and determined union against British supremacy at this juncture: but the Maoris were not united; many were on the British side—many passively disapproved of the proceedings of the rebels. Heké evacuated his famous stronghold, which was burnt by the British; but at the very same time his ally, the veteran chief Kawiti, 'was heard of, thirty or forty miles distant, busily engaged in erecting the most formidable work ever attempted in New Zealand, namely, the Rua-peka-peka, or the Bat's Nest.'

The following is Colonel Mundy's description of this famous fortress, which he visited two years later:—

'The height and solidity of the picquets composing the curtains, whereof there were two, distant some six feet apart, filled me with astonishment; nor was I less struck with the ingenuity displayed in the formation of the trenches and covered ways, between this double row of palisades and within both, from whence the defenders could take deadly aim along the glacis at the exposed stormers. Most of the loopholes for musketry were on the ground level, and, across the trenches in which the musketeers stood or crouched, were erected regular traverses, with narrow passages for one person, to guard against the *ricochet* of the British shot. The interior was, as has been said, subdivided into many compartments, so that the loss of one of them would not necessarily prevent the next from holding out.

'How these savages had contrived in a few weeks, and without mechanical appliances, to prepare the massive materials of their stockade, and to place them in their proper positions, deeply sunk in the earth, and firmly bound together, is inconceivable,—to be sure, the timber and flax grew on the spot, and the labourers engaged in the

work were working and preparing to fight for their native land and for liberty,—what more need be said? The pah was studded with subterranean cells, into which the more timid or prudent ran—like rabbits at the bark of a dog—when they heard the whiz of a shell or a rocket, or had reason to expect a salvo from the guns.'—*Mundy*, vol. iii. p. 236.

With infinite labour and perseverance the British guns were dragged through the impervious forest which surrounded the Bat's Nest, in December, 1845, and brought at last to bear on it; but—

'The actual capture of the Rua-peka-peka occurred somewhat fortuitously. The 'Mihonari,' or Christian portion of the garrison, had assembled for their karakia, or church service, on the outside of the rear face of the fortress, under cover of some rising ground. A party of loyal natives, wide-awake to the customs of their countrymen, approached under command of Wiremu Waka, brother of Tomati; and reconnoitred the breaches. Discovering the employment of the defenders, a message was sent back to the English, reporting this most righteous and laudable act of religion, but most unpardonable breach of military tactics, on the part of their hostile compatriots. And who shall say that this neglect of man's ordinances and observance of God's in the time of their trouble, did not bring with them a providential and merciful result? It led doubtless to their almost instantaneous defeat; but it saved them and the English from the tenfold carnage which a more vigilant and disciplined resistance from within their walls would have infallibly caused. An officer or two with a small party of soldiers and seamen stole quietly into the almost deserted pah, and further reinforcements followed quickly from the trenches. The Maoris, too late discovering their error and the movements of their foes, rushed tumultuously back into the work, and made a fierce but futile attempt to retake it. Hand to hand, and unfavoured by position, they had no chance against the British bayonet and cutlass. Baffled and overpowered, they fled by the rear of the stockade, and the Bat's Nest was ours.'

Thus terminated a war in which British energy and perseverance obtained at last the usual success, but against resistance of no common order. It is satisfactory to observe that the best judges concur in the opinion shared by Colonel Mundy with the governor, that 'no probability exists of any extensive rebellion ever breaking out again in the country:' but it is most important not to be misled either into over-security against the recurrence of such a calamity, or over-confidence in our means for its immediate suppression. As late as December, 1852, there were serious threatenings of armed collision between native tribes near the Bay of Islands, on some land question: suppressed, according to the Rev. Mr. Strachan, by missionary influence. And should such a misfortune recur, it will probably be found that the Maoris have lost nothing of their courage or tactics.

According



According to the governor, in his remarkable despatch of July, 1849, cited at length in Lord Grey's 'Colonial Policy,' they have learnt the weakness of their old system of fortification against the shell: they will construct no more 'pahs,' but trust to the natural strength of the country, and their own skill with the musket.

In November, 1845, while the war was yet raging, Sir George Grey assumed the command of the colony and of the strong military force which had been brought to defend it. The settlers were everywhere in dismay, and in some parts in serious danger: the relations between the races broken and hostile. Never was man called to the performance of a less promising task; for while the war (to use the language of Lord Grey in his work already cited) 'would have been converted into a mortal struggle between the European and Maori races by the slightest error of judgment on his part, and by his failing to unite with the most cautious prudence equal firmness and decision,' at the same time the angry disappointment of the settlers, and the intricate affairs of the New Zealand Company, were even more urgent and distracting than the causes of uneasiness from the natives. How he dealt with these former it is no part of our present business to show; but his management of the great native population under his government has been successful to a degree which no observer would have dared to anticipate; and the two volumes of Parliamentary Papers, which we have quoted at the head of this article, will furnish to those who sift them for the purpose invaluable records of his great ability, his consummate patience, his Christian humanity. Already familiar with a far lower and more despised race—the natives of Australia, to whose hearts he was the first and almost the only Englishman who ever found the way—he now applied all his energies to mastering the Maori language and the Maori character, and acquiring the habit of constant personal superintendence of their affairs. Instead of holding aloof from their former teachers, he threw himself into immediate and hearty communication with the missionaries; and no one has borne more decisive evidence than he, throughout the despatches before us, to the character of their services, in preparing the natives for British government and civilisation, and assisting him afterwards in diffusing their benefits: in his own words—

'Converting, educating, and training, by hourly, unremitting watchfulness and care' (continued often by the same individual through long years of devotedness), winning the idolatrous barbarian to Christianity, making him a Christian in fact and in daily practice, and fitting him, by the knowledge of the arts of civilised life imparted to him, not only  
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to fulfil his duty as a citizen of a Christian state, but to rejoice in the change which had forced him to abandon barbarism and to adopt the customs of civilisation.'

Lastly, he brought the whole subject of native government, and the relations between the races, within the comprehensive embrace of a few distinct measures, partly having force of law, partly rules for the conduct of the executive: few in number, but based on calculation and forethought, and adhered to, through good and evil report, with characteristic tenacity. But here again we must allow the governor to speak for himself:—

'The measures which have been recently carried out for the advancement of the natives are—prohibiting the sale of arms and gunpowder, and the repair of arms; prohibiting the sale of spirituous liquors; the enactment of an ordinance which provides the means of educating a large and increasing number of native children; the providing a tolerably efficient means of medical attendance in the most populous native districts; the employment of a native constabulary force, thus acquainting them with our laws; the enactment of laws for the adjustment of disputes between natives and Europeans; the employment of natives upon public works, where they are trained in various kinds of skilled labour and in the use of European tools and implements; and the providing employment generally for from 1200 to 1400 natives on the public works.'

To these must be added, perhaps as the most important safeguard of the whole, the rigid maintenance of the law by which all sales of land by native tribes, as of common ownership, except to Government, are absolutely prohibited; the local executive thus stepping in with constant and effectual vigilance between the native and the landjobber. To no single measure does New Zealand owe its recent exemption from international discontent and hostility so peculiarly as to this; and in proportion to its obvious utility is its unpopularity with that class of white citizens whose object is to impose at once on the simplicity or eagerness of the savage, and on the weakness of local officials against 'pressure.' Their great object throughout has been to devise evasions of the law, and then to proclaim it inefficient by reason of its liability to evasion; but hitherto with little success. And the matter is now become of less importance; for the law has nearly accomplished its purpose. A very large proportion of the available land has passed from the ownership of the tribes to that of the Government: those tribes which still hold out are thoroughly alive to the value of their possession, and can match either Government or squatter in driving a bargain; and the general diffusion of the notion of individual property among the natives is rapidly superseding that old principle of tribal ownership



ownership or dominion, the definition of which perplexed so greatly, a few years ago, the wits of colonial jurists and politicians.

The establishment of resident magistrates all over the country, to decide in a summary way on disputes between natives, was a measure which had its special object, besides its obvious advantages of a general kind. One of the inconvenient consequences which followed the universal adoption of Christianity was the relaxation of the tie between chief and vassal, master and slave. It would be a great mistake to judge of the general character of these feudal institutions merely by their abuses, monstrous as these have doubtless been. 'The chiefs feel as I do,' says the Governor in a despatch of April 1848, 'that the Maori laws, which compelled subordination and restrained the violence of the evil-disposed multitude, are being rapidly swept away, whilst the local government find it difficult, if not impossible, to spread their administration of the European law into the interior of the country so rapidly as the Maori law disappears.' And he subjoins a very interesting letter from the chief 'Tamati Ngapora,' pointing out the mischiefs arising from this deficiency, and arguing, with no small shrewdness, from Scriptural premises the necessity of a subordination of ranks. The 'resident magistrates' ordinance' seems exactly to have met the evil. They were whites, and therefore impartial; their courts followed Maori usage as interpreted to them, and were therefore popular. The papers before us are full of instances in which chiefs and people combined to repudiate their ancient mode of dealing with injuries, and resort to these tribunals for redress. Now indeed, in accordance with the eagerness and love of novelty which so curiously characterise them, their passion for the new amusement of litigation amounts to a public inconvenience. They have the same attraction towards British courts and law as the country people who flock to one of our remote assize towns. And odd enough are the mixed questions which sometimes arise out of the adaptation of Coke and Blackstone to antipodean requirements; as for instance, whether a chief is debarred from the truly British remedy of civil damages for conjugal infidelity, where the seducer has robbed him of the affection of one wife only out of several—a point which evidently affords abundant scope for the advocate's ingenuity.\* An institution

\* This subject of polygamy has proved an embarrassing one in New Zealand in more important ways. The adoption of Christianity, of course, tends to its abolition; but it is a knotty question for casuists, whether a native is to be required to abandon it before admission into the Church. Besides the arguments which Milton might have put forward against exacting such a condition, the more obvious one

institution of a very unobtrusive kind, namely the establishment of hospitals in all the populous parts (chiefly supported out of funds derived from the sale of land), has had perhaps even more beneficial effects. Its direct advantages have been very great: it has relieved numbers of sufferers whom native practice would have either abandoned as incurable or sought to relieve only by superstitious quackeries: it has mitigated, at least, that terrible evil which no care can wholly ward off, the spread of new diseases and mortality wherever natives and Europeans are brought in contact. But, indirectly, it has proved a great assistant to civilization. The natives, with their ready appreciation of everything useful to themselves, are ready and eager to avail themselves of these places of refuge: they have learned to connect the ideas of relief, comfort, and good treatment with that of government; and nothing can contribute so directly towards the last and most difficult result of all, amalgamation of races; for when side by side on the bed of sickness, even Saxon and Maori are apt to remember only their common humanity.

In this important respect, even the great agent of all, general education, has perhaps proved in New Zealand a less unqualified advantage. Here Governor Grey found the way already made straight before his arrival. The zealous exertions of missionaries of three denominations had not been in vain. The elements of instruction are widely spread among the Maoris. The Governor has availed himself of existing powers instead of endeavouring to create new ones—he has placed the fund which he felt himself entitled to devote to this purpose, in due proportions, in the hands of the English and Roman Catholic Bishop and of the Wesleyan Superintendent. We may deeply regret the necessity of such a distribution, but the strongest secularist can hardly disapprove of it. The Governor's own favourite establishments, the 'industrial schools,' counted, in 1851, 434 Anglican, 215 Wesleyan, and 53 Roman Catholic students (natives), probably representing with fairness the relative proportion of the sects throughout the colony. Education among the natives in general has now advanced a long way beyond elementary or merely Scriptural instruction. Not to speak of more solid acquirements, they have a strong taste for literature after their fashion—chiefly legendary and poetical. 'Robinson Crusoe' was translated by Mr. Kemp into Maori in 1851, and became a great and general favourite: the 'Pilgrim's Progress' was to follow. They have, as we observed before of Polynesians in general, a passion for

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one occurs at once: What is to become of the poor repudiated women? The reader will find the matter seriously discussed in a recent paper in the Colonial Church Chronicle for January, 1854.



words—a propensity to empty and unmeaning fluency. Religious, political, and commercial subjects are discussed with an endless amount of talk. Chiefs will sit up whole nights compiling endless letters to each other on trifling or imaginary subjects. ‘Their employments’ (quaintly says Dr. Rees, in a report to the Governor on the medical topography of the Wanganui district) ‘are, gardening, agriculture, fishing, spearing birds, making or repairing canoes, weaving mats (now seldom practised), ornamental carving, Divine services, religious and political discussions, and the general news of the day.’

But with all this advance in the use of their own language, they appear as yet to have done very little towards acquiring that of their conquerors. It was, as we have observed on a former occasion, a fixed rule of missionary discipline all over the Pacific to convey instruction in the native tongues; and the system thus begun on the authority of the teachers has acquired additional strength through the intense nationality of the Maori race. No European can obtain real influence among them without acquiring facility in their speech; while they will themselves employ that of the settlers no further than the absolute necessities of commercial intercourse require. This remains, to our minds, one of the most questionable features in the present picture of New Zealand. Certainly, so long as this marked distinction remains—and the present course of education tends to perpetuate it—there may possibly be harmony and co-operation between the races, but amalgamation in the proper sense of the word is impossible.

For the present, however, such considerations are out of place. All other tendencies seem for the time superseded among this energetic people by the desire to advance in material prosperity. They are adopting with eagerness the arts, and especially the gainful arts, of the settlers. All over the Northern Island, but chiefly in the neighbourhood of the settlements, they are vying with the most active of the latter in productive industry. The lower classes are engaged in road-making, whale-fishing, building, tending cattle, and tilling the soil; the chiefs becoming landed proprietors, millers (a particularly favourite profession), ship-builders, and ship-owners. ‘Of the coasting craft,’ says Mr. Swainson, ‘which trade between Auckland and the Bay of Islands, the most regular, clean, and orderly, and that which is commonly preferred by the public for the conveyance of passengers, is a vessel wholly owned and navigated by the natives of the country.’ With the usual passion of savages for newly-acquired equestrian pursuits, they have become expert horse-breeders and riders; and these islands, which possessed  
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not one single specimen of the mammalia until Captain Cook brought them the pig and the rat, will soon furnish as pretty an irregular cavalry as ever turned out for war or the chase. To cite a late Report of the Surveyor-general of the colony:—

‘ While they yield a ready obedience to the laws of the Europeans, and, when questioned, admit them to be just and good, they seem to value those the most of all that enforce payment of debts and demands. All speculative theories are thrown aside, and they seem to have started with an energy quite surprising in the pursuit of gain, bidding fair to outstrip many of their early European instructors. They have now dispensed with the formerly all-important European character, once so indispensable among them, and to be seen in every village, “the native trader.” He has been for the last three or four years unknown among them, being unable to make a profit by his trading transactions. They have all obtained some knowledge of arithmetic, and delight in exhibiting their skill. . . . They have now wise men among themselves to calculate the cubic contents of a heap of firewood, the area of a plot of ground, so as to sow two bushels of wheat to the acre, the live weight of a pig, and the value at 3*d.* a-pound, sinking one-fifth as offal. They esteem themselves first-rate horse-breakers, and I heard more than one lecturing on the mysteries of the turf to an admiring audience. Every recently arrived traveller, if he comes from any of the settlements, is closely questioned as to the price of pork, wheat, flour, and flax. The old persons may be seen in groups round the evening fire, chatting about the appearance of crops, and all subjects relating to them; the women being busily employed in making baskets to carry grain and potatoes, or in plaiting leg-ropes for driving their pigs to market. All other pursuits seem merged into habits of thrift; and the most engrossing subject that can be broached is the relative merits of two mill sites, over or under shot wheels, and the best means of raising 200*l.* or 300*l.* for the purpose of building a mill which shall grind more than one erected by a rival tribe. Such is the excitement on this particular topic, that they have, in their haste to commence the undertaking, employed in some instances very unprincipled or very unskilful workmen, and have lost considerable outlay.

‘ Upon first starting from our settlements, and after leaving the last farmhouse behind, one is apt to suppose that there ends the exertions of man to subdue the wild expanse of nature lying before him; but such is not the case. The natives present in their vast numbers a power, if well directed, of accomplishing much towards it, and are at this moment one of the most important features connected with the colonisation of this country.’—*Report to Governor, April 1852.*

How has this sudden burst of prosperity affected the religious character of the now Christianised people? Much, apparently, as similar causes have acted on other communities—producing good tempered with evil. The Maoris present no exception to the general maxim of the Psalmist and the great Greek moralist, that prosperous men are usually observant of outward religion.

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There is much apparent devotion among them, and much show of attachment to their various persuasions: no lack also of real faith and earnestness, though the Puritan phraseology and turn of thought in which they have been educated jar more on our perceptions now, in these days of their civilization and worldliness, than in the freshness of their first conversion. But their teachers complain, as might naturally be expected, of increasing deadness and lack of zeal.

'The state of the people,' say the Church Missionaries, in their Report of 1852, 'is, in fact, too much assimilated to that of nominal Christians at home.' 'Their spiritual does not keep pace with their temporal prosperity,' writes the Wesleyan Mr. Woon, in the same year ('Life of Leigh,' p. 496). 'They have not yet learnt the Scriptural lesson that "it is more blessed to give than to receive." They now eat the finest wheat; many are dressed with comfortable clothing, and ride on horses like gentlemen; while they ride, the missionary walks.' Meanwhile, whatever may be the case as to religious proficiency, controversy flourishes in this congenial soil. The disputes between 'Weteri, Haha, and Pikopo'—Wesley, Church, and Bishop, *i. e.* Romanist—are carried on with native volubility throughout the length and breadth of the land. Even in the wild region, beaten with constant rain, and indented with rock-bound friths like the Norwegian coast, which extends along the western shore of the Middle island—the last corner of this Polynesian world which wealth and population will probably reach—Mr. Brunner, the only explorer who has described its solitudes, found the same dissensions prevailing:—

'There are only ninety-seven natives, adults and children,' he says, 'living on the west coast, north of lat. 44°; all of whom profess some form of Christianity; twenty-nine of them are members of the Church, and sixty-eight Wesleyans. I am much astonished to find among the natives in these distant parts so much attention paid to their forms of religion, which are the Church and Wesleyan. Much animosity appears to exist between them; and, although in some places there are only six or seven natives, yet they have separate places of worship, two schools, and are always quarrelling about religion, each party asserting its own to be the proper service to God.'—*Parl. Papers, Jan. 1850, p. 44.*

Surely the force of the *reductio ad absurdum* can go no farther. The Church of Rome, of which exclusiveness is the principle, must be judged by her own standard. But that Protestants cannot combine to redeem these miserable denizens of the uttermost corners of the earth, without instilling, along with the common truth, their profitless controversies about 'Weteri' and 'Haha,'

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is a fact so melancholy, as almost to tempt the ordinary reader to lay down the volumes of missionary records in despair. With whomsoever the fault may be, the originators and fosterers of such feuds seem to us worse enemies to religion than many to whom ecclesiastical nomenclature awards the title of schismatics.

These are, however, but spots of shadow in the general prospect. The old heathen state is passing bodily away—a new Christian polity arising under our eyes like the fabric of a dream. In the neighbourhood of the chief European settlements—to borrow the energetic language of Governor Grey himself—

‘both races already form one harmonious community, connected together by commercial and agricultural pursuits, professing the same faith, resorting to the same courts of justice, joining in the same public sports, standing mutually and indifferently to each other in the relation of landlord and tenant, and thus insensibly forming one people.’

And now—as if to complete, with dramatic accuracy, the strange transformation which the last nine years have wrought—it seems as if the actors with whose names we are most familiar in the busy politics of New Zealand were either disappearing together from the scene, or adapting their character to altered circumstances, so as to become absolutely new men. In May, 1850, our old enemy, John Heké, died at Waimate; being little above forty years of age. Colonel Mundy believes that

‘the immediate cause of the death of the Lion of the North was a sound thrashing administered by his wife! It is certain that the daughter of the great chief, Hongi, was very jealous of her low-born but handsome husband; and had cause to be so, up to the very day of his decease. Heké’s intimate friend and ally, Pene Tauī, reporting his death to the governor, writes, “Thus it was: Heké was sleeping in the forenoon—he was sound asleep. Then came Harriett with a *hani* (a staff or club) and struck him on the ribs. When she had beaten him she threw him down upon the bed, and when he was down she showered blows and kicks upon him. That is all.”’

But it is worth mentioning—to show the sensitiveness of the natives to European appreciation of their notions and conduct—that the Governor has since found himself obliged to satisfy Harriett’s feelings and those of her tribe by a formal report to Downing-street, contradicting Pene Tauī’s scandals, and certifying on medical authority that Heké died of consumption. The southern chief, Te Rauperaha, whom it had been necessary to detain in *surveillance* for eighteen months after the insurrection, died in 1849. He had been released two years before, and Colonel Mundy accompanied him to his home. ‘It is said,’ the Colonel informs us, ‘that he was well nigh broken-hearted when he found his grand old heathen pah, which stands close

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to the sea-shore (near Wellington), utterly deserted and in ruins, while the new Christian settlement is fully peopled, and flourishing like a green bay-tree.' His son, Thomson (Tomihoni) Rauperaha, is described as 'a discreet Christian teacher, and tea-and-toast man.'

'Thomas Walker Nene,' our active and gallant ally throughout the struggle of 1845, offered to Colonel Mundy to surrender the pension which he holds for his services 'if the Governor would get him a fine mill from Sydney . . . It is to be hoped that before very long he became, what was the height of his ambition, a miller on his own account, grinding corn at so much per bushel.' Yet this man was noted for acts of daring bravery in the olden day: once, 'when his blood and heart were high,' he walked alone into the pah of an enemy, called him out by name, and shot him dead for having murdered his friend and relative. But the most unaccountable of these changes seems to have come over the greatest savage of all, Rangihaieta, the chief who, at the so-called 'massacre of Wairau,' killed with his own tomahawk, in cold blood, Captains England and Wakefield and fifteen other English prisoners; in revenge, it must be added, for the death of one of his wives by a chance shot in the skirmish.

'In 1849,' says a government surveyor in a report, 'the old chief pointed out to me the impregnable nature of his position, by calling my attention more than once to the large lagoons, morasses, dense forest, and high hills with which he is surrounded, giving me to understand that he would not be destitute of food while the lagoons supplied eels, the forest birds, *mamaku*, or other food, on which, with occasional contributions from surrounding tribes, he and his followers could subsist. At this time the very mention of a road seemed to excite his indignation.'

He was shrewdly of opinion, that 'the only object of roads was to conquer New Zealanders.' Strange to say, he is now so bitten with what the surveyor calls the prevalent 'mania for road-making' among the natives of that part of the country, that, with the encouragement of a Roman Catholic missionary, he has induced his people to make three admirable lines of road through the heart of his own fastnesses, and drives his own gig, we are told, on his own highway. One of these roads he has designated the 'Governor's Backbone,' thereby, in native etiquette, making over the ownership and superintendence of it to the Governor.\*

\* Thus 'the great Heuheu of Taupo,' a powerful northern chief, once proclaimed that the splendid volcanic mountain Tongariro, one of the grandest natural objects of the island, was his own backbone. The result of which was, that the mountain was as inconveniently 'tabooed' to picturesque and other explorers, as certain Scottish glens are said to be by certain civilised chieftains.

Together with the principal native actors on this distant stage, we have now to bid farewell to the principal European. The bishop is for the present in England, explaining to his own countrymen the wants and history of his adopted race. And Sir George Grey has left his government—perhaps not to return. He has left it escorted by the prayers and blessings of thousands, whom he has seen raised, mainly through his own judgment and perseverance, from barbarism to civilisation. No man in our day, perhaps in any day, has accomplished such a task. And yet it is not to the governor that these simple and cordial people bring the homage of their attachment, but to the man. It is the charm of sympathy which has won them—the charm of his own deep and somewhat enthusiastic affection for the race which he knows so well and has served so truly. In the words of a poetical farewell to him from the natives of Otaki, which lies before us:—

‘Thy love came first, not mine:  
Thou didst first behold  
With favour and regard  
The meanest of our race:  
Hence it is that the heart o’erflows.’\*

He may now depart in peace; his part is played out, and room is made for the exertions of new performers. Whatever judgment may be passed on other points of Governor Grey’s diversified administration—and it is his fortune to have singularly able as well as hostile critics, both here and in his own islands—the present age must needs do him justice as the founder of Maori civilisation, and we fervently hope that posterity may crown the judgment by pointing to the permanence of his work.

NOTE.—With reference to a statement at p. 84 of our former article on this subject, respecting the licensing of houses for the sale of spirits at the Sandwich Islands, under the British Commission of Government, in 1843, we have been since informed by one of the Commissioners that the licensees were expressly prohibited from selling spirits to natives. Our statement was taken from the account of Alexander Simpson, Secretary to the Commission, which omits to mention this circumstance.

ART.

\* It was not only for his paternal government that Sir George Grey had an especial claim to this poetical tribute, for it is to him that the natives are indebted for the preservation of their old national songs. He published at New Zealand in 1853 a considerable octavo volume of Maori verse, which he had diligently gleaned for seven years in all parts of the islands. ‘The most favourable time,’ he states in his preface, ‘for collecting these poems was at the great meetings of the people upon public affairs, when their chiefs and most eloquent orators addressed them. On those occasions, according to the custom of the nation, the most effective speeches were principally made up from recitations of portions of ancient poems.’



- ART. VII.—1. *The Lives of the Queens of England, &c.* By Agnes Strickland. Vols. VI. VII. London. 1843.  
 2. *Memoirs of the Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton, K.G., &c.* By Sir Harris Nicolas, G.C.M.G. London. 1847.  
 3. *The Romance of the Peerage, or Curiosities of Family History.* By George Lillie Craik. Vols. I. II. London. 1848.  
 4. *Lives and Letters of the Devereux Earls of Essex, &c.* By the Hon. Walter Bouchier Devereux. 2 Vols. London. 1853.

IT has been remarked by Sismondi, that the effect of the Salic law in the succession of a kingdom is to render the royal family more strictly national, while one in which female succession is allowed is perpetually exposed to the chance of receiving a foreign dynasty. Of the long line of kings of France every one was a Frenchman, while England and Spain have each been more than once transferred to foreign rulers through the operation of the contrary law. But it is a curious circumstance, that whenever this has occurred in England,\* it has never taken place through the marriage of a queen-regnant, but always through that of some princess not in the immediate line of succession, whose posterity has appeared to claim the throne after several generations. Probably few persons seriously dreamed that the union of Margaret of England with James of Scotland would lead to that of the two British kingdoms under one sceptre; still fewer doubtless imagined, when the decorous Palsgrave carried off his laughing bride from the court of their first common sovereign, that within a century both realms would receive as their king the prince of a German state of which few Englishmen in those days had heard the name. But none of the queens-regnant who have preceded her present Majesty can be made responsible for the good or the evil of introducing new blood into the royal line. Two, indeed—if we count, as is hardly fair, the second Mary, three—of their number were married to foreign princes, but none left surviving issue, only one bore children at all. The present heir-apparent is the first who has derived the title of Prince of Wales from a maternal parent. And Elizabeth, the

poems.' The collection will form a curious study for ethnographers, and cannot fail to throw considerable light upon the former customs and ideas of this interesting race. Unless the task had been undertaken at once, it would have been vain to attempt it. The poems, Sir George says, are rapidly passing out of use and memory; and the ancient and figurative language in which they are composed is already nearly or quite unintelligible to many of their best-instructed young men. The metrical arrangement was obtained by listening attentively to the chanting of the songs by various natives at different times.

\* The Plantagenet succession was hardly an exception: Matilda can be barely counted as a queen-regnant; and her husband and son were not more foreign to the English nation than the existing royal family.

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greatest of our queens, and one of the greatest of our sovereigns, desired no worthier epitaph than that 'she lived and died a Virgin Queen.'

But more than this, two among our queens-regnant have been conspicuously national sovereigns. The last Tudor and the last Stuart, the daughter of Henry VIII. and the daughter of James II., were the last of our rulers who were English by both parents. Their maternal ancestry was not drawn from Kings and Kaisers, but from simple English subjects, and those of no very exalted rank or pedigree. Both were indeed the daughters of peers, but neither Anne Boleyn nor Queen Anne was born in the peerage; the former indeed was doubtless the cause of her father's elevation. The whole dynasty to which Elizabeth belonged was one under which royalty was more thoroughly national than it had been for many centuries before, or than it has ever been since. The marriage of the Duke of York with Anne Hyde was looked on as something strange, and almost monstrous; but such was not the feeling a century earlier. The royal personages of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries intermarried more habitually with Englishmen and Englishwomen than those of any subsequent age, or indeed of any preceding one since the Norman Conquest. It was the point of time most favourable to such a practice. The last vestiges of its foreign origin had just been wiped away from the dynasty, and the aristocracy founded by the Conqueror; the system of modern European politics which regards all crowned heads as forming a distinct caste, intermarrying only within their own august circle, was not as yet fully established. In England again especially, the constant revolutions and changes of the succession brought the crown within the reach of remote branches of the royal family, who had nothing but their genealogy to distinguish them from the rest of the nobility of the realm. Anyhow the pedigree of Queen Elizabeth would have appeared painfully defective in the eyes of a German herald. She would have been utterly unable to make out her sixteen quarterings of royal or even noble dignity. We have oftener to pick our way through the obscure genealogies of rustic knights and plodding citizens than along the magnificent series of the Percies or the De Veres. As if to mock every notion of the kind, when any unusually illustrious name does appear, it is the result of some strange *mésalliance* which drew attention even at the time. Elizabeth's grotesque title of Queen of France might have been backed up by a lineal, though not male, connexion with St. Lewis and Hugh Capet, of more recent date than her descent from the 'she-wolf,' from whom that fantastic claim was originally derived; but this

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was only because a handsome Welsh gentleman had pleased the eye of a daughter of France, the widow of the conqueror of Agincourt. In tracing her direct royal descent through the contending houses whose claims had centred in her father, we shall not find a foreign ancestor until the two lines converge in a pair of whom any nation would have been proud, Edward of England and Philippa of Hainault. It is impossible to doubt that this thorough nationality of the Tudor and later Plantagenet sovereigns had something to do with the popularity with which they were almost always surrounded. Before and after, England had kings—Normans, Scots, or Germans—ignorant of her language, or careless of her interests: during this very period Mary lost perhaps more of the national affection by her Spanish marriage, than by a whole hecatomb of martyrs; but Henry VIII. and his younger daughter, whatever else they were, good or bad, were the thoroughly English offspring of English parents, identified in every point of language, habits, and feelings with the common mass of their people, who saw in their ruler only the most exalted of their own number, and did not abhor the despotism of one who was felt to be the true impersonation of the national character.

While both father and daughter were alike the objects of popular attachment during their life-time, the daughter alone has retained the affection of posterity. In fact we find it no easy matter to believe that our eighth Harry could ever have been a popular monarch. The England, however, of those days was used to see royal and noble blood poured out upon the scaffold; and there seems reason to believe that the strange compound of religions which he devised harmonized well with the feeling of his day. Men rejoiced to get rid of the never-failing grievance of the Pope's supremacy, and of some of the grosser practical delusions and superstitions; but the mass of mankind in all ages are alike attached to the religious ceremonies to which they are accustomed, and heedless about theological dogmas which they do not comprehend. Such a state of mind was exactly met by the church of Henry VIII.: national and regal vanity were alike flattered by the erection of an insular Pope in the royal person; men's senses were no longer insulted by the Rood of Boxley or the holy phial of Hales; but the divine might still maintain the orthodox faith of pontiffs and councils, and the layman was still surrounded at his baptism, his marriage, and his burial, by the same rites which were endeared to him and his fathers by the practice of countless generations. Henry appeared in his own time as a gallant and magnificent monarch, under whom the country enjoyed a peace to which it had been

unaccustomed for nearly a century ; he gave his subjects as much religious reformation as they desired, and no more than they desired ; his worst acts too were always done under a legal guise, for he found parliaments, judges, and convocations ready to sanction every caprice of his despotism. Such an one was easily forgiven those deeds of wanton bloodshed which have rendered his name a byword among posterity. The like too was the case with his daughter : the act which the warmest panegyrists of Elizabeth are driven to palliate as a dark stain upon her memory ; the act from which she herself shrunk, and of which she meanly tried to throw the responsibility upon others, was not even an error in the eyes of her loving subjects. Mary Stuart, the deposed and captive queen, excited no feeling of romance or chivalry in the breast of the ordinary Englishman of her own time ; he saw in her only the foe of his religion and the rival of his sovereign ; crowds of petitions prayed that justice might be done upon the offender, and her execution was hailed with the same signs of public rejoicing as a coronation or a royal marriage.

Elizabeth then, and all that pertains to her, is recommended to our attention not only by the acknowledged greatness of her character and the important events which marked her reign, but as a sovereign more thoroughly national and more thoroughly popular than any of her predecessors or successors during several centuries. She was not merely the sovereign, she was the head, the kinswoman, the representative of her people. Every feature of her character is thus invested with a special interest, one that is redoubled when we consider the foibles, the vices, and the crimes of which she stands convicted or charged. Elizabeth as drawn by her admirers, and Elizabeth as drawn by her enemies, appear like the portraits of two wholly distinct women. And yet neither portrait is to be set aside as an entirely fictitious one. We need not dispute whether the shield is gold or silver, whether the chameleon is green or blue. The glorious qualities which are held up to admiration by the one side, the degrading weaknesses which the other points out to our contempt, are both of them plainly to be recognised in the records of her life. Our only business is to consider how the two could be so strangely intermingled in the same character, and how the most ludicrous and contemptible foibles never interfered with her veneration at the hands of that public opinion which is generally more disposed to forgive the crimes than the follies of its princes.

The knight approaching the shield from one side alone might well pronounce it to be all golden. The first aspect of Elizabeth's character is that of the wisest and mightiest of a line of rulers,



rulers, surpassed in might and wisdom by none that history has recorded. It has seldom been the lot of England to fall under the sway of *rois fainéans*, such as have made their dignity contemptible in the eyes of many foreign nations; a succession of them she has never seen. Most of our kings have been men of more than average ability; several of them have been men of pre-eminent genius. But, since the mighty Norman first set foot upon our shores, one prince alone has worn his crown who can dispute the first rank with the daughter of Henry VIII. and of Anne Boleyn. The first Edward, great alike in war and peace, the founder of our commerce, the refounder of our law, may indeed claim a place by the side of one who in so many respects trod in the same line of policy. He was the first, and, till Elizabeth arose, well nigh the last, who felt that the sceptre of the old Bretwaldas was a nobler prize than shadowy dreams of continental aggrandizement; before the true greatness of either of them, the glories of Crecy and Agincourt sink into insignificance. During the forty-five years which beheld England under the sway of Elizabeth, she rose from a secondary position among the powers of Europe to a level with the mightiest of empires. And this not by dazzling and unsubstantial conquests, but by the steady growth of a great people led on by the guiding hand of a great ruler. The best comment on this fact is the history of preceding and succeeding centuries. We can trace no germ of the gradual and comparatively peaceful progress of the nation in the wild aggressions which were the favourite policy even down to the time of Elizabeth's own father. Still less can we recognise the glorious England of Elizabeth in the despised England of the reign of Charles II., when she became a pensioner of France. Under Elizabeth arose that naval greatness which has since formed our chief glory: under her auspices Drake and Frobisher and Raleigh extended alike the dominions of their sovereign and the limits of the habitable world. She first raised her own England to the rank of mistress of the ocean, and laid the first foundation of another England on its further shore. She carried the name and the glory of her country into regions hardly trodden by an English foot since the days of Alfred. She could not only boast of hurling defiance at Parma and at Spain, but her diplomatic and commercial intercourse embraced the Czar of Muscovy and the Sophi of Persia. She was looked to by all Europe as the bulwark of Protestantism and of liberty, and was recompensed by the offer of foreign crowns which she had the wisdom to refuse. At home she established and maintained a government which for those times was both firm and gentle, a despotism which drew

its power from the national affection. Nearly her whole reign was one triumphal procession; everywhere her people gathered around her as round a parent; gracious and accessible to all, no petitioner was repulsed from her presence. Stern and unbending when necessity required it, she knew how to give way with grace, or, by anticipating remonstrance, to avoid the necessity of yielding. She reared up the fabric of a church, free alike from the superstitions of the Papist and the licentiousness of the Puritan. In abolishing a foreign jurisdiction and a corrupt ceremonial, she preserved a regular order of church government, and a ritual at once simple and decorous. And all this was essentially her own doing. She was surrounded by able counsellors; but no stronger proof than this can be given of her own ability. In days when kings governed as well as reigned, the predominance of a great minister is no doubtful sign of the existence of a great sovereign. And assuredly no counsellor, however able, could have forced Elizabeth into any course contrary to her own will and judgment. Whatever was done in the name of one who so dearly loved the authority she was born to exercise must, if not the fruit of her own mere motion, at least have had the deliberate sanction of her searching intellect. Versed in all the learning and accomplishments of her age, delighting in the gaiety and splendour of a court, she never forgot the duties of a real ruler in the idleness and dissipation of the vulgar mob of princes. She maintained the credit of her kingdom abroad without plunging into unnecessary or expensive wars; she encouraged the arts of peace without suffering the decay of a martial spirit; she maintained a magnificent court, without its being purchased by the misery of the nation. The true parent of her people, she won the love in which she delighted; she ascended the throne amid their acclamations; and if, from the satiety which comes with long familiarity, she did not descend to her grave amid their tears, her memory soon became dearer to them than ever from the contrast she presented to her inglorious successor, and remained thenceforward embalmed among the most precious recollections of their past history.

Let us now change our course, and approach the object of controversy from an opposite quarter. An aspect may indeed be found in which the shield can hardly be considered even as silver, but its material might well be deemed to be a baser metal. The mighty queen is transformed into a weak, if not a vicious, woman; her personal character is well nigh surrendered, and even her political capacity does not come out unscathed. Caprice, affectation, and coquetry appear as the leading features of the one; vacillation,



vacillation, parsimony, and persecution are stamped as the indelible characteristics of the other. From youth to old age she was the slave of the most egregious personal vanity: Queen and heroine, sacred Majesty and Defender of the Faith, were titles less acceptable to the royal ear than the flattery which extolled the royal person as surpassing the beauty of all women past, present, or to come. The sovereign of seventy was never more delighted than when her courtiers exchanged the respectful demeanour of subjects for a strain of amorous adulation which might have disgusted a sensible girl of seventeen. Her earliest determination was to live and die a virgin queen; but throughout her reign the strength of that determination was exhibited by continually running to the brink of temptation. Her whole life was a chronicle of love-passages, or what affected to pass as such. Every foreign prince who thought the throne of England a convenient resting-place, every subject who professed that loyalty and chivalry had been fanned into a warmer devotion, was sure of encouragement in the wooing, even though the winning might be denied him. The court of the virgin monarch was ruled by a succession of favourites, admitted to a perilous, if not a guilty, familiarity; the carpet knight and the dancing lawyer swayed the deliberations of her council no less than the grave statesman and the experienced warrior. But in proportion to the licence she allowed herself, was the severity of the discipline she inflicted on others. The refounder of the Protestant Church regarded the most lawful matrimony as something altogether unbecoming in the priesthood, and as a hardly allowable liberty even in the laity. The marriage of a bishop was expiated by the confiscation of a manor; that of a female of royal blood was the surest passport to the interior of the Tower. Her personal habits were those of one who had thrown off alike the dignity of the monarch and the gentleness of the woman; her diversions seem to have surpassed the ordinary brutality of the times; the 'most godly queen' interlarded her discourse with oaths worthy only of a Rufus or a John; she boxed the ear of one courtier, and spat upon the fringed mantle of another. The hand of the sovereign was open to receive, and shut when she should repay; her military schemes were ruined by an unworthy parsimony; at home she quartered herself in the houses of her subjects, and neither justice nor mercy ever stood in the way of her exacting to the uttermost farthing the pecuniary obligations even of her most honoured servants. Her government was constantly that of a despot; the rights of Parliament were openly jeered at; patents and monopolies enriched her favourites with wealth wrung from the scanty fare of the peasant and the artizan. Although the sincerity of  
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her personal religion was doubtful, she enforced a conformity with her external standard by a rigorous persecution in all directions. While the fires of Smithfield still received an occasional Protestant, the lay votary of Rome had to struggle through life with confiscation or imprisonment, and his spiritual adviser lived in a perpetual apprehension that the last sight afforded him in this world would be that of his own bowels committed to the flames before his eyes. Vacillation and obstinacy contended for the mastery in her councils; the sovereign's will was indeed law, but that will seldom remained the same for two consecutive days. In great and small matters alike the 'varium et mutabile' betokened the true womanhood of one who had yet cast off the gentler feelings of her sex. No man could calculate on her course or on a progress; no man could calculate on the ultimate punishment or ultimate pardon of a convicted offender. A marriage treaty was entered upon, broken off, recommenced, and finally repudiated; a death-warrant was alternately despatched and recalled, and the responsibility thrown at last upon her confused or deluded agents. Without lineal heirs, with a heritage ready to be claimed by a contending hereditary and parliamentary right, an absurd personal caprice led her to expose her kingdom to a disputed succession rather than give any one a direct and undoubted interest in her death. In a word, if she had attained to some of the virtues of the other sex, she had acquired with them some of its less amiable characteristics, while of her own she retained nothing but, to say the least, some of its most degrading weaknesses.

We are conscious of a certain amount of exaggeration in both these sketches, in which we have by turns spoken the language of her ardent admirers and of her bitter opponents. There are lineaments in both portraits which rest more on popular conceptions than on historical evidence, but both are true in the main, and each expresses one side of a strangely mingled and contradictory character, which cannot be better summed up than in the words of one of the most eminent of her councillors, that 'one day she was greater than man, and the next less than woman.'

It is with the private and personal character of this famous queen that we propose chiefly to deal at present. We have no intention of entering at large on the great external events of her reign. We shall not repeat the tale of the destruction of Spain's invincible Armada, nor engage in any minute consideration of her civil government or her ecclesiastical reforms. All these important matters we shall only regard so far as they throw light upon the individual character of her who was the chief agent in them.



them. We shall rather endeavour to draw a portrait of Elizabeth as she was received by Leicester at Kenilworth, or by Burleigh at Theobalds, as she hearkened to the courtship of Anjou, and mourned over the grave of Essex. It so happens that this more personal aspect of Elizabeth's character has of late years had the public attention called to it by several writers of very various orders. The greatest of the Queens of England has naturally commanded her full share of attention at the hands of their biographer, and the career of Elizabeth accordingly occupies a thick volume in the last edition of Miss Strickland's series. The writings of this lady, notwithstanding a pervading poverty of style and an equally pervading feebleness of thought, and notwithstanding the graver faults of frequent inaccuracy and almost constant partiality, are by no means without their use. They have doubtless been far more in vogue with the general reader than with the historical student, but we cannot but think they are more really valuable to the latter, both for the copious extracts they contain, and as pointing out sources of various and often neglected information. If not always a safe guide herself, she is at least useful as directing the reader to better and more trustworthy authorities.

Of our other writers, Mr. Craik has given us a valuable work under an ill-chosen title. The 'Romance of the Peerage' is not, as might be supposed, a collection of high-wrought scenes and anecdotes in which dukes and countesses form the actors; but is a work of much research and good sense, which should rather have been called by its secondary title only, 'Curiosities of Family History.' As tracing out in detail the private career, the family connexions, marriages, and genealogies, of many of the eminent characters of Elizabeth's reign, it is of great service towards drawing a picture of her court, its manners, and its morals.

The 'Memoirs of the Life and Times of Sir Christopher Hatton' are still more misnamed than the work of Mr. Craik. The book consists of little else than a collection of letters—the majority of them state documents—to which Sir Harris Nicolas has attached a few very slight connecting links and occasional brief explanatory notes. His principal efforts have been directed to correcting the errors in the lively but inaccurate notice of Hatton to be found in Lord Campbell's 'Lives of the Lord Chancellors.' The genuine portrait of the supposed dancer in high places proves to have no resemblance in many important particulars to the fanciful sketch which the Lord Chief Justice has drawn; and besides the illustration which the letters afford of the true character of Hatton, they throw much light on both  
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the personal and political history of the princess in whose reign he played so important a part.

Finally, Captain Devereux has well and wisely employed the professional leisure of which he complains in his preface, in putting together two volumes on the lives of three eminent members of his own family. We wish family pride always took a turn as profitable to the interests of knowledge and literature, though certainly there are many persons with as long a pedigree as Captain Devereux who could not find so much that is worth telling about the individual members of it. Essex, the favourite of Elizabeth, is a name as familiar as any in history; Essex, the husband of Lady Frances Howard, though a less conspicuous character, is known to every one as the leader of the Parliamentary army; but the first earl, notwithstanding that he was indubitably the best and greatest of the three, will, we imagine, be almost a new discovery to the majority of the Captain's readers, and one which puts Elizabeth in a new and very extraordinary light. Captain Devereux's book is just what a biographical and family memoir should be—a help to history, but not trenching on its peculiar domain, and still less invading the tempting fields of romance.

With this general acknowledgment, we shall press into our service all the writers we have enumerated, along with those of earlier and more established reputation, in our attempt to give a general sketch of the courtly and domestic life of our greatest and weakest female sovereign.

Elizabeth was born at Greenwich Palace on the 7th of September, 1533. Every one remembers the rapturous exclamation of our great moralist—

‘Pleased with the place which gave Eliza birth,  
I kneel and kiss the consecrated earth,’—

lines which seem to convert the Protestant queen into a sort of Our Lady of Walsingham, and to represent a visit to her birth-place as equivalent to a Pilgrimage of Grace. England was at that moment on the eve of the great religious revolution, of which Elizabeth's own birth was in some sort the earnest. The monasteries were still standing; the bishoprics were still un-  
plundered; the papal jurisdiction was not yet formally cast off; the papal ritual still flourished in all its splendour. But the die had been cast which had made an irreconcilable breach between England and Rome. The daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, the aunt of Charles V., had been put aside from her royal dignity; and, in defiance of imperial and papal protests, the daughter of an obscure country knight had occupied the place which Queen Katharine had vacated. The marriage, the coronation, the birth,  
had



had followed each other in quick, in too quick succession. In the judgment of those who are precise in matrimonial chronology, the three events came too close together for the spotless reputation of Anne Boleyn, even if we regard the marriage of Katharine as so palpably null that no sort of process whatever was needed to set it aside. But as this last view was that in which the royal conscience ultimately settled down, Elizabeth came into the world presumptive heiress to the Crown of England, to the great disappointment of a father who passionately longed for male issue. Born to a throne, baptised with all the pomp with which the ancient ritual could surround a royal infant, in her third year she was converted into a merely illegitimate scion of royalty, being herself supplanted as she had supplanted her elder sister. Her mother had been got rid of by the twofold and somewhat contradictory processes of a divorce which pronounced her marriage null, and a beheading for adultery which necessarily implied that it was valid. Notwithstanding, however, the lack of raiment which seems at one time to have befallen the infant princess, and on which Miss Strickland becomes minute and pathetic to a degree in which male critics can hardly be expected to sympathise, it does not appear that she was ever treated otherwise than with kindness, either by her father or by her successive stepmothers. She was always recognised as a member of the royal family, and appeared as such on all public occasions. In fact, after Henry's hatred to Anne Boleyn had been forgotten in four succeeding marriages, another divorce, and another decapitation, there seems no reason why he might not have acknowledged Elizabeth as his legitimate child. For as the axe had fallen on the neck of Anne a single day before her place was filled by her successor, the recognition of her daughter would in no wise have affected the legitimacy of Edward VI. This act of justice was however deferred till Henry's last will and testament recognised all his children in the natural order of succession, though, in a strictly legal point of view, it is impossible that *both* Mary and Elizabeth could have been his legitimate offspring.\*

Our main subject in considering the personal history of Elizabeth is of course afforded by those negotiations for her hand, which occupy well nigh the whole of her life. From the age of ten to that of seventy, her marriage was perpetually on the *tapis*. At the outset, indeed, her father had to offer her, and that in vain,

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\* It may, however, be said that, as each was the offspring of a mother recognised at the time as the legitimate wife, they both stood on a different ground from ordinary illegitimate children, with whom nothing but the merest legal subtlety could confound them. This practical common-sense view seems to have been ultimately taken both by Henry and by the nation at large.

first to a Scottish subject, and secondly to the heir of Spain and the Indies. Her connexion with Philip is certainly strange; he first refused her, then married her sister, then was refused by her, and finally became her great religious and political rival.

But passing by these mere political schemes, the private romance of Elizabeth's career commences at a tolerably early period. Her father's death left her at the age of fourteen, a girl of precocious intellect and attainments, of pleasing manners, endowed with a considerable revenue, a contingent right to the throne, and some claims to personal beauty. Whether her charms were either so extraordinary or so permanent as it was loyal to maintain during the first three years of the seventeenth century, it is certain that in the middle of its predecessor,\* if not strictly beautiful, she was a well-grown girl, with a good figure of which she made the most, and with well-formed hands which she always took pains to display. The first wooer of one so well provided in mind, body, and estate, was no other than the brother of the woman for whose sake her mother had been sent to the block, and herself branded with a sort of modified and temporary bastardy. Thomas Seymour, the younger brother of the Protector Somerset, a handsome, ambitious, and unprincipled man, was a formidable rival to his brother, who had been placed in so much higher a position by the favour of Henry. A barony and the office of Lord High Admiral might have seemed a considerable elevation for the younger son of a plain Wiltshire knight, but it certainly was a small matter compared with the monopoly of power and honour enjoyed by his brother. Seymour is said to have been an old lover of Katharine Parr before the promotion of that lady to the highest and most dangerous of her many matrimonial positions. If his royal brother-in-law had cheated him out of the third turn, he at least remained ready to take advantage of the next vacancy; and thus, before Henry was well in his grave, he became the fourth husband of the liberated queen dowager. Whether the very brief period of her widowhood did not witness two courtships on her lover's part; whether, before he applied for the queen, he had not made an unsuccessful attempt upon the princess, is open to some doubt. But it is very certain that Katharine's fourth and not very prolonged experience of married life was embittered by the open attentions of her husband to the young stepdaughter to whom she discharged the office of a parent. It might almost be doubted whether an incident in the career of Elizabeth's own mother had not been transferred to a wrong place, when we read of the queen dowager's jealousy being excited by suddenly

\* 'Well-favoured' and 'neat' are the strongest expressions contained in the well-known description of Naunton, p. 79.



finding her young charge in the arms of her husband. The opportune death of Katharine opened the way for his ambitious hopes; his courtship was redoubled; but instead of making him the brother-in-law as well as the uncle of a king, with a fair chance of being the husband of a queen and the stock of a new dynasty, it led him to what in those days was the usual fate of ambition—an execution by a bill of attainder, which was promoted by his brother, and at least not impeded by his royal nephew.

The details of Seymour's courtship of Elizabeth are somewhat extraordinary, and must have surpassed even the ordinary grossness of the age. Her biographer reveals a good deal, and further particulars, which a female pen might naturally refuse to transcribe, may be found in the less scrupulous pages of Dr. Lingard. It does not say much for Elizabeth that proceedings of this kind did not hinder him from winning her affections. She acknowledged that she would have married him, could he have obtained the consent of the Council—a marriage without that consent would, by her father's will, have forfeited her right to the succession—and it is difficult to see how anything but a genuine passion could have inclined her to a match in every way so inferior. When matters had really gone thus far, scandal, as might be expected, went still farther; rumour asserted that she was pregnant by him, and even went so far as to forestall the fearful legend of Littlecote Hall,\* and to speak of 'the child of a very fair yong ladie, borne and miserably destroyed.' The first of these assertions to her prejudice was at least sufficiently rife to require a direct denial on her part, which she makes, straightforwardly enough, and without at all mincing her language, in a letter to the Protector. Elizabeth, throughout her life, was fond of indulging in a cloud of pedantry and metaphor, through which it was sometimes far from easy to pierce to her real meaning, but, throughout life, she could, when necessary, speak to the point as well as any one. She complains that she is reported to be 'with child by my Lord Admiral,' which she repels, doubtless with truth, as 'shameful slander.' Without attaching any credit to a tale of this kind, we can hardly doubt that in Thomas Seymour we discover the first man who found the way to the heart of the royal maiden. But the love of Elizabeth was a perilous prize to win; the first and the last who shared it perished on the scaffold; and the fate of Seymour, of which she was but the occasion, was the precursor of that which Essex met at her own hands.

After such an affair and such rumours as these, the line which prudence dictated to her clearly was to conduct herself in such a

\* See the notes to *Rokeby*.

manner as to make them seem their own refutation. She henceforth became the pattern maiden of her brother's court. 'Sweet sister Temperance,' as the young Edward playfully called her, amply merited that title as the very beau ideal of Puritan propriety. The eschewing of all earthly splendour of apparel was in those more rigid times a badge of orthodoxy, which it certainly ceased to be when Elizabeth herself became absolute alike over fashion and conscience. Her father had bequeathed her valuable jewels, but we are told that for some years they lay unnoticed; the arrival of a bevy of fine ladies from France turned the heads of all the fair dames of the English court, but the Lady Elizabeth remained unmoved; every other head was 'frounsed, curled, and double curled,' but the Lady Elizabeth alone 'kept her old maiden shamefacedness.'

But if, in her external adornment, nature was to have her own way, her mind was to be enriched with all the ornaments of the age. Learning was then the rage; the religious disputes of the time required every one to be a theologian; the recent discoveries of the masterpieces of ancient wisdom required every one to be a scholar. Italy, at that day, attracted all eyes, as at once the home of revived art and learning, and the battle-field on which the potentates of Europe had for forty years fought out their quarrels. French had ceased to be the native language of English kings and nobles, but its acquirement was as necessary an accomplishment in those days as in our own. Greek, Latin, French, and Italian, are said to have been nearly as familiar to Elizabeth as English itself, and she was also well acquainted with Spanish and Dutch. All these she had mastered, with the exception of the two last, which were later acquirements, before she was sixteen. Her tutor Ascham guided her through the New Testament in Greek, through the mysteries of theology as expounded by the old light of Cyprian and the new light of Melancthon; he read with her Cicero and Livy, the tragedies of Sophocles, and the dialogues of Plato: the orations of Isocrates were also a favourite study, to which she added a more practical fruit of the same age and city, than which no study could be more valuable for the future ruler of a great nation, the masterpieces of political strife bequeathed to us by the two great rival orators of Athens—Demosthenes and Æschines.

The death of Edward in 1553, and the eventual accession of Mary, brought Elizabeth into an altogether new position. The illegal and unjust will of the young king excluded her, no less than her sister, from the succession, and transferred it to the house of Suffolk in the person of Lady Jane Grey. How completely this proceeding was the work of the personal ambition of  
Northumberland,



Northumberland, is clear from the bare fact that Elizabeth was set aside. The good of the Protestant cause would have been best consulted by her elevation ; but Northumberland would not have been in that case the father-in-law of the Queen ; at least he does not appear to have dreamed then how near he would be to obtaining that position as a posthumous honour. The two sisters were thus for a while constrained to make common cause ; Elizabeth refused a large bribe from Northumberland to resign her claims, saying she had none during her sister's life : she entered London side by side with the Queen, and, up to the time of Wyatt's rebellion, retained her proper position as heiress-presumptive. Yet she was at once heiress and rival. Probably no sovereign and his contingent successor were ever placed in a stranger relation to each other. Nothing but the unconstitutional power which had been vested in the will of their father could have brought them into any other position than that of open rivalry. According to every technical principle of law or theology, if Mary was legitimate, Elizabeth was not, and could therefore have no claim to rank as princess ; if Elizabeth was legitimate, Mary was not, and Elizabeth herself was therefore the lawful Queen. Rivals too they were in every personal respect ; Mary the head of the Romish, Elizabeth of the Protestant party ; Mary, the daughter of Katharine, the wife of Philip, the representative of foreign connexion, amounting almost to foreign bondage ; Elizabeth, the free English maiden, to whose hand every English noble might aspire, and round whose name every national feeling might freely centre. We might add, that a mean female jealousy might well have been expected to arise in the mind of the mature Mary, prematurely aged by neglect and anxiety, as she saw beside her a competitor in the full bloom of youth and grace. But in this respect at least Mary was unquestionably superior to Elizabeth, and no traces of rivalry of this description can be discerned at any time between them. While such manifold sources of jealousy were rife between the sisters, while Elizabeth's name was cried up by every disaffected party, while suspicions stronger than had brought many heads to the block accused her of actual complicity in Wyatt's rebellion, it was indeed no wonder that she became for a while the inmate of a prison. The wonder rather is, that with a strong party at home, backed from without by the most powerful prince in Europe, calling for her blood, she did not find the Tower a mere passage to Tower Hill. It was an age in which Henry had immolated his wives, Somerset his brother, Edward his uncles ; it was unusual mercy or unusual prudence which spared Mary the guilt of a sister's as well as a cousin's blood.

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The details of Elizabeth's life during this period throw as much light upon the character of her sister as upon her own. We regret to learn that very soon after the change of sovereign our heroine entirely laid aside 'her old maiden shamefacedness,' and began to bedizen herself with all the pomps and vanities of this wicked world. Queen Mary had no objection, either of taste or of conscience, against arraying either herself or others in magnificent apparel. The fine clothes and jewels which Elizabeth had left untouched during the sombre reign of her brother were now called into active service; we are indeed told that it was only by sheer compulsion, in the character of a loyal subject and a dutiful younger sister, that she was induced to this act of backsliding; but it is at least certain that the habit, however unwillingly commenced, afterwards reconciled itself to the conscience of the royal maiden. We do not find that, when she had no one to consult but herself, she ever relapsed into her primitive innocence. The wardrobe bequeathed by Henry VIII. to the youthful princess must surely have been scanty compared with the three thousand gowns left behind her by the aged queen; and it is a sad fact that, when nature no longer allowed the processes of 'frounsing, curling, and double-curling' to be continued upon the genuine growth of the royal head, a selection had each morning to be gone through to determine which of eighty wigs was most worthy to lessen for that day the pressure of the triple diadem.

A graver change took place at the same time. With the outward badge of the straitest sect of Protestantism, Elizabeth gave up altogether the outward profession of the Reformed religion. She asked for Romish books to enlighten her mind, and their effect was speedily visible on her external conduct; she became a regular attendant at mass; she wrote to the Emperor himself for a due supply of crosses and chalices; she even invoked divine vengeance on herself if she was not a true Roman Catholic. Now, in an age of apostasy and dissimulation it is really no great accusation against a young woman left to her own guidance, and who seems throughout her life to have retained a lingering affection for some of the Romish tenets and practices, that she had not the courage to be a martyr. It is not every one whose vocation it is to go to the block with Fisher, or to the stake with Latimer; but experience might have taught her how vain are all human attempts to bind the conscience, and led her, when she attained to power, to refrain from condemning men to a death of torture and ignominy for the sincere practice of a worship to which she had herself once found it expedient insincerely to conform.

During



During the reign of Mary, as Elizabeth became at once of maturer age and nearer to the crown, it was only natural that the number of her wooers should increase. To one of them a romantic interest attaches. The noble house of Courtenay has obtained distinctions surpassing those of all other originally subject families. A branch of the house of Capet was content to merge its royalty in their name and inheritance; they have filled the throne of Constantine, and intermingled their blood with that of Plantagenet; and their Decline and Fall has been recorded by the same hand and in the same volumes as that of the Roman empire itself. Edward Courtenay was no very distant relative of the royal family; his grandmother, as well as Mary's and Elizabeth's, was a daughter of Edward IV.; but the family had already paid the penalty of so dangerous a proximity to the throne: the head of the father had fallen at the mandate of Henry, and the son had spent his youth within the precincts of the Tower. That Mary released him, took him into her favour, and restored him to a portion of his father's honours, are among the undisputed facts of history; that she designed him for her husband is at least probable; but an inquiry into the causes of his ultimate rejection lands us in a region of controversy, if not of romance. The old version is, that his passion for Elizabeth caused him either to reject, or to be rejected, by her elder sister; but the Roman Doctor Lingard and the female Protestant biographer, whose sympathies are usually with her Catholic heroines, alike repudiate it as 'romantic' and 'apocryphal'; while the former reveals the fact that it was on account of ignobler and less creditable loves that he lost the good will of his royal kinswoman. Whether any real passion on either side existed between Courtenay and Elizabeth must probably remain a mystery; but it is certain that their names were constantly joined together in the public voice; every malcontent who made Elizabeth his watchword invariably coupled with her the handsome Earl of Devonshire as the selected partner of her throne. The reason for the choice is obvious; no one else who could well be proposed as a husband for the princess stood in anything like so near a relation to the royal family. The houses of Scotland and Suffolk seemed to produce only female claimants; and Reginald Pole was at once farther removed than Courtenay from the succession, and was personally, of all men living, the least suited for the purposes of the conspirators.

Nor were foreign suitors wanting for the hand of our English princess. They began to pour in from divers quarters, north and south, some Protestant, some Catholic, some who wooed by deputy, others who pressed their cause personally. King Philip  
vehemently

vehemently supported the cause of his own kinsman, Philibert of Savoy; but neither Philip's patronage nor Philibert's own presence could prevail on the obdurate maiden. From the other end of Europe, Christian of Denmark and Gustavus of Sweden applied to the princess herself on behalf of their respective heirs, both of whom we shall find appearing again at a later stage of our story.

There is something taking in the notion of an union between our great Elizabeth and the son of the great Gustavus. The latter may pass, in some respects, for a modified and improved Henry VIII. He had, in common with Henry, separated the Swedish Church from Roman usurpation, without eradicating, like reformers elsewhere, all traces of ancient church-government or of ancient ritual splendour. He did not, indeed, like Henry, behead or divorce his own wives, but he had a strong tendency to marrying the betrothed wives of other people. But if Gustavus far excelled Henry, his son Eric was hardly less inferior to Elizabeth. He was a pertinacious lover; especially after he had become entitled to woo on his own account, but at present his suit was made entirely through the agency of his father. It is worth stopping a moment to point out the theory entertained by Gustavus as to the proper manner of conducting royal courtships. Elizabeth rejected his suit as not coming through the Queen her sister; the Swede replied, that he designed first to address himself to her personally, 'as a gentleman,' and, if her consent should be gained, then to apply to her sister 'as a king.' He was doomed to be equally luckless in both capacities; the maiden herself utterly refused the gentleman, and threw upon her Majesty the task of transacting business with the king.

We have now to view our heroine translated to a grander sphere. November 17th, 1558, was a joyful day for England, and long after was it observed as a national holiday. Mary had entirely lost, if she ever possessed, the affection of her subjects. Her somewhat austere virtues, her unbending rectitude, her sincere, though mistaken, piety, would have rendered her respected in private life; on the throne they proved little better than stumblingblocks. Elizabeth, her inferior in every moral quality, was a born ruler, and her people had already learned to recognise her as such. Mary had done more for the cause of the Reformation than either Henry or Edward; whatever lingering affection might have remained for the old doctrines or the old ceremonies was rooted up when they became identified not only with a persecution far more bloody than those of Henry, but with the religious supremacy of Rome, and the political influence of the hated Spaniard.



Spaniard. Elizabeth came to break alike the spiritual and the temporal fetter. No elective prince or ruler ever attained his dignity by a more unmistakeable 'vox populi' than that which guided Elizabeth to a throne marked out for her by the hereditary claims of a thousand years. Never was the sovereign more truly the embodied people. Herein we have the key to the tremendous powers which she so long exercised without a murmur. There is probably no despotic act of the Stuart period which may not be paralleled, in the letter at least, during the reign of Elizabeth, yet Elizabeth ran no risk of decapitation or expulsion, save at the hands of a few fanatics whom the nation abhorred. The law might be violated with impunity by the woman in whom the people recognised their own impersonation: a stricter observance was required from half-foreign princes, the chiefs of a court rather than the leaders of a nation. Hers was the chastisement of a parent; theirs the unwelcome infliction of a pedagogue. She knew well how far to go, and when to stop; if any grievance extorted murmurs which could not be despised, formal complaint was anticipated by a voluntary concession. Her successors never yielded till the time was past when concession would have been of the least avail. If the sway of her last few years was less parental than that of her better days, it should be remembered that forty-five years of such worship as no other human being ever received could hardly fail to have some effect in spoiling any child of man. Her popularity diminished, but it never quite wore out. No rejoicings masked joy at her death in acclamations at the accession of her successor.

But we have rather to deal with her in her more private and less worthy character. We are less concerned with the acclamations with which her rejoicing people welcomed her as she rode in royal pomp through the streets of London, than with the truly royal tact and grace with which she took care that not a tribute of affection should be lost upon her, nor a single subject find a repulse at the hand of his chosen Sovereign. Still more concerned are we with the fact that the person who rode next to her on the eleventh day of her reign was her Master of the Horse, the Lord Robert Dudley.

This name at once opens to us a whole train of inquiry with regard to the personal career of this mighty sovereign. We never picture Elizabeth in solitary greatness; she at once rises to our mind's eye as surrounded by a goodly band of statesmen and warriors, the sharers alike of the deliberations of royalty, and of the enjoyments of her lighter hours. And this illustrious train speedily divides itself into two widely-distinct classes. The two Cecils, and Walsingham, and Davison, to say nothing of the

great Prelates who were her fellow-workers in her ecclesiastical reforms, never appear in any other light than the ordinary one of men intrusted with high political and religious functions. But Leicester and Raleigh and Hatton and Essex appear, on any showing, in a character for which the court of no other English queen has afforded a parallel; the *chronique scandaleuse* of their own day went so far as to refer them to a class for which analogies must be sought in the Neapolitan court of the fifteenth century, or the Muscovite of the eighteenth. It is unquestionable that the one class were the ministers of the queen, the others were the favourites of the woman. It is no less certain that they all adopted the language of lovers, and that some at least seriously aspired to a matrimonial crown. But their exact position with regard to their royal mistress remains somewhat of a mystery. That she indulged in strangely indecorous familiarities towards some of them is undoubted; that the breach of decorum ever developed into a breach of virtue has been often asserted, but never distinctly proved. Writers have generally assumed one side or the other according to their religious views. Dr. Lingard probably made it a matter of principle to head a page—'Elizabeth. Her Paramours;' while Mr. Sharon Turner doubtless found it equally binding on his conscience to devote several pages of impassioned argument to the assertion of her undoubted right to her favourite and familiar title. An illustrious monarch of her own time—Henry IV. of France—on whom both creeds in succession sat somewhat lightly, settled, or rather unsettled, the question by his declaration, that of three inscrutable mysteries one was 'to what religion he himself belonged,' and another, 'whether Queen Elizabeth were a maid.'

Before we directly attempt to unravel this difficulty of Henri le Grand, we must distinguish between Elizabeth's mere suitors and those who were advanced to the higher rank of favourites. The former were of all nations; the latter, with a single exception, were supplied exclusively from among her own subjects. Her excessive love of admiration, combined with her no less excessive irresolution and procrastination, led her to look with a certain degree of complacency upon a vast number of suits on which it is clear that she never for a moment cast a serious thought. Yet even these form a curious feature in the great picture of her life and reign, and it may be convenient to clear them off our hands before we proceed to examine that succession of her favourites, among whom the chronology of her reign may be divided.

First and foremost in the race after the new Atalanta was no other than Philip of Spain. The voice of scandal rumoured that  
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he had looked upon her with a favourable eye even during the lifetime of her sister; at all events Mary could have hardly been in her grave before he was vigorously pressing his suit, whether of love or policy. How far a marriage between Philip and Elizabeth would have been abstractedly lawful, we may leave to be argued between Dr. Pusey and Sir Frederick Thesiger on the one hand, and Mr. Binney and Mr. Stuart Wortley on the other; but it is clear that the daughter of Anne Boleyn could hardly have married her sister's husband without tacitly assenting to her own illegitimacy. This argument was urged by her councillors, but, according to her invariable custom of never entering on the question of her mother's marriage, could not well have been openly set before Philip. His suit, however, came to nothing. The refusal of Elizabeth, as usual, was not very decided, but Philip seems not to have waited for a more explicit rejection.

Next came our old acquaintance, Eric of Sweden, who maintained a zealous and pertinacious courtship of three years. Gustavus allowed his younger son, John, Duke of Finland, to go and plead the cause of his brother. This was in 1559; the death of their father next year did not interrupt the wooing, which lasted till 1562. Eric seems, indeed, to have been really and truly one

*'Qui nunquam visæ flagravît amore puellæ.'*

His suit by proxy was rejected; he would come himself; he had loved her in adversity, he still loved her in prosperity; not for her rank, but for her person and her virtues. God had inspired his love; for her sake he would give up his country and all that he had. She answered in the negative, both in French and English; but Eric would not believe in his rejection: she wrote in Latin to Gustavus; Eric called his father's scholarship in question, and affirmed he had mistaken her meaning. Gustavus died; Eric imagined that his brother was supplanting him in his wooing, as he eventually did in his kingdom; he recalled him, and pleaded by his ambassador; eighteen pied horses and two chests of bullion came as love-tokens; the lover himself was to follow. Public expectation was rife; painters went so far as to portray the majesty of Sweden and of England on the same canvas; the offending engravings were suppressed by proclamation, and Elizabeth's court and council were perplexed by the solemn question of etiquette, how the northern monarch was to be received, 'the queen's majesty being a maid.' One more letter, not of invitation, at last hindered his coming; the throne of the Goths and Vandals was finally shared by 'Kate the nut-girl,' while the crowns of England, France, and Ireland,

still remained as a glittering prize for all the adventurous spirits of Europe.

Philip, failing himself, recommended his cousin Charles of Austria. Jealousy of the Swede prompted a second northern prince to try the luck of his house in the person of his nephew, Adolphus of Holstein. The Austrian wooed by proxy, and gained nothing whatever; the personal courtship of the Dane was at least rewarded with the knighthood of the Garter and a pension for life. There came also on the same bootless errand a Scottish subject, the Earl of Arran; but he retired at the first rebuff; so that Elizabeth complained that, while kings and princes continued their suits for years together, a private Scot could not condescend to ask a second time. Dearly must she have loved the process of wooing for its own simple sake.

We need not detain ourselves long with a son of the Elector of Saxony; with the second courtship of Charles of Austria, which was rather a political one on her own part; with Catherine de Medicis' offer of her son Charles, which was hardly serious; or with Elizabeth's coquetry with Henry IV. at the age of sixty-three. More singular than these is a mysterious offer from the Duke of Würtemberg, of *assistance* to her majesty, in case she designed to marry, which assistance she 'graciously acknowledged, promising to deserve it hereafter.' Anjou will take his place in the list of her most highly-favoured suitors, and it is now time to run briefly through the list of her English admirers.

A simple knight, Sir William Pickering, was at one time deemed to have a fair chance of carrying off the prize which was refused to the monarchs of Spain and Sweden. A subject of higher rank, the last Fitzalan Earl of Arundel, ventured to imagine that his sovereign would condescend to occupy a place which had been previously filled by two successive countesses. The sentiments of this nobleman towards Elizabeth seem to have gradually verged from one extreme to the other. At one period of her sister's reign he had been urgent for her death; he then became the head of the party which supported her against the machinations of her enemies; and finally became a declared suitor for her royal hand. On Pickering the queen may have cast a momentary glance of favour; the chances of Arundel seem to have existed entirely in his own imagination. But both of them were far outshone by the abiding influence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester.

This man was the younger son of Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, and grandson of Dudley, the minister of Henry VII. Father and grandfather had alike expiated their crimes upon the scaffold, whither they had been followed by a more guiltless victim



victim in the Lord Guildford Dudley, who for a moment held the place of king consort of England. Robert escaped the fate of grandfather, father, and brother; for thirty years he was the most influential subject in England; and in his end, whether or no he escaped the malice of domestic treason, he at all events kept his head and quarters from that posthumous exhibition which was the ordinary fate of politicians of his father's generation, and was not without examples in his own. The influence which this celebrated man attained over the heart of Elizabeth is the most striking example of mere personal favouritism in the whole course of her reign; of her other favourites most were men of respectable, some of illustrious, capacity; but neither at the council-board nor on the field of battle did Leicester exhibit powers sufficient to rank him with Essex, much less with Raleigh. His commanding person, his elegant accomplishments, his magnificent entertainments, and zealous profession of devotion to his sovereign, seem to have been the only merits by which he won his place in her court and councils. In the superstition of the time it was held that some mysterious influence of the stars had united the destinies of a pair said to have been born in the same 'auspicious hour.' Certainly, if we were to trust the most elaborate portrait of him which has come down to us, it was not for his virtues of any description that he attained his place in the royal favour. According to the libellous author of '*Leicester's Commonwealth*,' his habitual occupations were those of poisoning and adultery; the wrongs ordinarily perpetrated by a bad man in power, perversion of justice, removing landmarks, and the like, being rather thrown into the shade by his greater achievements in the other two lines. Desirous to marry the queen, he made away with his first wife, Amy Robsart; but, not having then fully graduated in his art, he set about the business in a clumsy way—'she had the chance to fall from a paire of staires, and so to breake her neck, but yet without hurting of her hood that stood upon her head.' Grown more expert by converse with Italian professors, the death of no small number of eminent persons was 'assisted' by his nefarious skill. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was poisoned in a salad; Lady Lennox fell mortally ill soon after a visit from the Earl; the Earl of Sussex 'received some dram that made him incurable;' Cardinal Chatillon, on the other hand, received a potion which killed him in a day. Lord Sheffield and the Earl of Essex paid the natural penalty of the beauty of their wives; in both cases the wife was seduced, the husband poisoned, the widow married. To add to all this, the second process took place during the lifetime of the victim of the first; but, to do the Earl justice, the licence which he assumed

assumed to himself he granted also to others; he even procured the disgrace of the Archbishop of Canterbury for not allowing the practice of bigamy to his Italian favourite, Giulio.

The greater part of these accusations, and many more of the like sort, are evidently the mere slanders of an embittered enemy. The charge of wholesale poisoning is one so easy to make and so hard to disprove, that it should never be credited without the strongest evidence. But putting aside exaggerations of this outrageous description, Leicester's character still remains one of much evil and little good. Like the second Buckingham of the Stuart reigns, he was the great patron of the Puritan party; but, like him, at no time of his life does he ever appear to have been remarkable for puritanic strictness of morals. The piety of his discourse and letters was highly edifying; he was regarded as an oracle on points of theology and casuistry; grave divines sought his judgment on subtle questions as to matrimony and continence, on which he seems to have acted at once as the spiritual director and the 'horrid example.'

The particulars of the event which has left the darkest stain upon his memory—the supposed murder of his first wife Amy Robsart, shortly after the accession of Elizabeth—have hitherto rested upon the reckless libels of the author of Leicester's Commonwealth, and the gossiping traditions collected by Ashmole on the scene of the tragedy, towards the close of the seventeenth century. Mr. Craik, however, discovered in the Pepysian Library a remarkable correspondence on the subject between Dudley himself and one Thomas Blount, which, though it presents the case for the defence, confirms in a singular degree the material circumstances which had been previously handed down to us. The first letter, dated Windsor, September 9th, 1560, is from Dudley, and commences thus: 'Cousin Blount, immediately upon your departing from me there came to me Bowes, by whom I do understand that my wife is dead, and, as he saith, by a fall from a pair of stairs. Little other understanding can I have of him. The greatness and the suddenness of the misfortune doth so perplex me, until I do hear from you how the matter standeth, or how this evil should light upon me, considering what the malicious world will bruit, as I can take no rest.' In order, therefore, that 'he may purge himself of the malicious talk that he knows the wicked world will use,' he begs Blount to cause a coroner's inquest to be held, and to see that the jury is composed of men who will 'search to the bottom of the matter.' Already the case begins to wear a suspicious aspect. Dudley at once leaps to the conclusion that he will be held to be the instigator of the murder—a proof at least that his character and his circumstances were,



were, by his own confession, alone sufficient to make it probable. Blount, again, by a curious coincidence, had just left the presence of his kinsman when Bowes arrived from Cumnor with the news, which renders it probable that Blount himself was the original and secret bearer of the intelligence, and that the accomplice had in reality been concerting with his principal the steps they were to take.

Two days afterwards (September 11th) Blount replies to the letter of Dudley, and relates the particulars he has gleaned. 'Methink, said I,' he represents himself as remarking to a person who had narrated to him the incident of the death, 'that some of her people that waited upon her should somewhat say to this. No, Sir, said he, but little; for it was said that *they were all here [Abingdon] at the fair, and none left with her.* How might that chance?' said I. Then said he, It is said how that she rose that day very early, and commanded all her sort to go to the fair, and would suffer none to tarry at home; and thereof is much judged.' She is even represented as being very angry with any one who wished to stay behind; and the special witness named as attesting this improbable piece of passion for so motiveless a purpose, 'is Mrs. Odingstells, *the widow that liveth with Anthony Forster.*' One Pirto, who appears to have been a female servant, is represented as confirming the tale.

On the 12th, Dudley again writes to Blount, and sends a message to the jury inviting them 'to deal truly in the matter;' the foreman of whom shortly afterwards put himself in communication with the suspected husband, while Blount assures his great kinsman that a portion of the twelve 'are very enemies to Forster,' and hints that they bear him 'malice.' In this, again, we have the overstatement of conscious guilt, for it is extremely unlikely, with a knowledge of the interest which Elizabeth herself would take in the inquiry, that the coroner would have ventured to select the notorious enemies of the presumed assassin to try the cause. A verdict was given that the death was accidental; and as far as we can judge from the evidence which remains, no other could have been pronounced, for there was not a single syllable of direct testimony to prove that Forster was the author of the deed. But when we consider how opportunely the death of Amy Robsart occurred for the ambitious projects of Dudley; how singular was the mischance of her being killed by a fall from the stairs; how obviously the tale is devised to account for the marks of violence upon the body; how greatly the suspicion of foul play is increased by the event occurring at the convenient moment when every one, except Forster, had been sent to the fair; how improbable was the story that the angry determination  
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of Lady Dudley herself was the cause of her being left unattended in the house; how still more unworthy of credit it becomes when it oozes out that the witness to the fact is the creature of the murderer; when these and many other circumstances are considered, it is almost impossible to resist the conclusion that the wife was assassinated that the husband might be free to wed Elizabeth. Such at any rate continued to be the opinion of the public, in spite of the evidence delivered at the coroner's inquest; and among the reasons which Cecil urged upon the Queen in April 1566 against her marrying the Earl of Leicester, this is one—that 'he is infamed by the death of his wife.'

So long as Dudley had the slightest hope of the coveted advancement, he naturally abstained from any matrimonial ties, though his courtship of the sovereign appears at no time to have interfered with his pursuit of the frailer beauties of her court. Lady Sheffield unquestionably bore Leicester a son in 1572, the year after her husband died; she affirmed that he was the fruit of a private marriage; the earl admitted the paternity, but denied the marriage, which the poor mother was at least unable legally to substantiate. She afterwards, during Leicester's life, married one Sir Edward Stafford; but she averred that she took the step only because she found her hair and nails falling off, owing to the earl's pernicious arts, and therefore thought it prudent to yield her claim to him and console herself with a more faithful husband.

This Lady Sheffield, née Douglas Howard, daughter of Lord Howard of Effingham, was a maternal cousin of Elizabeth's; so also was her rival the Countess of Essex. The maiden designation of the latter was Lettice Knollys, daughter of Sir Francis Knollys, Treasurer of the Household, who is perhaps most celebrated as the stern Protestant at whose instigation the fool broke her majesty's private crucifix. When her name is first brought into connexion with that of Leicester, she was the wife of Walter, Earl of Essex, the first and greatest of the three heroes of Captain Devereux's biographies. At an earlier period Douglas is described as having an unsuccessful rival for Leicester's affections in her own younger sister; and from herself they wandered to the Countess Lettice, though the latter was several years her senior. Thus far the tale seems undoubted; but we are not called upon to believe the whole cycle of crime in the full proportions given to it by the author of the Commonwealth. In his envenomed pages Leicester and Lady Essex appear as something more than *Ægisthus* and *Clytæmnestra*, adding to the crimes of the latter another of which they are not accused, the destruction of their own unborn child. Mr. Craik admits the adultery, but acquits



acquits Lettice of a share in her husband's death, leaving the charge apparently 'not proven' against Leicester. Captain Devereux rejects the whole story; and he certainly shows that the evidence tends to the belief that Earl Walter was not poisoned either by Leicester or the countess. But we can hardly admit his argument, that, if Leicester had won Lady Essex before her husband's death, he would not have married her two years after. The great obstacle to their marriage was clearly to be found in the hopes which Leicester had hitherto cherished of marrying the Queen; if these had vanished in the mean while, he may not have objected to a union which may have accorded with the dictates of his heart, while the lady would doubtless in any case have preferred to be lawfully married rather than remain a paramour. This requires us to look a little back.

For six years at least Leicester seems to have reigned undisturbed in the royal affections. In 1564 a new object crossed the path of Elizabeth. Christopher Hatton, afterwards Lord Chancellor, is commonly said to have danced himself into the Queen's favour. It is however certain, as Sir Harris Nicolas has shown, that he was not a mere dancer, that his abilities as a statesman were eventually found to be considerable, and that he possessed, if not learning, at least tact and sense enough to carry him respectably through the arduous functions of the Marble Chair. But it is equally certain that Hatton's position seems to have been, more than that of any other of Elizabeth's favourites, a strictly personal one. It may be remarked of all of them that they were seldom promoted to any of those great offices of state which were reserved for the Burghleys and Walsinghams. Hatton indeed proved in the end an exception, but his career of advancement was for a long time especially slow. For several years he attained neither rank nor distinguished office; yet he was high in the Queen's favour, which, in his case, took the very unusual form of munificence. He remained for some years only Mr. Hatton, the Gentleman-Pensioner, and then became Sir Christopher Hatton, the Vice-Chamberlain; but manors, church lands, and small lucrative offices flowed in upon him with a lavish stream, and his portion of plate on New-Year's Day averaged from twice to four times the allowance of the greatest nobles and highest favourites. The jealousy of Leicester was raised:\* he is said by Lord Bacon to have introduced to the Queen a dancing-master whom he affirmed to be more worthy of her favour than Hatton,

\* Many years afterwards (1584), when the only legitimate son of Leicester died, Hatton wrote him a friendly and pious letter of consolation, to which the Earl replied in the same strain. The hopes of both were then at an end, and their old rivalry appears to have been succeeded by natural feelings of good will.

as being more skilful in the art by which the latter had won his place in her regard. 'Pshaw!' quoth her Majesty, 'it is his trade.' But, what is more important than anecdotes of this kind, we cannot fail to be struck with the fact that the year in which we first find Hatton at court is also the year in which Elizabeth made that proposal of a marriage between Dudley and the Queen of Scots, with regard to which so many conjectures have been hazarded. It is just possible that, if she were now smitten with a new passion, she may have really wished to provide her former lover with so honourable a place of banishment. Nor is the 'playful tickling' of his neck, during the ceremonial of his investiture as Earl of Leicester, which most historians have recorded after Melvill, inconsistent with the supposition. The whole history of Elizabeth shows that the supremacy of one favourite did not exclude others from some share in her regard. Hatton may have been for the moment so far in the ascendant as to procure Leicester's removal, although some lingering affection for the latter may still have existed in her heart. In a word, she was not quite off with the old love, even when she was on with the new.

Again, this very same year was the one in which she listened with so much more apparent seriousness than before to the suit of a foreign prince, Charles of Austria. Is it not possible that she may have felt her own weakness, and have wished to put an impassable barrier between herself and both her native admirers? That she did not persist in this purpose; that Leicester gained ground; that he ventured to ask for a final answer; that Burghley had seriously to argue against the marriage; that she finally promised at least to marry no other subject, are simply instances of her ordinary irresolution and change of purpose in such matters.

However this may be, Leicester and Hatton both continued to be favoured by their royal mistress. In 1572 she appears to have bestowed her regard upon some fresh object, and Hatton consulted his friend Mr. Dyer upon the best means of maintaining his ground. It is evident from the reply that his own idea was to shame his fickle mistress by reproaches. His friend advised a submissive course, and urged, among other reasons, that 'though in the beginning, when her Majesty sought you (after her good manner), she did bear with rugged dealing of yours until she had what she fancied, yet now, after satiety and fullness, it will rather hurt than help you.' 'You must consider,' he said further, 'with whom you have to deal, and what we be towards her; *who, though she do descend very much in her sex as a woman*, yet may we not forget her place, and the nature of it as our sovereign.' In 1573 Hatton fell sick, and went abroad for his health, from whence he

wrote



wrote some letters to the Queen, which confirm the inferences that would naturally be drawn from the language of Dyer; for they are the letters not of a subject to his sovereign, but of an ardent lover to his mistress. 'Bear with me,' is the conclusion of the first of these rhapsodies, 'my most dear sweet lady. Passion overcometh me. I can write no more. Love me, for I love you. Shall I utter this familiar term, Farewell? Yea, ten thousand farewells! He speaketh it that dearly loveth you.' A few days later, and he sends a second effusion, which contains these remarkable words:—'I would I saw your world at home, *how some seek that I have done*, which they shall find never. Some hope well and haste them on, but waste shall be their hire; and some despair, whom I allow the wisest, but not the most happy of these men. But, madam, forget not your lidds that are so often bathed with tears for your sake. *A more wise man may seek you, but a more faithful and worthy can never have you.* Pardon me, my most dear sweet lady, I will no more write of these matters.' Hatton was her Majesty's 'sheep' as well as her 'lidds'—a contraction for eyelids—and he delights in his correspondence to call himself by these familiar terms of endearment. Nothing can be plainer than that he sought the Queen in marriage, and that she had encouraged the courtship. Many years after (1584) he acknowledged his 'too high presumptions towards her Majesty; but, madam,' he added, 'leave not the causes of my presumption unremembered; and though you find them as unfit for me as unworthy of you, yet, in their nature, of a good mind they are not hatefully to be despised.' Suitor after suitor made the false but natural inference that, when Elizabeth gave or seemed to give her heart, she would also give her hand.

During all this time Leicester never appears to have entirely abandoned hope till the crisis of the famous courtship of Anjou. This began to assume a more serious character in the summer of 1578: in September of that year Leicester married Lady Essex. We are told that he had previously married her privately, but that old Sir Francis, her father, being more wary than his daughter, and fearful that she might be cast away like her predecessor, insisted upon a second marriage, which was indeed to be kept secret, but of which the legal validity was placed beyond doubt. It strikes us that the synchronism this year is no less worth noticing than that which occurred fourteen years before. Is not the explanation something of this kind? Leicester had now for twenty years been in pursuit of his object; he had done all that mortal subject and lover could do: he had perhaps killed his first wife; he had certainly abstained from giving her an indubitably lawful successor; he had wooed and worshipped year after

after year, and all in vain ; three years earlier, perhaps as a last desperate effort, he had given his sovereign such an entertainment as never sovereign had received before ; his masques had been played, his bears had been baited, his fire-works let off, his purse emptied, and all to no purpose : he was neither the Queen's husband nor more likely to become so than at the beginning of his suit ; and now, after so long an interval, she was again beginning seriously to listen to a foreign suitor. Meanwhile, if the attractions of the Queen still retained their force, those of the woman may be supposed, in the ordinary course of things, to have considerably decayed ; if he had once loved Elizabeth Tudor, he now loved Lettice Devereux ; he turned, in mingled despair and pique, from his old fruitless pursuit, and grasped the object within his reach. We do not wish to judge the fair Lettice harshly, but we can certainly see nothing in a marriage under these circumstances inconsistent with the supposed amour during her husband's lifetime. The main reason why he should prefer a mistress to a wife was at last removed, and she might easily insist upon a legitimate sanction being given to their connexion.

But in any case the marriage was kept secret from the Queen, till Anjou's agent, Simier, revealed it. Elizabeth's vengeance seldom fell lightly on those about her who married without her consent, and a marriage between her lover and her cousin was likely to be visited with more than ordinary severity. Leicester's marriage, especially at such a moment, must have been felt as a most stinging offence. It was a direct satire on her irresolution and inconstancy ; it was a public proclamation that she had ceased to charm, or, at least, that she was not worth waiting for indefinitely. Pique might have led him to the act, prudence might resume its reign and prompt its concealment. Simier, the deputy lover of Anjou, if not a lover on his own account, naturally strove to set Elizabeth against Leicester, and, to bring matters to a head, revealed that he was now actually again a married man. Her wrath at the intelligence was as violent as might have been expected ; he was commanded to confine himself to Greenwich Castle while a berth in the Tower was preparing. It was only the intercession of his constant adversary, Radcliffe Earl of Sussex, which saved him from a dwelling which so often proved a pathway to the block. The Countess herself, who had ventured thus openly to become the rival of her sovereign, was never afterwards, except on a single occasion, permitted to appear at court. Yet the influence of the husband of Lettice was not permanently less than that of the wooer of Elizabeth ; he still remained supreme in the court, and he tried his luck in the government of the camp. A patent was prepared, conferring on him



him the unheard-of title of Lord-Lieutenant of England and Ireland, and death alone seems to have hindered his actual investiture with its somewhat indefinite functions. Scandal affirmed that he fell into the snare which he had so often laid for others. In 1588 our friend Lettice, though now on the wrong side of forty, could, like the Queen herself, still command admirers. Christopher Blount, afterwards her third husband, was reported to be already her lover, and Leicester was rumoured to have drunk of the same cup which he had drugged for her first and noblest partner. Anyhow, he died suddenly; Elizabeth wept for the man, but the Crown debtor was quite another being, and his goods were presently sold for the benefit of her exchequer. Lettice lived to see her last husband perish on the scaffold in the same cause as her celebrated son by the first; but she herself abode in the flesh till 1634, when, at the age of ninety-four, she could still walk 'a mile of a morning.' Few other subjects of Charles I. could probably remember the death of Henry VIII. Born in the year which saw the execution of Cromwell Earl of Essex, she found the title revived in her own person; and had six more years been allowed her, to live out her full century, she might have seen the commencement of the struggle in which another Essex, her own grandson, fought by the side of another Cromwell.

The courtship of the Duke of Anjou, younger brother of Charles IX. and Henry III. of France, is certainly one of the most curious features in the reign of Elizabeth. He was nearer obtaining the prize than any other pretender, native or foreign, and seems to have been the only foreigner who had any real chance at all. As a mere matter of negotiation this courtship was spread over a great number of years, and its full length and tediousness may be followed in Sir Dudley Digges's folio, intitled 'The Complete Ambassador.' But its culminating point lasted from 1578 to 1582. Like Eric, Anjou at first wooed by deputy, but, like Eric too, beginning to suspect the presence of a rival in his agent, he came over to press his own cause. The story will be found in any history of England. Elizabeth, in her forty-ninth year, was unquestionably enamoured of the young prince about half her age; they were actually contracted, and it seems to have been as much as the arguments of her ministers, the entreaties of her personal attendants, and the general voice of the nation, could effect, to prevent this grotesque union from being actually accomplished.

During the latter part of her reign the queen confined herself to favourites chosen from among her own subjects. They were, to the very last, required to assume the demeanour and language of lovers; but we hear no more of any serious or definite proposals

posals of marriage. Raleigh shone for a while as the rival of Haiton, but the place of Leicester passed, on his death, to his young step-son, Robert Earl of Essex. As the son of Lettice Knollys he was of course a distant cousin of Elizabeth's; and some surprise has been expressed that he never found the disgrace of his mother act as a bar to his advancement. The life and character of this celebrated man have been well traced out by his kinsman and biographer. He is one of those persons who just miss of being truly great. With an assemblage of individual qualities of the noblest kind, there was yet wanting some ruling principle to mould them into a character of harmonious excellence. He is nevertheless by far the most attractive hero of Elizabeth's reign. The wise men of her council, her Burghleys and Walsinghams, may be honoured as they deserve in their own department; Leicester is more likely, on the whole, to excite censure than to win esteem; but for Essex we feel something like a personal affection. His frank and impetuous disposition, his personal accomplishments, his chivalrous daring in war, his more honourable mercy in the hour of victory, create an interest in him which mere statesmen and mere courtiers alike fail to excite. He obtained the rare distinction of being at once the favourite of the sovereign and the idol of the people; his personal qualities were those just suited to win the heart of the Queen, while his whole demeanour was no less adapted to conciliate popular affection. Even his foibles and vices were of a nature which the public at large is always willing to extenuate. He might be occasionally insolent and imperious alike to sovereign or subject; his gallantry in war might be but little tempered by the calm forethought of the true general; his gallantry in peace might often degenerate into licentiousness; but all these things might be readily forgiven in the young, high-spirited, and generous Earl. Like his step-father, he united a profession of religion with a neglect of its duties: but what in the one was probably but pharisaical hypocrisy, was in the other the common alternation of sinning and repenting. No man ever accused him of treachery, or duplicity, or secret poisoning; even in ordinary court intrigues he was liable to be distanced by every competitor. He probably never affected a sentiment which he did not feel, except—we cannot forbear the exception—when he employed the language of amorous devotion to his aged mistress. He died on the scaffold with more of legal guilt than most political victims of his age, but we may be sure with no treason or conspiracy in his heart of hearts. Elizabeth loved him as she had loved no man before; his death embittered many succeeding moments of her life; and, in the opinion of some  
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about her, contributed to bring down her grey hairs in sorrow to the grave. More than a year after his execution she told the French ambassador that nothing now contented her spirit, or gave her any enjoyment: she spoke of Essex with sighs, and almost with tears, and was so much moved that De Beaumont found it necessary to give the conversation another turn. Yet so inveterate was the passion of Elizabeth for the game of courtship that six months later the same ambassador announced that she had been seized with a new inclination for a handsome Irishman, the Earl of Clanrickarde, who was said to resemble the ill-fated Essex. But he made no response to the advances of the Queen, who then declared that she could not love him because he recalled her sorrow for the man who had perished on the scaffold.

The main facts of the life of Essex are among the most familiar portions of English history, and for the details we cannot do better than refer our readers to the volumes of Captain Devereux. He has carefully investigated the well-known story of the ring which Lady Nottingham is said to have kept back from the Queen, and thereby to have procured the Earl's death; but, though nothing can be fairer than his statement of the evidence, we dissent from his conclusion that the tradition is true. But, instead of discussing these tempting questions, we must pass on to a more general estimate of the relations in which both Essex and his predecessors in the affections of Elizabeth actually stood to the sovereign, at whose court they were certainly something more than councillors or administrators of the royal will.

We have before observed that the private character of Elizabeth has been more frequently treated according to theological partizanship than weighed in the balance of historical impartiality. The delicate question of the exact relation between her and her favourites is one which, naturally enough, is rather evaded by both her female biographers, Miss Aikin and Miss Strickland. Dr. Lingard insinuates all he can to her prejudice; Mr. Sharon Turner takes up the gauntlet on her behalf with more zeal than discretion; Sir Harris Nicolas, perhaps in this matter a better authority than either, seems doubtful, but certainly inclines to the unfavourable view. Let us endeavour to look impartially on both sides. Were Leicester, Hatton, and the rest, more than the favourites,—were they the actual paramours of Elizabeth? That they were more than political counsellors, that they were personal favourites, is evident: and we think there can be no doubt that the Queen was, in the strictest sense, 'in love with' more than one of their number. It is perfect nonsense to talk, as has been done both in her time and in our own, of Leicester standing to her in the relation of a friend and a brother; it is palpable

palpable that her feelings towards him were those of an enamoured woman; and she repeatedly declared that, could she prevail upon herself to marry at all, he would be the man. Now such a marriage would have been contracted in defiance of every consideration of political prudence, and could only have been the result of a real passion. To argue that Leicester was not on the footing of a lover because Elizabeth did not invariably grant his requests, and because she even seems on some occasions to have designedly thwarted him, argues a strange ignorance alike of human nature and of the famous dictum of the Latin Grammar touching the '*amantium iræ*.' Because the daughter of Henry VIII. loved her royal power above all things, it does not follow that she did not love Robert Dudley second to it; because she fluctuated between the offended queen and the loving woman, it does not follow that the latter character never prevailed at all. Mr. Turner might as well argue that Henri le Grand had no love for the fair Gabrielle, because he told her that he had rather lose ten such mistresses as her than one such counsellor as Sully. Hatton too, in the letters edited by Sir Harris Nicolas, addresses her with all the fervour of a real passion, widely different, as appears to us, from the affected and inflated language of Essex at a later period. Her love for Anjou led her to the brink of a marriage which would have made her the laughing-stock of Europe. When we come to Essex, the enormous disparity of years may perhaps have mingled a little of the tenderness of the grandmother with that of the mistress; but it is impossible to believe that her feelings towards him were exactly those which she entertained towards Lord Burghley or Archbishop Parker.

But because Elizabeth was deeply and passionately enamoured of a succession of favourites, it is by no means necessary to leap to the conclusion that she actually sacrificed her honour to any one of them. Her calumniators and her admirers alike commonly argue as if passion implied vice; one side reasons that, because she was in love with Leicester, she must have been his mistress in a criminal sense; the others argue that, because she was not such a mistress, he could have been only a friend or a brother. But surely it is very possible to entertain a strong passion, and yet, from various considerations, to abstain from either its lawful or its unlawful gratification. It is surely possible for men or women to go on for years under the influence of such a feeling, running themselves into danger, and yet actually avoiding destruction, indulging, it may be, in perilous familiarities, and yet never taking the final step. Elizabeth, we have no doubt whatever, ran herself into great danger; she indulged in

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most unbecoming and almost degrading familiarities; she went to the very verge of virtue; but there is no positive evidence that she ever actually overstepped the line.

The most definite accusations against her come from the pens of envenomed enemies, religious and political. The Spanish and Popish factions, the partizans of Mary Stuart, had every motive to blacken the character of their great adversary. It will not do to admit 'scandal about Queen Elizabeth,' on the testimony of Cardinal Allen, or of the famous letter of the Queen of Scots. Yet even statements of this kind have a certain weight; they prove, at least, that she was not qualified to have been the partner of Cæsar; she might be above crime, but she was not above suspicion. Mr. Turner, a loyal subject of King George III., asks indignantly whether any one would hearken to similar accusations if brought on similar testimony against Queen Charlotte or any other equally respectable lady. Undoubtedly not; but then no calumniator—none certainly in the position of either the Scottish Queen or the English Cardinal—would be so devoid of worldly wisdom as to bring them. Mr. Turner seems not to have known that calumniators, of any skill in their trade, commonly observe a certain verisimilitude; they at least endeavour to hit a real blot. They distort and exaggerate; they improve follies into vices, and vices into crimes, but they seldom attribute qualities to which the character assailed absolutely presents no approximation whatever. Aristophanes never accused Nicias of fool-hardiness, or Lamachus of addiction to the principles of the Peace-Conference; Punch never hints that Mr. Cobden is a pensioner of the Sultan, or that Lord Shaftesbury holds a private retainer from the Vatican. To take Mr. Turner's own example, we are not aware that any man ever breathed an insinuation against the spotless virtue of Queen Charlotte; but, if we are not mistaken, her Majesty's real foibles were often made the subjects of exaggerated caricature. Elizabeth's calumniators must have had some ground to go upon; that is to say, her conduct was undoubtedly imprudent and unguarded; they of course chose to set it in the worst light, and probably invented the appropriate details. It is clear that rumour was sufficiently rife to be a matter of grave political consideration. One of Burleigh's objections to the marriage with Leicester was, that it would have been felt to be a confirmation of the prevalent reports that they had already dispensed with that ceremony. Camden, who was no Papist or Spaniard, testifies to the public jeering and scandal which followed, as was but natural, on the strange legislative enactment which denied all right to the succession to any but the Queen's 'natural issue.'

Mr. Turner gravely argues that Elizabeth's everlasting boasting and prating about her 'virginity' is of itself a sufficient proof of her indubitable retention of that jewel. To us it seems that, except for the different manners of that age, it would have told entirely the other way. We should now-a-days immediately suspect a woman who perpetually sounded a trumpet before her on so delicate a subject. But such a conclusion with regard to Elizabeth would be as unreasonable as the opposite. Our notions on those matters have reached such a height of delicacy, that not only would no respectable woman go about asserting her own chastity, but she would even consider praise on that head as itself an insult, as implying the possibility of conduct of an opposite description. But such was hardly the feeling of Elizabeth's time. A lady then took it as a compliment to be addressed as 'right virtuous;' and perhaps where Leicester had the ascendant it was consoling to be assured of the fact. Miss Strickland, with the notions of a lady of our times, is naturally scandalised at the fact that the Queen condescended to point out to a foreign ambassador that the position of their respective bedrooms showed the impossibility of the familiarity attributed to her and the Earl. A less delicate generation may have thought the surest proof the best. Elizabeth probably made these perpetual assertions of her own virtue as a sort of answer to the scandals against her; but it can really prove nothing either way that she wished the word 'VIRGINITATEM' to appear in conspicuous letters upon her grave, or that she manifested a visible satisfaction of countenance when a Cambridge orator enlarged before her with great unction on the excellence of that monastic perfection.

As for the more precise charges brought against her, we may leave Dr. Lingard and Mr. Turner to discuss the exact topography of the palace after the changes which made the demonstration of royal chastity mentioned in the last paragraph no longer available. Leicester's chamber became after a while contiguous to her own—for a reason, according to Elizabeth herself, which neither friend nor foe seems willing to accept, namely, that his health suffered in his former quarters. The passages in the Hatton Correspondence have certainly also a suspicious air. 'If,' says Sir H. Nicolas, 'the expressions used by Dyer are to receive their usual interpretation, it is difficult to disbelieve the reports which were then so prevalent.' We must confess that the dark hints contained in these letters have done more to shake our confidence in the perfect virtue of Elizabeth than all the minutiae of scandal preserved by the rival Queen. The most natural interpretation would, we agree with Sir H. Nicolas, be that least favourable to the character of Elizabeth. But it

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is not absolutely conclusive. It proves that Elizabeth's passion for Hatton had carried her to lengths quite unbecoming her position; it does not positively prove that it had carried her to the extremest lengths of all. On our notion of the relation between them, she did certainly 'descend very much in her sex as a woman;' and perhaps 'frailties,' not used in the technical sense, might not be too strong an expression. Still this testimony is quite explicit enough to hinder us from pronouncing a positive judgment in her favour, though individually we certainly incline to that side of the balance, and they are almost damaging enough to convert our verdict of 'Not Guilty' into one of 'Not Proven.'

But we think the more favourable estimate of Elizabeth's character in this respect is perfectly consistent with facts. She inherited the susceptible and inconstant disposition of her father and aunt, together with the levity of demeanour which brought her mother to the block. Passion led her to the very brink of vice; pride, prudence, and principle combined to keep her from actually passing it. But why did she not marry? That keen observer and pleasant gossip, Sir James Melvill, told her the reason very clearly: single, she was both King and Queen; married, she would have been Queen only. Strong as was her passion for her successive favourites, she had a stronger passion still, the love of rule inherent in her Tudor blood. Her father could gratify both at once; his Annes and Janes and Katharines never interfered with his undivided royalty; but the husband of Elizabeth could hardly have failed to be, if not a master, at least a partner. Besides this, her egregious personal vanity delighted in the mere process of courtship; the maiden Queen was the mistress and lady-love, the Aslauga and Gloriana of every man who chose to turn troubadour in her cause; the wife of Eric or Anjou, of Leicester or Hatton, must have been content with a more practical and decorous homage. In earlier days she diligently inquired of Melvill as to the comparative beauty of herself and her Scottish rival; she diverted her diplomatic cares by taking the ambassador's opinion as to the respective merits of the French, English, and Italian 'weeds;' hearing that Mary was her superior in height, she pronounced her stature in excess, as surpassing that measure which was 'neither too low nor too high.' She not only refused the Swedish King a share in her portraiture, but she suppressed by proclamation all the efforts of the limner to depict her countenance as unworthy of the original, and put forth her own likeness by authority for the admiration of her loving subjects. And this weakness grew upon her with her age. Even when her face was 'wrinkled,' her teeth 'darkish,' her hair 'tawny, *but not her own,*'

own,\* she still loved to hear how her ambassador in France set light by the beauty of Gabrielle, because of the far more excellent mistress whom he served. It gladdened her heart to hear how Gabrielle's lover himself took her picture ('which nevertheless came far short of her perfection of beauty'), 'beheld it with passion and admiration, kissed it, vowed that he would not forego it for any treasure, and that to procure the favour of the lively picture he would forsake all the world.' She was not easily satiated with hearing how Raleigh 'could not live alone in prison while she was afar off;' how he had been 'wont to see her riding like Alexander [?], hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks like a nymph, sometimes sitting in the shade like a goddess, sometimes singing like an angel, sometimes playing like Orpheus.' She forgot the Queen in the woman when Essex told her that he 'had been more subject to her natural beauty, than as a subject to the power of a king; for her own justice did conclude this within law, but the other his affection made to be infinite.' She rejoiced to hear how he 'preferred her beauty above all things;' how, 'since he was first so happy as to know what love meant, he was never one day, nor one hour, free from hope and jealousy.' Under her frowns he was 'overcome with unkindness, as before he was conquered by beauty;' when on foreign service, 'he spiritually kissed her fair royal hands, and thought of them as a man should think of so fair flesh.' But how great must have been the disappointment of their owner to find that, in his private discourse, she was described as 'an old woman as crooked in mind as in body.' Surely, by his own reasoning, this treason against her 'natural beauty' might be held as more worthy of the block than any dereliction in the duty of 'a subject to the power of a king.'

Closely connected with Elizabeth's celibacy were two singular features in her character which are closely interwoven with one another; her dislike to marriage in others, and her unwillingness to declare her successor. The former, though one of the least amiable features of her character, seems to us to tell in her favour with regard to her own personal virtue. It was the happiness of lovers in any form, lawful or unlawful, to which she

\* Heutzner, p. 34. Allusions to her age were not ever likely to be hazarded in her presence, except through inadvertence, as in the instance reported to his master by the Scotch ambassador, Lord Semple of Beltheis, in 1599, and quoted by Miss Strickland. 'At her Majesty's returning from Hampton Court, the day being passing foul, she would, as her custom is, go on horseback, although she is scarce able to sit upright, and my Lord Hunsdon said, "It was not meet for one of her Majesty's years to ride in such a storm." She answered in great anger, "My years! Maids, to your horses quickly;" and so rode all the way, not vouchsafing any gracious countenance to him for two days.'



had so rooted an objection; in others clearly, because it was a satisfaction which she had denied to herself. If she frowned on Leicester for marrying her cousin, she imprisoned Raleigh for seducing her maid of honour. But the hardest measure she ever dealt was to the Earl of Hertford and Lady Katharine Grey, her persecution of whom really justifies the strong expression of Captain Devereux,\* 'that of all the generous and kindly emotions which warm the human heart, not one, as far as we know, ever found a resting-place in her bosom.' A furtive marriage, in one so near to the royal house as Katharine, hurried her and her husband to the Tower, and, by a still more cruel mockery, their inability to bring legal evidence of the ceremony was visited by an ecclesiastical process for incontinency. The poor lady sank under her wrongs, falling a victim to the refined malice of Elizabeth, as her elder sister had done to the open severity of Mary.

There was probably no time when it was less clear to whom the reversion of the royal estate of England lawfully appertained. Claimants there were in abundance. Mr. Hallam enumerates fourteen—but there was some objection to every one. Many of the claims, many of the objections, were indeed alike utterly futile; still there was enough to be said for and against each to render the question extremely complex, and to make a legislative settlement highly desirable. Hereditary right was in favour of the Scottish line, the descendants of Margaret, the elder daughter of Henry VII.; but Henry VIII., in pursuance of the power specially vested in him by Parliament, had preferred those of his younger sister Mary, the widow of Lewis XII. and wife of Brandon Duke of Suffolk. But there were doubts whether the descendants of Margaret's first husband, King James, were not excluded as aliens, while her second marriage with the Earl of Angus, from which the house of Lennox derived its claim, was very commonly regarded as invalid. In opposition to the rights of the Suffolk family, doubts were alleged whether Henry's will was duly signed. It was further whispered that Charles Brandon was at the time of his marriage with Mary the husband of another woman, in which case that princess would have left no legitimate descendants at all. Passing by this question, her line was scattered through various families, noble and ignoble, some of whose pretensions, as we have just seen in the case of the Hertford branch, met with but poor acknowledgment at Elizabeth's own hands. With the events of the previous century before their eyes, men might well dread the prospect of

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\* i. 191.

a civil war between the royal lines of *Stokes*\* and Stuart, to say nothing of the more distant rights of the Infanta of Spain, or the claims of the Holy See to the lapsed fief with which of old it had invested John Lackland. The Houses of Parliament, naturally enough, continually petitioned her Majesty either by her marriage to give the country a rightful and indubitable heir, or at least to allow some definite settlement of the succession. The Journals of Parliament of those days, which may be studied in the folio of Sir Symonds d'Ewes, contain some of the richest pieces of quaintness that we have ever come across. The two Houses in Elizabeth's time seem to have dreaded nothing so much as the old stigma of '*Parliamentum indoctum*.' They ransacked the history of all nations that ever existed, and of some which we suspect never existed, to find precedents for their proceedings, and, above all, arguments to prove that Queen Elizabeth ought to marry. In 1562 Mr. Speaker Williams, after offering her Majesty one subsidy and two-fifteenths, exhorts her to select a husband, but not till after he has likened her to Cyrus and Alexander, and 'Etheldred, a king in this realm,' and has even dived further into a still more remote antiquity, quite beyond our powers of research. She is compared to 'Palestina the queen, reigning before the deluge, who made laws as well concerning peace as war;' to 'Ceres the queen which made laws concerning evil-doers;' and to 'Marc, wife of Bathilicus, mother to Stillicus the king who enacted laws for the maintenance and preservation of the good and well-doers.' This last reference is quite above us, but we suppose there is a delicate hint as to the desirableness of another King Stillicus being brought into the world to carry on his mother's good government over England and Ireland. In 1566 the Houses are content to draw their instances from events better known to ordinary understandings. The Lords prove by the instances of Abraham, Hannah, and Elizabeth ('whose name your Majesty beareth'), the advantages of leaving posterity; by those of the Empress Constance and of Pedro King of Aragon, that even religious votaries may for the good of kingdoms enter into the nuptial bond; by those of Moses and David they demonstrate the advantages of naming a successor; by those of Alex-

\* Let it not be forgotten that Frances Brandon, Duchess of Suffolk, daughter of Mary the French queen, and next in succession to Elizabeth under the will of Henry VIII., took for her second husband her Master of the Horse, Adrian Stokes. By her first marriage Frances had only daughters—Lady Jane Grey and two others; and at the time of her second she was by no means so old as to render it improbable that she might become the mother of a son who would have been at once the heir apparent to the house of Stokes, and the heir presumptive to the crown of England. Unluckily however the marriage did not prove fruitful, so that in a few years all chance of a *Stokes* dynasty succeeding to those of Plantagenet and Tudor passed away, probably for ever. See *Romance of the Peerage*, ii. 268.



ander and Pyrrhus the evils which result from the contrary course. Mr. Speaker Onslow follows in the same vein, but confines himself to a single precedent; as her Majesty has defended the faith of Abraham, her faithful Commons trust that she may share Abraham's desire of issue. But neither prayers nor precedents, nor the plainest dictates of policy, could ever induce her to name a successor; she would give no one a direct interest in her death, while she continued to look with an evil eye upon all the numerous claimants of her heritage. In utter defiance, not only of the extreme theory of divine right, but of the commonest principles of a hereditary monarchy, it was made a matter of imprisonment and *præmunire* to maintain any one to be her heir, except that mysterious 'naturalis ex ipsius corpore soboles,' of which we have already heard. Never till her death-bed, at least, would she entertain the question, and even her dying declaration in favour of the King of Scots is now held by the best historians to be apocryphal.

In money matters Elizabeth does not shine. She boasted of sparing her subjects' pockets, but she certainly sometimes personally accepted of their gold and silver under circumstances which, according to our notions, were hardly princely. It was objected that her numerous progresses were often dictated by a desire to spare her exchequer by quartering herself upon her wealthy and hospitable subjects. To receive Elizabeth was a costly honour, which sometimes entailed the ruin of the entertainer. Her Majesty went beyond the precedent of King Xerxes himself; she not only exacted both dinner and supper for many succeeding days, but a well-filled purse of gold had to be prepared against her departure, to serve as the viaticum of the royal guest. A gift of the like nature, paid in hard cash into the royal palm, was also commonly expected when any municipal body was formally admitted to the royal presence. Yet were these very progresses among the surest means by which her nobler kingcraft sought to maintain the popularity which she so dearly loved. Not a subject was repulsed from her presence; every Englishman might have a personal audience, and personally plead his grievance before the English Queen. On such occasions her tongue was kept back from curses, and her hands from blows; these were the portion of courtiers; good words and gracious smiles were the portion of her people. Prelates, and earls, and councillors trembled before her, but she knew well how to avoid the fatal rock of sovereigns; she took care never

'*cerdonibus esse timenda.*'

In the particular department of finance no claim of service  
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or familiarity was admitted. Debts were rigorously exacted from the dead Leicester and the living Hatton; but the strangest tale of all is that of her pecuniary dealings with the first and noblest Earl of Essex. This gallant nobleman, on his expedition to Ireland, entered into a partnership with the Queen, by which they were to divide its expenses; but as the Earl wanted ready money, he borrowed 10,000*l.* of the Queen at 10 per cent., and mortgaged various estates, under penalty of annual forfeiture of a manor of 50*l.* yearly rent. The details may be studied in Captain Devereux's volume: suffice it to say, that many a fair manor had to be sold to defray the cravings of the royal money-lender, and that his young successor inherited 'little or nothing towards the reputation of an earl's estate.'

Elizabeth was coarse and savage in her personal tastes; we should almost think beyond the standard of her time, though from her capacity she might be fairly expected to have risen above it. We are told that she never mentioned the name of God without a marked pause and the addition of the epithet Creator; but there must be an implied exception of those cases in which the name was employed as the vehicle of the frightful oaths in which she constantly indulged. It was the vice of the age, but a vice from which a woman, a Queen, and such a Queen, might have been reasonably expected to be free; a vice which we can hardly conceive attaching to her sister or to her sister's victim. The same may be said of the barbarous nature of her favourite diversions. The reign of a maiden Queen might well have been selected as the period to wipe out the national disgrace that the pleasures of Englishmen invariably involved pain to some living creature. But Elizabeth delighted in bull-baitings and bear-baitings beyond all recorded example; even the harmless ape was called upon to contribute by its sufferings to the royal diversion. In the nobler sports of the field the skill and the excitement seem to have been less prized than the actual butchery; the stag, hunted down by man and beast, was brought to receive its death-wound from a hand which might more gracefully have been raised to command its deliverance. On some occasions she strangely mingled devotion and cruelty, while she ransacked the frozen zone to find objects for her inhuman pastime. She went to hear a sermon at St. Mary's Spital, two white bears following in a cart—we need not say for what purpose they were destined at the conclusion of the discourse. Did the Church of England contain a divine courageous enough to have filled up the interval with an exhortation from the text—'The righteous man regardeth the life of his beast; but the tender mercies of the wicked are cruel'?

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From the inferior animals the step was in those days counted but small to the inferior types of the human race. Here Elizabeth has the additional guilt, not merely of continuing, but of commencing iniquity. In her reign, and under her auspices, England became first infected with the guilt of the slave-trade.

Such were the many failings which disfigured the fair fame of 'Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queen of England, France, and Ireland; Defender of the true, ancient, and Catholic Faith; most worthy Empress from the Orcade Isles to the mountains Pyrenees.'\* We have had to deal mainly with her private and personal character; her more strictly political crimes or errors—if the first we must mention deserve either name—the imprisonment and death of the Queen of Scots, the embowellings of the Papist, and the burnings of the Anabaptist, are beyond the limits of our present subject. We have only to conclude with the remark already made, that her very failings form, in truth, the clearest testimony to her general greatness. The more we condemn the woman, the more we must admire the Queen. Vain, irresolute, capricious, mean, cruel, jealous, jeoparding, if not surrendering, the choicest jewel of the female character, she never lost the love and veneration of her people: she has never failed to shine among the most glorious lights in the page of history. How great, then, must have been the intellectual grandeur, the capacity for government, the discernment of merit, which have in the eyes alike of her contemporaries and her successors obliterated moral failings of so deep a dye! Her faults are not even on the grand scale of criminality which might have seemed in a manner in harmony with the grandeur of her nobler qualities. They are the petty vices and weaknesses of a vain, malicious, and mean-spirited woman. Yet this same woman takes her place, by common consent, among the very ablest of our rulers: forty-five years of glory did England owe to her, between the contemptible administration of her immediate fore-runner and her immediate successor; and the longer we contemplate her chequered nature the more we are impressed with the truth of the dictum which we quoted at starting, that in Elizabeth there were two wholly distinct characters, in one of which she was greater than man, and in the other less than woman.

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\* Such was the style of her proclamation. See Strickland, vol. vi. p. 66.

- ART. VIII.—1. *The Speech of Lord Lyndhurst, delivered in the House of Lords on Monday the 19th June, 1854.* London, 1854.  
 2. *The Russians in Bulgaria and Rumelia in 1828 and 1829; during the Campaigns of the Danube, the Sieges of Brailow, Varna, Silistria, Shumla, and the Passage of the Balkan by Marshal Diebitch.* From the German of Baron von Moltke, Major in the Prussian service. 1854.

THERE is an instinct of self-preservation in all communities. That instinct has overcome the aversion to war which is one of the prevailing sentiments of our time. The present conflict with Russia is regarded in England as essentially a people's war, upon the principle affirmed in the brief old maxim that 'princes fight for victory, the people for safety.' The issues of this strife, no matter how glorious to our arms, involve no gain to our power. The contest demands immediate and costly sacrifices: the sacrifices are yielded without a murmur. It proffers no accession of dominion; dominion was proffered as the reward of peaceful connivance. Egypt and Candia did not tempt our diplomacy, and the knowledge of the meditated bribe has inflamed still more the resentment of the nation. Yet the danger we apprehend from the enemy does not menace us in our more evident and material interests apart from the general cause of the human race. We fear no invasion of our shores—there is no ancient grudge of rival commerce. Even an attempt on our Indian possessions seems to us too remote and chimerical for substantial alarm. Nor, on the other hand, is the dormant military spirit aroused by the remembrance of hereditary contests. Here, our remembrances are of alliances, not warfare.

It may be said that political differences supply the place of hostile reminiscences; that between England and Russia there is the necessary antagonism between free opinion and despotic rule. Unquestionably such antagonism exists, and contributes towards that enthusiasm for the war, which, nevertheless, it could never in itself have created. All educated men recognise the same distinction as the Greeks did between the established order of states and the individual ambition of rulers. The Greeks called Polycrates, who subjugated his native Samos, a tyrant; they did not call Xerxes a tyrant, but the Great King. National animosities when purely political are felt rather for those who have risen to be autocrats than those who receive autocracy in right of birth, and exercise it by the sanction of the governed. Yet the Emperor of France is popular, and his alliance, the boast of the former government, is the strength of the present; while all men, educated or ignorant, join in their dread of the Czar, who is called 'father' by his



his people, and who, till recent events, enjoyed a high reputation even among free states for constitutional temperance in the exercise of hereditary power. Nor is the war with Russia popular alone amongst those portions of our community who consider themselves the warmest admirers of democratic liberty, and would fain be the iconoclasts of all images embodying the idea of irresponsible authority. While Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright have done what lay in their power to damp the ardour of the populace they have been accustomed to sway—while Whigs have been hesitating and Reformers timid—the chiefs of that party held to be the least fascinated by abstract theories of liberty, and most disposed to respect the forms of established convention, have been the first to insist upon vigour in the prosecution of the war and guarantees in the re-establishment of peace. We must look then to some cause for the favour which a conflict at once so vast and so indefinite—so onerous in exactions—so barren in profit to dominion and commerce—has found with all classes and sections of our people. The cause is concentrated in one word—a word that comprises a thought more important than dominion or commerce—than hereditary rivalry—than even liberty itself—for it is the end and development of liberty; that word is *Civilisation*. The people have felt that this is a war in which all states that can boast to be civilised—all that desire fair expanse for internal energies, and complete independence of foreign obstacles in the way of domestic progress, have a vital and permanent interest. We repeat that the popular feeling enlisted in this contest has been the instinct of self—to preserve what?—*Civilisation*.

No sympathy so intense and universal is ever in the main erroneous. It is to the multitude what the advocates of mesmerism contend that clairvoyance is to the uninstructed individual—often erring in detail, and blundering in the remedy prescribed, but strangely correct in the general diagnosis of disease. Here, what is detected by clairvoyance is approved by science. What the people obey as instinct, all true statesmen confirm as policy. That which the throne of the Western Cæsars was to Theodoric, the throne of the Eastern Cæsars would be to Nicholas. The barbarian would pass from the outskirts of civilization into its citadel; the destinies of the world would be gradually changed; and if, as in those primal conflicts of nature typified in the old Greek theogony, light were to return at last, and a Helios come to replace the Hyperion it had dethroned, it would be as a new sun looking over a new condition of the earth. The consequence to Europe of such a calamity it would be impossible to exaggerate. Russia, at this time, happily for mankind, is proverbially inert

inert and feeble for the purposes of aggression. A mode of conscription so odious that her recruits must be kept in chains until they are broken into drill—a length of march across her own dominions that exhausts and decimates her armies before they arrive at the place of action—the necessity of transporting vast magazines of food, with a commissariat as defective as is that of all nations where human life is held in contempt—these and many other causes, too well known to require detail, justify that report of her weakness as an invading power, which the four great military authorities of Europe made to their respective states. Give her Constantinople—let the Osmanlis be expelled or exterminated—and these causes cease, or become but of trivial importance. On the frontiers of the civilised world, amidst the granaries of the East, distances vanish; Nature supplies the defects of the commissariat. It is one thing to march an army from Moscow, another to launch it upon Europe, fresh and vigorous, from the barracks of Stamboul. No country in the globe unites like Turkey in Europe facilities for extension of empire and security from assault. The difficulties which a Russian army has now to encounter in the invasion of Turkey may give some notion of what Turkey would be in the hands of a Russian conqueror: earth could scarcely afford a mightier stronghold for a mightier ravager. Ever since the time of Peter the Great the tendency of Russia is invariably towards maritime outlets for its gigantic resources: but what outlet like the Bosphorus? to use the words we have seen ascribed to a Russian writer, ‘St. Peter thirsts for the bath of St. Constantine.’

That the Czar should have disavowed all immediate intention to occupy permanently the capital of the Bosphorus is natural enough; that the policy of any statesman should have been influenced by such disavowal seems to us not more an unwise credulity in the professions of an individual who had every motive to deceive, than a blindness to the inevitable action of natural circumstances upon national ambition. Take from the cabinets of France or England any one of their most sagacious ministers, place him in the councils of the Russian Czar, suppose him asked for his opinion as a politician what should be the object to which Russia should aspire for the fullest development of her own resources, and the most commanding influence over the fate of her neighbours—would he not answer, ‘Constantinople’? It is true, if you permit him a conscience, he might say with Aristides, on the proposition for destroying the fleets of the Hellenic allies, ‘the most advantageous, but not the most honourable.’ Individuals have conscience, dynasties have none.

No political calculator puts forth his ultimate objects: he  
seeks,



seeks, on the contrary, to propitiate opposition to the intermediate steps by concealing the final goal. Nay, he often conceals it from himself. We see this every day in the policy which is called sometimes Reform, and sometimes the Movement. The man whose favourite theory is a democratic republic does not invite the House of Commons to extend the franchise, or substitute the ballot-box for open voting, on the ground that such changes will lead the way to the form of commonwealth he affects. On the contrary, he seeks to conciliate apprehension and counteract resistance by declaring that the measures he advocates would best strengthen the aristocracy and secure the throne. So it is with schemers for the opposite extreme of politics. The democrat and the despot alike steal to their end. But there is this difference between the two: the prudent statesman does often preserve the most valuable elements of order and duration by compromise with the claims of liberty and innovation; but never yet has any statesman served the ends of liberty by conceding the first demands of the despot.

The Czar was, no doubt, however, sincere when he assured the British Minister that he had no intention to seize Constantinople. Seize it! No; he desired simply to weaken, and so to surround it, that Constantinople might, in the inevitable progress of events, rather melt into a treaty than be captured by the sword. To establish a protectorate over the large majority of the European subjects of the Porte—akin to Russia itself in religion—was so obviously to leave the ultimate conquest of the Ottomans to the lottery of political discontent and religious animosities; so obviously to arrogate the power that might incite the rebellion and incapacitate the control; so obviously, whenever the time arrived, to appear—*Deus ex machinâ*—as the champion of the one party and as the dictator to the other; and in some excess of Moslem fanaticism, or in some crisis of Ottoman anarchy, make the usurpation of ambition seem the triumphant revolution of Christianity, or the sole guarantee of social order,—that there is scarcely a mechanic in England who did not solve the enigma which so strangely bewildered the Cabinet. Frankly enough—when the Czar said to Sir Hamilton Seymour ‘that he would not tolerate the permanent occupation of Constantinople by the Russians’—he stated that he would never permit whatever alternative was left to that occupation. ‘It shall never,’ he declared, ‘be held by the English, French, or any other great nation. I will never permit any attempt at the reconstruction of the Byzantine empire, or such an extension of Greece as would render her a powerful state; still less will I permit the breaking up of  
Turkey

Turkey into little republics, asylums for the Kossuths and Mazzinis, and other revolutionists of Europe. Rather than submit to any of these arrangements I would go to war, and as long as I have a man or a musket I would carry it on." But if the Ottoman rule is to cease, as the Czar predicted and prepared for; if no other great nation is to hold Constantinople; if the empire—whatever it be called, Greek or Byzantine—is not to be reconstructed by a people amalgamated from its various tribes, nor, on the other hand, be parcelled out into petty commonwealths: what remains for Constantinople except to be sunk into the Bosphorus? or, much as the Czar might regret the force of circumstances which thrust greatness on him, to merge into the appanage of Russia? True, the adjacent territories might be conveniently disposed of; 'the great nations' might receive each an 'accommodation,' without altering the relative balance of power. The provinces to one, Egypt to another, and so forth. But Constantinople!—but the unrivalled harbour, which can float all the armaments of Europe, yet be guarded by a chain at its entrance—but the sublime fortress that overlooks two quarters of the globe—but the emporium of a commerce which flows thither as by the spontaneous law of nature, without effort, without fail—what of Constantinople? The Czar might divide amongst all legitimate claimants the property of the dead man; but, with usurpation as with murder, the grand difficulty would remain—how to dispose of the body!

We must be pardoned if we appear to insist overmuch upon a view of the subject so superficial and familiar, because that is precisely the view which we fear more refining politicians may disdain hereafter as they have disdained hitherto. All the real substance of this war—all the future consequences to result from the mode in which the war is to be terminated—are involved in our adherence to the conviction that the ultimate object of Russia is the acquisition of Constantinople: all the objects for which we engage in the conflict will be lost, victory could achieve nothing to compensate the waste of treasure and blood, if the articles of peace leave to Russia the same stealthy facilities for that acquisition, which have been hitherto the weakness of the Porte, and the terror of the Christian nations. Even if we grant that previously to the war the Czar held the conquest of Constantinople too remote for practical consideration, the war itself has necessarily forestalled the ordinary progress of time. If he first armed merely to occupy the provinces, we could scarcely now suppose that he would forbear from occupying the capital if the fortune of the war could



could place it in his power; the capital once occupied, there could be no loss for a pretext to destroy for ever the throne of the infidel Musulman, and crown, in the name of the Christian cause, the victorious Godfrey of the new crusade.

We waive for the present all inquiry into the conduct of the British Cabinet in the preliminary negotiations. We sympathise with the general view of that conduct at which the practical sense of the public has arrived. No one can give to the Government credit for penetration or firmness in the earlier transactions. But the instant war was resolved upon, blue-books lost their interest as authorities for party censure, an amnesty for anterior offences was conceded in the unanimous desire to support the executive in carrying out the will of the nation, and on the tacit proviso that there would henceforth be no paltering with the grand principles which had enlisted the heart of England in the strife.

The first successes of the Turks startled those who have not studied the campaign of 1828 (as it is told in the narrative of Baron Von Moltke, with a spirit and precision unsurpassed by Polybius), and gave a signal contradiction to the mechanical philosophy which estimates the forces of nations by the figures set down upon paper. Those successes—the intervention of Austria, backed by vast military preparations—rumours, some false some true—the ooziings from cabinets, adulterated by the channels through which they passed—have lately given a new turn to expectation. The public have extended their views from a war which they had first regarded as one of indefinite duration to the prospect of a speedy peace. The question men ask each other has ceased to be, ‘What are the chances of the contest?’ but ‘What shall be the conditions of the peace?’ And this is, in truth, the paramount and essential question. The public anxiety found its utterance in the remarkable speech which Lord Lyndhurst addressed to the House of Peers on the 19th of June. Nothing has been said in either House of Parliament upon the Eastern question during this session which has so luminously placed before the public its own thought, or defined with so accurate a precision the policy by which our Cabinet should be guided, and which our armies should accomplish.

Lord Lyndhurst commenced by calling attention to the following passage in the memorandum transmitted by the Cabinets of Vienna and Berlin to their envoys at the Diet of Frankfort:—

“Both Cabinets have agreed with those of Paris and London in the conviction that the conflict between Russia and Turkey could not be prolonged without affecting the general interests of Europe, and those also of their own States. They acknowledged in common that the maintenance

maintenance of the integrity of the Ottoman empire and the independence of the Sultan's Government are necessary conditions of the political balance, and that the war should, under no circumstances, have for result any change in existing territorial positions."

"Now, my lords, I apprehend it is perfectly clear, according to the correct interpretation of that passage, that, when it is stated that "the war should, under no circumstances, have for result any change in existing territorial positions," it means "territorial positions" as between Turkey on the one side and Russia on the other. The passage is not expressed with so much precision as to be free, perhaps, from all doubt; but if any doubt does exist, it will be effectually removed by referring to another document—the protocol of the 5th of December—to which the paper to which I have referred relates. In that passage the Four Powers express themselves in these terms:—

"In fact, the existence of Turkey in the limits assigned to her by treaty is one of the necessary conditions of the balance of power in Europe; and the undersigned plenipotentiaries record, with satisfaction, that the existing war cannot in any case lead to modifications in the territorial boundaries of the two empires, which would be calculated to alter the state of possession in the East established for a length of time, and which is equally necessary for the tranquillity of all the other Powers."

"It is, therefore, perfectly clear, from the document to which I am now referring—the protocol to which the other document relates—that, according to the agreement between the Four Powers, no alteration is to take place, whatever be the result of the war, in the territorial limits between Turkey on the one side and Russia on the other. In other words, according to the principle laid down by the Four Powers, whatever may be the result of the war, as far as relates to territorial position, the *status quo ante* is to remain established. Now, my lords, it may be said, and properly said, that the protocol and the passage to which I have referred were framed previously to France and England entering into war with Russia. Undoubtedly that is so; but after that war had been entered into, the representatives of the Four Powers again met for the purpose of confirming what they had previously done. In the former protocol and documents they had stated what they considered to be the principle of the alliance or connexion between the Four Powers; and after war had been declared by us and France against Russia they met again to sanction what they had previously done, and in distinct terms they stated that they confirmed the principle upon which the former protocols had been founded. Under these circumstances, therefore, and considering the principle upon which we are now acting, and upon which France and the Austrian and Prussian Powers are acting, as well as we, it is extremely difficult to come to any other conclusion than that, whatever be the result of the war, we are finally to put an end to it by restoring Russia to, and leaving Turkey in, precisely the same state as that in which they were anterior to the commencement of hostilities. The document to which I first referred adopts the same language, and after the passage which I before quoted it goes on to say—

"The



“The last of the protocols shows that, although France and Great Britain have entered into the war against Russia, the four Cabinets invariably adhere to the principle proclaimed heretofore by them in common, and have united in regard to the basis on which to deliberate as respects the appropriate means for obtaining the object of their endeavours.”

“In conclusion, after the passage to which I refer, they come to this determination—that the principle laid down in the original protocol is to be acted upon, whatever may be the end of the war in which we are now engaged. Now, my lords, that that is the principle upon which Austria and Prussia are acting is free from all doubt, because, according to their actual statement, if Russia were to agree now to withdraw from the Principalities, and at the same time to enter into a guarantee as to the integrity of the Ottoman empire, there is no doubt that neither Austria nor Prussia would take any part in the further contest. And if that be true with respect to those two Powers when they are acting in common and on one common principle with the two other Powers, it appears to be clear almost to demonstration—and I must come to that conclusion unless I hear something to convince me to the contrary from the noble earl opposite—that at this very moment the Powers are acting upon the principle, that if Russia should assent to admit the integrity of the Ottoman empire and the independence of the Sultan, and should consent to guarantee that integrity, we must be content to terminate the war upon that principle. Now, my lords, in this paper Austria herself appears to me to be acting inconsistently with that principle, and I do not know how to reconcile the part of the paper to which I am about to allude with that to which I have already referred—I mean that part of the paper which relates to the navigation of the Danube. The navigation of the Danube is stated in that paper, by Austria, to be of the utmost importance, not to her territory and her subjects alone, but to the whole of central Europe; and in that paper the importance of the navigation of the Danube, and of its freedom from all interruption, is enlarged upon in the strongest possible terms—but, my lords, not in terms by any means stronger than the importance of the subject warrants—its importance, not to Austria alone, nor to central Germany alone, but to the whole of the civilized and commercial world; and I say, therefore, my lords, that we must not conclude any peace, we must not put an end to this contest, unless we insure the free and uninterrupted navigation of that important river.\*

Lord Lyndhurst proceeded to show how Russia, having, by the treaty of Adrianople, secured to herself both banks of the Danube, from its mouth to a considerable distance upwards, had effectually interrupted the free navigation of that river, in disregard or evasion of all the remonstrances addressed to her by the other powers; and the orator impressed on his audience, with all the force of his manly logic, that ‘unless we remove

\* Speech of Lord Lyndhurst in the House of Lords, June 19th, from the report in the *Times*.

Russia from her present position, and unless the limits which she now holds are changed, it is impossible to secure for the future the free and uninterrupted navigation of the Danube. Can this be arranged by treaty? No! Well might the noble speaker exclaim, 'I have no faith in a treaty of that kind with Russia; it would not be worth the paper on which it might be written.' If then we desire to be true to the object asserted by the Allied Powers, and if we narrow that object to the relief of the Danube from the vexatious obstructions now imposed upon the commerce of which it is the viaduct, it is impossible to subscribe to the principle laid down in the memorandum and the protocols referred to, viz., 'that the *status quo* as far as territory is concerned is not to be altered.' It is only by dislodging Russia from her settlements on the mouth of the Danube that the free navigation of the river can be insured. Again, as Lord Lyndhurst briefly observed, we have encouraged the Circassians; we have supplied them with arms; are we to restore to Russia the chain of forts by which Circassia is harassed and commanded?

These are but single points on which to fix our attention, but they imperatively lead to the general question—If Russia be placed in the same situation as she was before the war, where is our security that the whole dispute will not be re-opened at some moment more favourable to Russia but less propitious to Europe? Such, enforced by ample and masterly illustrations from the secret diplomacy of St. Petersburg, is the argument which has been addressed to Europe by a statesman, whose venerable age and authoritative position lift him above the ordinary passions of party, and whose wisdom here is not the less clear and impressive because it warms into eloquence by zeal for the great interests of humanity, and resentment for the bloodless statecraft by which Russia has construed, with Punic fraud, the treaties she has extorted with Scythian violence.

Since the date of that memorable speech, the victory of the Circassians in the Pass of Dariel, and the active assistance which in the further development of the war the Western Powers will necessarily afford to that brave population, still more compel the Allies in policy and in honour to secure the independence of Circassia in any subsequent conditions of peace. It becomes all important, therefore, that there should be an early and clear understanding with the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin as to the impossibility of retaining the notion of a *status quo* as an element in pacific negotiations. This is the more essential since Austria is placed in the position of the probable mediator—in case the stubborn pride of the Czar should give way less perhaps in the hour of defeat than from the vantage ground of some temporary



temporary success; and it would be most unwise to leave any doubt upon those leading principles on which alone mediation should be accepted by England and France, in the councils of an arbiter at the head of 300,000 men.

It is impossible to deny that the Earl of Aberdeen's reply to Lord Lyndhurst's speech was, more by individual passages than its general tone, 'a heavy blow' to the Government, and 'a great discouragement' to its supporters. The noble Earl has since wisely taken occasion to add to that reply an elaborate sequel or key, which, if it is not to be called a 'retraction' of his former speech, is a new construction of the text. We are reminded of the ancient oracles, which never retracted the dicta they enounced, but which, when they found it necessary to explain what appeared to the ignorant a mistake, proved that the wise sayings should have received an interpretation precisely opposite to that which the erring sense of the multitude had assigned to them. We are glad, however, that we are relieved from the necessity of criticising Lord Aberdeen's reply to Lord Lyndhurst, by the reply which Lord Aberdeen has volunteered to himself. We accept the vindication of his motives and the glossary of his language. There are some points, nevertheless, in the noble Earl's general exposition of policy upon which we shall hazard a few remarks, and these shall not be on the weaker parts of the first address, but on the general bearings of the second. We think that Lord Aberdeen does not exactly conceive the true ground of the public anxiety, nor the true cause of the alarm which his earlier statement occasioned. The question on the public mind was not What shall be the conduct of the war? but What do our Ministers consider to be its object? Not Shall we want energy in fighting the enemy? but Shall we not show infirmity of purpose when we come to make peace with him? In a word, we were not alarmed for Lord Raglan and Admiral Napier—all our apprehension centred itself in Lord Aberdeen. War did not frighten us—peace did. Accordingly, we should have been better pleased if there had been less guarded reserve as to the general conditions upon which the peace, that Lord Aberdeen argued 'might be nearer than we thought for,' should be concluded, and as to the material guarantees for its maintenance. We thank the Minister for assuring us that the *status quo* is no longer tenable, but we do not in the least gather from his speech what departure from that *status quo* will content him; nor what may be the due frankness of language with which he will make known to the Cabinets of Austria and Berlin the views and objects of England. In this crisis, we do not quite comprehend the melancholy jest, that his sole communication to the

famous councillor of Austria, was 'his best remembrances,'—in a message through a lady. That illustrious epicurean, Beau Brummell himself could not appear more sublimely indifferent to the vulgar necessities of human business. All Europe is at war: all Europe is anxious to know what part in that war Austria proposes to take; and the Prime Minister of England—whom, in the simplicity of our hearts, we had supposed to be in close and urgent communication with the Prime Minister of Austria upon matters involving the honour of England and the tranquillity of the world—exonerates himself from so unjust a suspicion by assuring us that the only communication that in such an emergency he has deigned to transmit to Prince Metternich, is 'Give him my best remembrances.' The ideal hero of Horace stands before us:

' Non civium ardor prava jubentium,  
Non vultus instantis tyranni  
Mente quatit solidâ . . . .  
Si fractus illabatur orbis  
Impavidum ferient ruinæ.'

Seriously, is it too much to expect, after the publication of the memorandum addressed by Vienna and Berlin to the Diet at Frankfort, that the Cabinet of Great Britain would lose not a moment in making a full and manly statement of the nature of those deviations from the *status quo* upon which the contract of peace is to be signed? When the First Minister of the Crown says, in the present state of the war it is 'unwise to lay down conditions,' we must put some qualification on the dogma. Austria and Berlin having already published the conditions on which they appear disposed to negotiate for peace, in the memorandum by which they define what they regard as the object of the war, it would be most unwise on our part not to specify to those powers the differences of opinion which exist between them and ourselves. Vague generalities on such a point will only beget certain misunderstandings. Were it a war for dominion, like that which Napoleon waged on Europe, the conditions would of course vary materially with the fortunes of the strife. But if it be a war of safety and justice, we do not see that the substantial requisites of peace can be greatly altered by any temporary triumph of either belligerent. If we could force our own terms on the Czar at St. Petersburg, at the mouth of our cannon, we should be sorry to ask more than would effectually secure the cause for which we have taken up our arms. If we found the Czar holding his council within the walls of the Seraglio, we should blush for England if we accepted less. In the former case, whatever we enforced as gratuitous humiliation,

or



or in the spirit of profitless revenge, upon such a power as Russia, we could not preserve; in the latter case, the resources of England would be a fable, and her proverbial endurance a popular delusion, if we could look upon a Russian victory as a final settlement of the dispute. The terms required do not then appear to us to depend on the vicissitudes of the war so much as on a clear comprehension at the onset of what should be those objects for which we are risking the blood of our sons, and on which we have staked the honour of our country. And although Lord Aberdeen explained that he did not mean to say that he would consent to a return of the Treaty of Adrianople, we are still ungracious enough to feel dissatisfied by the qualification he puts upon his former words; we trembled to hear him add: 'What I said was, that as by that treaty there had been twenty-five years of peace: if by any treaty which the fortune of war enabled us to make we could secure peace for twenty-five years; I said then, and I say now, that, considering the instability of human affairs, we should not have done amiss.'

We think we do amiss altogether when we contemplate at this juncture any treaty that may procure a peace with Russia on behalf of Turkey in any way resembling that peace which is thus twice set before us as a precedent—a peace full of the germs of war. We think we do amiss, in advocating on behalf of the human race the cause of all time, when we formally bound our hope to the purchase of reprieve for a single generation. We think we do amiss when we announce that we shall be content to derive no more permanent security from a contest in which we have engaged with all the force of our military and naval power, than from a settlement in which we confined our exertions to writing a despatch after the business was at an end. Lord Aberdeen professes to be pre-eminently a lover of peace, but the nation love it more, for they will not be satisfied, like him, to shed their blood and squander their finances for a hollow truce of five-and-twenty years. They think with us, that we shall do sadly amiss if we incur the terrible calamities of war for so small a gain. It is now known through the work of Major Moltke—that the English Government ought to have learned at the time—that the Turks in the war of 1828 and 1829, which terminated in the Treaty of Adrianople, would, with the moral support of the other powers, have come off the victors. But Lord Aberdeen was overawed by the apparent might of the Czar. He told Prince Lieven 'that the Cabinet of London desired that the war should be terminated to the honour and advantage of Russia;' evidently because he despaired of Turkey; and hoped no doubt by good wishes for the success of the Czar,  
while

while the conflict was raging, to purchase a claim to influence the conditions of the peace. Russia did what might have been expected. No sooner had she crushed the Sultan, than she paid no attention to the representations of a pretended friend and a pusillanimous foe, and Lord Aberdeen, when the whole transaction had been settled past recall, found himself under the necessity of making a formal, because useless remonstrance against the treaty of Adrianople. Notwithstanding the superiority which, under disadvantages almost unparalleled, the Turks had displayed in the war, Russia was thus left with the *prestige* of invincible power. It is this delusion which has emboldened her to put forth her unprincipled demands, and has seduced others into granting them. It is this delusion that we hope at last to see destroyed, that henceforth Russia may be more afraid to threaten, and Europe may have greater courage to resist. If the armies of Nicholas are overthrown, his territories curtailed, his protectorates abolished, we believe that we may look, under the blessing of God, for a lengthened peace, and we should think that we did amiss—grievously amiss—if we limited our expectations and exertions to a brief lease of five-and-twenty years.

But not only is such language amiss in itself, it is made still more so when we consider that we are looking to Austria as a future mediator, entreating that power to place itself in a position which may awe Russia into pacification; while we have every cause to suppose that the terms proposed by Austria would not be those that the people of England would desire our Cabinet to accept. And it is clear that those terms may materially depend upon the knowledge, how much or how little would satisfy the expectations of the first adviser of the British Crown. It is not enough at this time to say, 'We will not return to the Treaty of Adrianople:' without any imprudent rashness, we think that Lord Aberdeen might at least have said what were the old articles which are not to be replaced, and given, by the tone and spirit of his speech, some clue to his sentiments as to the new articles that he would deem it essential to frame. So much is said about squaring our course to the fortunes of war, that if Adrianople were again to be captured by the Russians, we are left to surmise that the noble lord might content himself, as he did in 1829, with an eloquent and masterly statement of the evils to be apprehended from a treaty issued from that conquered city several months after it was signed. Nor does this surmise appear altogether unreasonable; for Lord Aberdeen takes care to tell us that he greatly erred in the evils he was then led to anticipate; that 'though the treaty was in the highest degree disastrous and prejudicial,' it is obvious that we were



were under a most exaggerated alarm for its consequences. So practical a statesman may therefore—should the temptation present itself—convert the experience of the treaty—of which the provisos were disastrous but the consequences harmless—into a precedent for assenting to one not dissimilar in spirit though differing in a few trifling details; may say then as he says now—‘however mischievous these conditions, nevertheless we have had proof of the vigour, the energy, the courage, and the heroism with which the troops of the Turkish empire can maintain its independence; we need not, therefore, be alarmed for Europe—these are really but usurpations on paper—and if we gain twenty-five years’ peace, considering the instability of human affairs, we shall not have done amiss.’

Our uneasiness is not lessened by Lord Aberdeen’s discovery that ‘Satan is wiser than of yore’—that, ‘since the treaty of Adrianople, Russia has looked to an extension of political influence rather than to the question of territory—has sought to obtain the same object by different means—by means *calculated not so greatly to alarm the European powers.*’ Thus, in fact, the treaty itself was ‘not altogether so amiss’—it originates or dates a change of policy more safe for the European powers. We are compelled to dissent altogether from this proposition. We repeat what we stated at the commencement of this Article, that the policy of Russia never foregoes the hope of the ultimate conquest of Constantinople; the political influence assumed in Turkey is but the slow and sagacious progress towards the territorial acquisition; the political influence she seeks to exercise in the Christian cabinets is but for the end of disarming or frittering away the combined opposition, which they otherwise would make to her final bound upon her prey. And that this is no speculative opinion, Lord Aberdeen ought to have known from the very negotiations which preceded the war. Can he have forgotten all that passed between the Czar and Sir Hamilton Seymour? Can he have forgotten the Czar’s desire to separate England from France by secret understandings to the advantage of the former? Can he have forgotten the territorial acquisitions proffered to England in return for her political influence? Can he have altogether banished from his memory the avowed and frank declaration of the Czar that his political influence in Turkey was necessary to him in order to secure hereafter such territorial partitions of the Ottoman empire as seemed good to his Imperial Majesty? And was there nothing in all these consequences, not only of the treaty of Adrianople, but of the previous position of Russia in respect to Turkey, out of which the treaty grew, more alarming to Europe than all that threatened

threatened her from the rude ambition of Catherine? If Satan be wiser than of yore, does the improvement in wisdom make him less dangerous to the souls that he seeks to annex to his dominion? But it is not only passages in Lord Aberdeen's ministerial explanations, which, while affecting philosophical temperance, offend by their untoward indiscretion: it is the whole tone and spirit of those speeches which appear to us to betray the worst kind of imprudence—prudence out of season, and out of place.

When a people voluntarily submit to the burthens and confront the calamities of war, from a just and noble sympathy with human rights audaciously invaded; when the ministers of that people encourage them to the contest, and must rely on their zeal for its endurance; it does not become the man to whom they look as their natural leader to apologise for the enemy—to reason away the magnitude of the cause—to lay himself open to a single suspicion that his whole heart is not in the war, and his private honour not inseparable from that of his country in the conditions on which peace may be restored.

We desire to do no injustice to Lord Aberdeen: we acknowledge his past services; we respect his high repute; we do not for an instant doubt his sincerity. But we are amazed to find so practised a diplomatist so ignorant of the value of words, and the importance of appearances to the substance of things. It is unfortunate when we must say of one who speaks to the world on behalf of England, 'Do not judge him by his words;' and 'Whatever he appears is no index to that which he is!' We do not forget that we have in France an ally high-spirited and susceptible, with long established prejudices against our plain good faith, and that even now a large portion of her population views with suspicion and distaste her banners floating beside our own. We do not think that language like Lord Aberdeen's is calculated to secure the cordiality of our alliance with France, nor to strengthen the hands of her Emperor in his endeavours to render it popular with the malcontents. We know that in Prussia and in Austria we have confederates only to a limited point; and we do not think that the language of Lord Aberdeen is calculated to make them believe that we should stubbornly refuse the peace that they might be disposed to advise. Lord Aberdeen's language contracts the treaties they may now be meditating. We have an enemy who has some cause to say that Lord Aberdeen's language in preliminary negotiation was not that which prepared him for the war that followed; and we think it a misfortune that Lord Aberdeen's language now may leave the Czar equally unprepared to expect that Lord Aberdeen's anxiety for peace, with his confession that he had greatly exaggerated the consequences



consequences of the Treaty of Adrianople, may not induce his consent to compromise for twenty-five years the chance of Russia's territorial acquisition by the admission of her political influence. In a word, we should rejoice to see the true sentiment of Great Britain faithfully represented by the lofty tone and magnanimous aspect of the Minister to whom Europe looks for the expression of our opinions and the solution of our policy.

Lord Aberdeen tells us that that we cannot force Austria to do more than it is her inclination or interest to do. Certainly not; but we can in time prevent the false position in which the Western Powers would be placed if they retained in their protocols and manifestoes the assertion of the *status quo* in the territorial arrangements of the Turkish and Russian belligerents, and Austria were to obtain from the Czar an agreement to peace upon that condition. Should we assent to such condition we in reality betray the cause of Turkey, and indeed of all the mighty interests to humanity which that course involves or represents; should we refuse it, we should seem to belie our own untruncated profession; give to Austria the pretext to arrange her own separate terms with Russia; convert her alliance into neutrality, or probably find a new enemy in the mediator, who could accuse us of bad faith in rejecting the terms to which we had not previously expressed our determined dissent. Nothing now should content us unless we can extirpate the dragon-seed, from which again at any moment can spring up armed men. We should have been satisfied, before drawing the sword, with the evacuation of the provinces; now, our aim is to destroy both the pretext and the facilities for converting those provinces into a Russian camp of occupation. The treaties of Kainardji and Adrianople are no longer to be claimed as the charters of usurpation; they are annulled—they are no more. The Russian Czars are no longer to possess, under the title of religious protectors, a lien upon the heritage of Turkey. The religious protectorate must cease. We consider this object paramount to all. We have a right to assume, as the necessary consequence of an alliance with Christian powers, that the fair rights of the Christian populations in the Turkish empire will be established by the Sultan, and be rendered the more safe and durable when no longer crippled by the jealousies inseparable from Russian interference and domination. The constitution of the Wallachian provinces must be freed from the elements of revolt; the Russians must be no longer the guardians of the mouth of the Danube; Sebastopol must no longer exist as the stronghold of terror to the freedom of Circassia and the sovereignty of Constantinople. We should most  
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carefully distinguish between punishment for past, and prevention of future crime; between a war of revenge and a war of policy. We do not desire brilliant but useless actions, the plunder of commercial cities, or the ruin of distant forts; we desire that throughout all our strategy, all our diplomatic negotiations, one object henceforth should be steadily kept in view, viz., the entire emancipation of Turkey from the control of the Russian Czars. No treaty that leaves a pretext to insinuate that control should exist; no territorial arrangement that enables Russia to command and garrison the entrances into the Ottoman empire, much less, as at Sebastopol, threaten the capital itself, should be permitted. *This is the object of the war.* Austria may not recognize it; her recognition will depend on the degree of our success and the firmness of our tone. But from first to last, it should never be lost sight of by the Western Powers.

We think it idle now to raise the question on which preliminary negotiations were discussed—the mischievous question which has been the *fons malorum*—how far the Turkish empire can maintain its place in Europe? One thing is clear, that the vitality of states must be judged by the rallying power they evince in the crises of danger. Of this power Turkey has shown herself marvellously possessed. Even in the war of 1828-29, when Mahmud in his haughty refusal of the treaty of London had lost all aid and sympathy from the Christian monarchies—when Greece was torn from his throne, when his fleets were destroyed at Navarino, when his armies of undisciplined recruits seemed little likely to replace with effect even the turbulent valour of the Janissaries—it is startling to see the energy with which the country met the invasion of Russia—delayed her march, baffled her generals, resisted her sieges, wasted her forces; and, yielding at length, recovered from pecuniary extortions that statesmen prophesied would leave her bankrupt, maintained the national spirit—the proud desire of redemption; and rose with as superb a crest as if never bowed at Adrianople, against the first renewed aggressions of her gigantic foe—undaunted at the moment when her present allies seemed about to desert her, and the statesmen of France and England urged her to accept the peace which would have signed away her independence. The existence of nations is not to be calculated only by the numbers of their population, by the monies in their exchequer; and perhaps it is amongst the reasons why a dominant race, established as a minority in the country it has subjugated, endures so long,—that the very condition of its tenure is in the moral force of its valour; and the valour is perpetually maintained by the sense of superiority and the danger which surrounds



surrounds the few who control the many. This was the true secret why the Spartans, placed amidst subject populations of Helots and Periceci, retained their ascendancy longer than the more opulent and seemingly more healthful commonwealths of Greece.

But, in reality, Turkey took a new life from a cause hitherto scarcely noticed in its ultimate effects upon the vitality and progress of that empire—the destruction of the Janissaries. These troops—as it is well said by Baron Von Moltke—‘which had involved the Porte in continual dissensions with other nations, were everywhere beaten in the field, so that the Janissaries might be looked upon as the real cause of the diplomatic embarrassment and the military decrepitude of the Porte.’ The existence of this Prætorian Guard incapacitated the Turkish government from any amalgamation with the councils of Christian powers: the Divan could promise nothing with certainty—the Janissaries could revoke its decisions; it could accomplish no reforms which interfered with the immunities, or offended the prejudices, of that privileged and intolerant soldiery. The presence of the Janissaries depressed both the military and the national spirit of the people; why should the people take care of the empire—were not the Janissaries there to protect it? Mahmud was to Turkey what Peter the Great was to Russia—with less good fortune, less power, less of that robust sense which the royal shipwright had matured in a dockyard; but still, like Peter, Mahmud was the rude founder of a new era—the first of a race who recognized the necessity of progress and hewed away the primeval granite of inert and stubborn custom, which had blocked up the capacities of movement. Nature had given to Mahmud the faculties most essential to practical reformers—a judgment at once quick-sighted and far-reaching, a resolute will, and an unrelenting courage. If these capacities were deteriorated, and often counteracted by concomitant infirmities, we must be indulgent to the circumstances which were so hostile to the development of his native intellect. But if he had done nothing more than destroy the Janissaries, he would be entitled to the gratitude of his successors; the same stroke which relieved the throne of its insecurity freed the people from an incubus. From that period Turkey has achieved the elements of sovereignty and progress—the power to control her own armies and the liberty to form her own councils. It is true that the Ulemas, or ‘Servants of the Law,’ may in times of great popular excitement intimidate the Divan; but they serve as a machinery, however rude, for representing the sentiments of the people—both in its virtues and its excesses; and if on the one hand they stimulate  
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to fanatic zeal, so on the other hand they often sustain patriotic purpose.

There is nothing now in the condition of the Turkish empire which threatens dissolution, or forbids a healthful, if gradual progress. And we must not lightly estimate the advantage which historical experience warrants us to hope she may be destined to gain from the friendly intercourse with Christian powers, and that impetus to every energy which follows the repulse of invasion. War, no doubt, is an evil in itself, deserving all the epithets bestowed on it by the philosophy of the closet. But still, in the philosophy of life, there is one war which often advances the civilization of states more efficiently than centuries of peace—it is the war in defence of the native soil—the war for independence from foreign yoke. Had the Persians never invaded Greece, would Greece ever have become the instructress of the world? The Osmanli too may have his Marathon and Salamis. There is no need to exaggerate the capabilities of this empire. We do not say that a Mussulman dynasty can avail itself to the utmost of the immense resources of European Turkey—can pour into its treasury all that might be borne to the quays of Stamboul from the Three Rivers and the Twofold Sea—fill the Golden Horn with formidable fleets, or overawe the Germanic kingdoms with gigantic standing armies. It is not our belief that the government of the Porte can raise the Ottoman empire into a first-rate power; nor is it to the interest or for the safety of the world that a first-rate power should bestride the straits, that it could lock against the commerce of the globe. Our interest—the interest of all civilization—is but to render Turkey in Europe the most effectual barrier in our power against the encroachment of a barbaric force. We have no necessity to re-create an Eastern Cæsar, but to block out the inroads of a northern Attila. It is enough for us if we can read in the map ‘Turkey in Europe,’ instead of seeing in that gigantic chart which spreads from the Baltic to the Wall of China—a new district robbed from humanity, and inscribed in red letters ‘Turkey in Russia.’ We dismiss at once as an obsolete chimera all idea of amalgamating Greeks and Armenians, Servians and Bulgarians, into some new empire to replace the Ottoman rule. Long before such elements could struggle into shape, Austria and Russia, united by common interest and common fear, would quell the mere mob of insurgent tribes. What time and the natural tendency of internal circumstances may hereafter produce on the relative position of the Ottoman rulers and the Christian subjects enters no farther into our policy than to secure for the latter the rights of conscience, and due securities from civil oppression. Our course is as clear  
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to wisdom as it is to honour. We find a power already established in Turkey, with ancestral attributes of national integrity and independence—that power, under very adverse circumstances, has shown a courage and temper to assist the object of civilized Europe in maintaining its own stronghold against the progress of Russian ambition. What more could Greek and Armenian, Servian and Bulgarian, fused into one commonwealth, do? This power, then, it is our business to confirm and strengthen, and not to lay down those arms we have taken up in its defence until we have cleared every class of its native subjects, every rood of its legitimate dominion, from one single diplomatic pretext to usurp its authority, from one single territorial hold by which the garrison of Russia can awe its councils and threaten its existence. Unless we effect this, we shall not have preserved the independence of Turkey; we shall only have postponed to a more convenient time the liabilities to destruction. We may sign what cabinets may call a peace, but the common sense of mankind will know that we have relinquished all for which it was worth while to contend; all which a rare and felicitous combination of circumstances—that no statesman the most sanguine can expect hereafter to command—warrants us to believe we could permanently accomplish, for a blotted parchment and a hollow truce.

As we write, events march, and enforce the views for which we contend. War recedes, and peace threatens to re-appear in a shape to justify the apprehensions we express. The siege of Silistria is raised; the Russians have quitted Western Wallachia, and have taken up positions in Moldavia; and diplomatic interferences are again spoken of. By a separate treaty with the Porte, Austria has placed herself under a more direct pledge to co-operate with the Western Powers; and in reply to a renewed summons of the German States for immediate evacuation of the provinces, the Czar announces himself not unwilling, 'in respect,' it is alleged, 'to Austria,' to resume negotiations on the basis of the Protocol of the 9th April.

'As I suck blood, I will some mercy show,'

saith Ancient Pistol. If this news be confirmed, we trust that it will be something very different from 'remembrances' that Lord Aberdeen will convey to Prince Metternich. Respect to Austria may induce the Czar, at a moment of humiliation and defeat, to re-invite mediation at Vienna; but before any kind of sanction is given to such an attempt by the Western Powers, no doubt must exist as to the complete good faith of the proposed mediator. If, as Lord Aberdeen says—often as bold in the

wrong

wrong place as he is timid where boldness would be prudence—  
'France alone is more powerful than Russia and Austria put  
together,' France and England united are surely in a position to  
obtain from Austria the respect she receives from Russia. That  
respect will be shown by the nature of the terms she may con-  
sider due to the dignity of those powers. And, if the valour of  
the Turks has deprived us of the occasion to divide with them  
the glory of defeating their invader, we must at least not incur  
the disgrace of losing by friendly negotiations what our ally  
single-handed has effected by force of arms.

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THE  
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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- ART. I.—1. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to make Inquiries relating to Smithfield Market, and the Markets in the City of London for the Sale of Meat.* London. 1850.
2. *Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the existing State of the Corporation of the City of London, &c.; together with the Minutes of Evidence, and Appendix.* London. 1854.
3. *London in 1850-51, from the Geographical Dictionary of J. R. McCulloch.* London. 1851.
4. *Market Gardening round London; giving in detail the various Methods adopted by Gardeners in growing for the London Markets.* By James Cuthill. London. 1851.
5. *Report of the Supply of Water to the Metropolis. General Board of Health.* London. 1850.
6. *London Labour and the London Poor.* By Henry Mayhew. London. 1851.
7. *The Census of Great Britain, 1851. Report and Summary Tables.* London. 1852.

IF, early on a summer morning before the smoke of countless fires had narrowed the horizon of the metropolis, a spectator were to ascend to the top of St. Paul's, and take his stand upon the balcony, that with gilded rail flashes like a fringe of fire upon the summit of the dome, he would see sleeping beneath his feet the greatest camp of men upon which the sun has ever risen. As far as he could distinguish by the morning light he would behold stretched before him the mighty map of the metropolis; and could he ascend still higher, he would note the stream of life overflowing the brim of hills which enclose the basin in which it stands.

In the space swept by his vision would lie the congregated habitations of two millions and a half of his species—but how vain are figures to convey an idea of so immense a multitude. If Norway, stretching from the Frozen Ocean down to the southern extremity of the North Sea, were to summon all its people to one vast conclave, they would number little more than half the souls within the London bills of mortality. Switzerland, in her thousand

valleys, could not muster such an army ; and even busy Holland, within her mast-thronged harbours, humming cities, and populous plains, could barely overmatch the close-packed millions within sound of the great bell at his feet. As the spectator gazed upon this extraordinary prospect, the first stir of the awakening city would gradually steal upon his ear. The rumbling of wheels, the clang of hammers, the clear call of the human voice, all deepening by degrees into a confused hum, would proclaim that the mighty city was once more rousing to the labour of the day, and the blue columns of smoke climbing up to heaven that the morning meal was at hand. At such a moment the thought would naturally arise in his mind,—In what manner is such an assemblage victualled? By what complicated wheels does all the machinery move by which two millions and a half of human beings sit down day by day to their meals as regularly and quietly as though they only formed a snug little party at Lovegrove's on a summer's afternoon? As thus he mused respecting the means by which the supply and demand of so vast a multitude is brought to agree, so that every one is enabled to procure exactly what he wants, at the exact time, without loss to himself or injury to the community, thin lines of steam, sharply marked for the moment, as they advanced one after another from the horizon and converged towards him, would indicate the arrival of the great commissariat trains, stored with produce from all parts of these isles and from the adjacent continent. Could his eye distinguish in addition the fine threads of that far-spreading web which makes London the most sensitive spot on the earth, he would be enabled to take in at a glance the two agents—steam and electricity—which keep the balance true between the wants and the supply of London.

If our spectator will now descend from his giddy height, and will accompany us among the busy haunts of men, we will attempt to point out to him whence those innumerable commodities, which he has seen pouring into the town, have been obtained, the chief marts to which they are consigned, and the manner in which they are distributed from house to house. Had London like Paris its octroi, the difficulty of our task would be limited to the mere display of official figures, but, thanks to a free policy, we have no such means of getting at strictly accurate estimates, and must therefore content ourselves with the results of patient inquiry among the foremost carriers—the railway companies—aided by such other information as we have been able to procure. For the sake of convenience, and of sequence, let us imagine that the principal daily meal is proceeding, and, according to the order of the courses, we will endeavour to trace the



the various edibles to their source—the fish to its sea—the beast to its pasture—the wild animal to its lair—the game to its cover—and the fruit to its orchard ; to point out how they are netted, fattened, bagged, gathered, and conveyed to their ultimate destination—the *great red lane* of London humanity. Let us begin with fish, and that unrivalled fish-market which all the world is aware rears its head by London Bridge.

Those who remember old Billingsgate, with its tumble-down wharf, and dock half choked with corruption and oyster-shells—a dirty remnant of the days of Elizabeth—will enter with pleasure Mr. Bunning's new market. Through its Italian colonnade are seen the masts of the fishing smacks, and the brown wharves of the opposite side—a pleasing picture, which instantly fixes the artistic eye. The busy scene within the market, between the hours of five and seven in the morning, is one of the marvels of the metropolis. Billingsgate is the only wholesale fish-market in London, and it may therefore be imagined how great must be the business transacted within its walls. Of old nine-tenths of the supply came by way of the river, the little that came by land being conveyed from the coast, at great expense, in four-horse vans. Now the railways are day by day supplanting smacks, and in many cases steamers ; for by means of its iron arms, London, whilst its millions slumber, grasps the produce of every sea that beats against our island coast, and ere they have uprisen it is drawn to a focus in this central mart. Thus every night in the season the hardy fishermen of Yarmouth catch a hundred tons (12,081 yearly), principally herring, which, by means of the Eastern Counties Railway, are next morning at Billingsgate. The South-Western Railway sends up annually, with the same speed, 4000 tons of mackerel and other fish, the gatherings of the south coast. The North-Western collects over night the 'catch' from Ireland, Scotland, and the north-east coast of England, and adds to the Thames-street mart 3578 tons, principally of salmon, whilst the Great Northern delivers to the early morning market, or sometimes later in the day, 3248 tons of like sea produce. The Great Western brings up the harvests of the Cornish and Devonshire coasts, chiefly mackerel and pilchards, to the amount of 1560 tons in the year ; and the Brighton and South Coast conveys the incredible number of 15,000 bushels of oysters, besides 4000 tons of other fish. Nearly one-half in fact of the fish-supply of London, instead of following as of old the tedious route of the coast, is hurried in the dead of night across the length and breadth of the land to Billingsgate, and, before the large consumers in Tyburnia and Belgravia have left their beds, may be seen either lying on

the marble slabs of the fishmongers, or penetrating on the peripatetic barrow of the costermonger into the dismal lanes and alleys inhabited by 'London Labour and the London Poor.' These prodigious gleanings from what Goldsmith might well call the 'finny deep,' are conveyed from the termini in spring-vans, drawn by two and occasionally by four horses. Salmon comes in boxes, herrings in barrels, and all other kinds of fish in baskets. Sometimes as many as sixty of these vans will arrive in the narrow street leading to the market in the course of two or three hours, and the scene of confusion occasioned by their rushing among the fishmongers' carts and the costermongers' barrows, the latter often amounting to more than a thousand, is almost as great as that at Smithfield; for the fish, like the live-stock trade, has long outgrown its mart, and Billingsgate, as much as Smithfield, is choked for want of space. Let the visitor beware how he enters it in a good coat, for, as sure as he goes in in broad cloth, he will come out in *scale* armour. They are not polite at Billingsgate, as all the world knows, and 'by your leave' is only a preliminary to your hat being knocked off your head by a bushel of oysters or a basket of crabs. In the early part of the morning, the traffic is carried on in comparative quiet, for the regular fishmongers, who have the first of the market, conduct their business with little disturbance, but it would gladden the heart of a Dutch painter to see the piled produce of a dozen different seas glittering with silver and brilliant with colour. Gigantic salmon, fresh caught from the firths and bays of Scotland, or from the productive Irish seas, flounder about, as the boxes in which they have travelled disgorge them upon the board. Quantities of delicate red mullet, that have been hurried up by the Great Western, all the way from Cornwall, for the purpose of being furnished fresh to the fastidious palates at the West End; smelts brought by the Dutch boats, their delicate skins varying in hue like an opal as you pass; pyramids of lobsters, a moving mass of spiteful claws and restless feelers, savage at their late abduction from some Norwegian fiord; great heaps of pinky shrimps; turbot, that lately fattened upon the Doggerbank, with their white bellies bent as for some tremendous leap; and humbler plaice and dabs, from our own craft—all this bountiful accumulation forms a mingled scene of strange forms and vivid colours, that no one with an eye for the picturesque can contemplate without interest. Neither is the scene always one of still life, for it is no rare occurrence for the visitor to behold a yelling knot of men dragging with ropes through the excited crowd a royal sturgeon, nine feet in length. If the spectator now peeps down the large square opening into the  
dismal



dismal space below, which appears like the hold of a ship lately recovered from the deep, he will see the shell-fish market, where piles of blue-black muscles, whelks, and grey cockles turned up with yellow, give the place a repulsive aspect of dirt and slop. There are but few buyers seen here, and they are generally women belonging to the costermonger class, for the men rather disdain the shell-fish trade. These female itinerants may be noticed wandering about from basket to basket, occasionally gouging out a whelk from the shell with the thumb, to test the lot, and then passing on to the next.

Busiest among the busy is seen the 'Bommeree,' or middle-man—sometimes called the forestaller. The province of this individual is to purchase the fish as it comes into the market, and divide it into lots to suit large and small buyers, separating the qualities according as they are designed for St. James's or St. Giles's. These worthies used at one time to forestall the market extensively, when they felt certain, from the state of the tide, that no fish supplies could be poured in for the day, but now the railway defeats their tactics, and the utter uncertainty of the arrivals has done away with this branch of their business. After the 'trade' has been supplied, and the serge-aproned 'regulars' have loaded their light spring carts, there comes, especially in certain fish seasons, an eruption of purchasers of a totally different character—the costermongers of the streets. This nomade tribe, which wanders in thousands from market to market, performs a most important part in the distribution of food. They are for the greater part the tradesmen of the poor, and by their energy and enterprise secure to our working-classes many of the fruits of both sea and land, which they would never taste but for them. About seven o'clock the army of street-vendors, foot and 'donkey,' for the greater number rattle up in barrows drawn by that useful animal, begin visibly to change the whole hue and appearance of the place. Young fellows in fustian coats and Belcher handkerchiefs throng the market, and board the smacks, 'chaffing,' higgling, joking, and swearing—but never fighting, for the costermonger has too much to do at present to make physical demonstrations. Among the most eager of the itinerant salesmen the visitor speedily distinguishes the Judaic nose. The Hebrews, who are in great force about this neighbourhood on account of the dried-fruit trade, which is mainly in their hands, deal largely also in fish. The poorer members of the fraternity purchase the bigger portion of the fresh-water supply, such as plaice, roach, dace, &c., in fact, nearly everything caught by the Wandsworth fisherman, whose picturesque 'bawley' boats, which often contain both his family  
and

and fortune, may generally be seen moored in the stream between Battersea reach and Kew bridge, a mass of brown nets and umber canopies lit up by the brilliant red caps of their owners, just such as Constable loved to paint in the foregrounds of his landscapes. These fish, if not alive, must at least retain the spasmodic quivering of the flesh which remains immediately after death, or the Jews will not buy, for reasons we suppose connected with their religion, since their chief trade is among the rich and poor of their own people. The Wandsworth fishermen also supply all the white-bait that is consumed at Greenwich and Blackwall: it is caught generally between the latter place and Woolwich at night, and it is singular that a fish which is among the most delicate we have should flourish in one of the foulest parts of the foulest river in Europe.\* The area of the market, as soon as the costermongers appear, speedily becomes broken up into numbers of little circles, strictly intent upon the eye of individuals who take up a position high over their heads upon the boards or stands. These are the salesmen, disposing by auction of the fish consigned to them. Some of the dealers are moneyed men, and will lay out their fifty pounds of a morning, re-selling to their fellows again at a profit. The smaller capitalists combine in threes and fours, and thus manage to get their commodities at wholesale prices. The activity of the market mainly depends upon the season of the year and the amount of fish. The energy of these peripatetics is surprising: they look in at Billingsgate, and if the supply runs short they are off again immediately to Covent-Garden, for they deal in everything, and the barrow that one morning you see filled with fresh herrings, the next is blooming with plums. If, on the contrary, a large cargo of sprats comes suddenly into London, or if soles should be unusually plentiful, it is known in an incredibly short space of time all over the town, and they flock to the market in thousands; as many as five thousand is the usual attendance on such occasions. These costermongers absorb more than a third of the whole Billingsgate supply; of sprats and fresh herrings they take fully two-thirds. Turbot and all the costlier fish they purchase sparingly, but they buy largely when it chances to be cheap, as in the cholera year of 1849, when prime salmon went a-begging at four-pence a pound! If the market is dull, and prices are high, the fact is speedily known, and the cry of 'No smacks at the Gate' is sufficient to turn the current immediately in the direction of the 'Garden.'

Steam, as we have already intimated, has revolutionized the fish-trade, and is rapidly sweeping away the whole fleet of  
smacks



smacks propelled by sails, as ruthlessly as the rail did stage-coaches. A few years ago all the oysters were brought by water to Billingsgate; but a short time since a great natural bed, called the Mid Channel Bed, which stretches for forty miles between the ports of Shoreham and Havre, was discovered, and, the dredging-ground being free to all comers, a vast field of wealth has been opened to fishermen, especially as from the proximity of the Brighton and South Coast Railway the produce can be sent immediately to town, and escape the dues of metage and other tolls to which all fish landed at the market is liable. Seaborne oysters are thus placed at a great disadvantage, and the different companies owning them justly complain at a city exaction which takes a large sum annually out of their pockets, besides the charge for portorage it entails upon the purchasers. Mr. Alston, who is, without doubt, the largest oyster-fisher in the world, sent up last year between 40,000 and 50,000 bushels from his fishery Cheyney Rock, near Sheerness, and paid 800*l.* for metage. The whole trade paid no less than 3000*l.*, and this for services which their own men could do as well themselves, were it not for a custom which enforces idleness upon the smack people.\*

The 'scuttle-mouths,' as they are termed from their huge shell, pay no attention to season, and consequently oyster-day has now in a great degree lost its significance. The 4th of August is still, it is true, the opening day at Billingsgate, but the supply from without has taken the wind out of its sails. Only those who have witnessed the crowds filling all the streets leading to the Market long before the hour of business—6 o'clock in the morning—can understand the eagerness exhibited of old to obtain some of the first day's oysters. All this is now gone. There were not more than eighteen smacks at the opening of the present year, and, few as were the arrivals, the buyers were not eager. The Mid-Channel oysters, which have thus disturbed the old trade, are of a large and by no means delicate kind, such as come from Tenby, Jersey, &c.—coarse fish, eaten by rough men—third-class oysters, in fact, which rarely penetrate to the West End, unless to make sauce. Real Natives are greater aristocrats among their fellows than ever; the demand for them

\* If the spectator, while leaning over the rail of the wharf and watching 'Oyster Street,' as the costermongers call the line of oyster-boats moored side by side, has ever been at a loss to understand why it is that in the very height of the market, when the decks are crowded with purchasers, the sailors are seen hanging about the boats, or seated upon the bulwarks, taking their morning pipes, whilst the duty of measuring and carrying the oysters is being performed by the 'Fellowships' belonging to the corporation of London, he will now know the reason. Steam will, however, surely abolish many of these city abuses, and rail-borne oysters will lend their powerful aid to rail-borne coal in abolishing regulations which are not in accordance with the emancipated spirit of the age.

has for a long time far exceeded the supply, and the price has consequently risen. Of the birth, parentage, and nurture of this delicate fish, a curious tale could be told. Designed for fastidious palates, much care and attention is bestowed upon its breeding. The *habitué* of the Opera, who strolls up the brilliantly lighted Haymarket towards midnight, and turns in to any one of the fish supper-rooms that line its western side, little dreams of the organisation at work to enable him to enjoy his native. Most of the oysters, with the exception of the Mid-Channel bed, are regularly cultivated by different companies, who rear and tend them at different parts of the south coast and of the Thames at its mouth. Of these companies there are nine, in addition to individuals who possess and work what might be called sea-farms, several of which are miles in extent. In all the beds there is a certain space dedicated to natives. At Burnham, Essex, the 'spat,' or fecundated sperm, is stored in large pits, and sold as native brood, which is afterwards 'laid' in that portion of the different beds appropriated to privileged oysters. Here the young natives remain for three years, when they are generally brought to market. So far their education is left, in a certain degree, to nature; but once in the possession of the fish-shopkeepers, art steps in to perfect their condition. They are now stored in large shallow vats, being carefully laid with their proper sides uppermost, and supplied daily with oatmeal: a process which is calculated rather to fatten than to flavour, and there are many who think that, like show cattle, they are none the better for over-feeding. 'Natives' packed in barrels form one of the articles of food that is largely sent out of London into the country, as all persons know who travel much at Christmas-time, and notice with astonishment the pyramids of oyster-barrels which crowd the platforms of all the termini of the metropolis.

The frying-pans of London are mainly supplied with soles all the year round by the trolling-boats of Barking, of which there are upwards of 150 belonging to different companies. They fish the North Sea off the coasts of Yorkshire and Holland, particularly the Silver and Brown banks. Of old the smacks used to carry their own catch to Billingsgate, but the loss of time was so great, that latterly fast-sailing cutters have been employed to attend upon the fishing-smacks and bring their produce to market packed in ice. Of this splendid craft, which can sail almost in the eye of the wind, there are 40; and the total number of seamen employed is not less than 2000, the greater part of whom have been taken as boys from the workhouse and trained by this capital service into first-rate seamen. It is curious to follow the



the small proceedings of the world into their ultimate results. The gastronome, smiling complacently as he withdraws the cover and reveals a well-browned pair of soles, would never guess that they and their kind are the immediate cause of a happy transmutation of parish burthens into the right arm of our strength. Eels are constantly imported to Billingsgate by the Dutch boats. The galliots never moor close alongside the wharf, as the wells in which they bring their fish alive cause them to draw too much water, but they anchor midway in the stream, by twos and threes—their brown sides, flat bows with high cheek-bones like their navigators, and bright verd-green rudders, adding to the picturesque appearance of the river. The great fat creatures brought by them mainly supply the eel-pie houses, and contribute largely, we are informed, to that oleaginous kind of soup which people too hungry to be curious mistake for veritable oxtail and calves' head. The Dutch boats do not, however, confine themselves to eels. They deal in turbot, soles, and all kinds of flat-fish, such as frequent the Dogger Bank, much to the discredit of our native enterprise, neglecting, as we do, the splendid deep-sea fishing-ground off the south-west coast of Ireland, where cod and salmon are to be found in abundant quantities, whilst those who know the west coast well, declare there is turbot enough in Galway Bay 'to supply the whole of Europe for the next hundred years.'

We believe, however, it is now in contemplation to go to work upon a large scale in those waters, having screw-steamers to collect the produce and bring it to Milford Haven alive in wells, from which port it would come, *via* the South Wales and Great Western Railways, to Billingsgate within twenty-four hours after it was caught. The value of screw-steamers having capacious wells has been fully tested by Mr. Howard, of Manningtree, Essex, who fitted an engine and screw into one of his welled fishing-smacks. Scarcely a lobster, out of twenty thousand put alive into the boat, was lost, whilst large numbers of those brought in sailing smacks perish. The last week in July of the present year he tried the experiment of bringing salmon alive from Sir James Matheson's salmon fishery in the Lewis Islands, Scotland, to Grimsby, and on the 1st of August they were sold in Billingsgate for 1s. 2d. per lb., while, on the same morning, salmon of the same size brought in ice sold for 6½d. per lb. Cod and other fish are brought alive with the same success in the welled steamers from the North Sea and the coasts of Scotland. It is almost time that some new ground were found in place of the famous Dogger Bank, which has now been preyed upon by so many nations for centuries, and has supplied so many generations

generations

rations of Catholics and Protestants with fast and feast food. No better proof that its stores are failing could be given than the fact that, although the ground, counting the Long Bank and the north-west flat in its vicinity, covers 11,800 square miles, and that in fine weather it is fished by the London companies with from fifteen to twenty dozen of long lines, extending to ten or twelve miles, and containing from 9000 to 12,000 hooks, it is yet not at all common to secure even as many as four score fish of a night—a poverty which can be better appreciated when we learn that 600 fish for 800 hooks is the catch for deep-sea fishing about Kinsale.

Towards the latter end of August the great herring season commences. Yarmouth is the chief seat of this branch of the piscatory trade. Every night when the weather is fine the fishermen of this old port 'shoot' upwards of 300 square miles of net. Neptune in his ample arms never gave the ocean so magnificent an embrace. The produce of this wholesale sweeping of the sea is brought to town by the Eastern Counties Railway. They come up to Billingsgate packed in barrels and in bulk, and the number sold in the year seems almost fabulous, being upwards of a *billion*. Next to the herring fishery the sea-harvest of most importance to the poor of London is that of sprats, which come in about Lord Mayor's day, and it is a popular belief that the first dish is always sent to the chief magistrate of the city. If a telegraph were to be laid down to all the alleys and courts, the fact of a large arrival of these little creatures at Billingsgate would not be sooner made known to the lower orders than, by some mysterious process, it is at present. Mr. Goldham, the clerk of the market, accustomed as he is to the sudden invasions of the costermongers, informs us that the scene on board the smacks laden with sprats is really frightful. The people hang thick as sea-weed from the rigging, throng the decks, and swarm on every available inch of plank, until the wonder is that the whole of the puny fleet does not capsize with the weight. The cause of the scramble is that the street sellers will not buy until they have seen the sample, and every one consequently tries to gain the highest point, that he may look down into the hold whilst a man tumbles about the sprats with a shovel in silver showers. The plaice season succeeds to that of sprats, with the interval of mackerel, which continues until the end of May, when Scotland and Ireland begin to pass down their salmon into the market. But where do all the lobsters come from? The lovers of this most delicious of the crustaceæ tribe will probably be astonished to learn that they are mainly brought from Norway. France and the Channel Islands, Orkney and Shetland, do,



do, it is true, contribute a few to the metropolitan market, but full two-thirds are reluctantly, and with much pinching and twisting, dragged out of the thousand rock-bound inlets which indent the Norwegian coast. They are conveyed alive in a screw-steamer and by smacks in baskets, sometimes to the extent of 20,000 of a night, to Great Grimsby, and are thence forwarded to town by the Great Northern Railway—another ten thousand arriving perhaps from points on our own and the French coast. The fighting, twisting, blue-black masses are taken as soon as purchased to what are termed ‘the boiling-houses,’ of which there are four, situated in Duck and Love Lanes, close to the market, and here, for a trifling sum per score, they change their dark for scarlet uniforms. They are plunged into the boiling cauldron, basket and all, and in twenty minutes they are done. Crabs are cooked in the same establishments, but their nervous systems are so acute, that they dash off their claws in convulsive agony if placed alive in hot water. To prevent this mutilation, which would spoil their sale, they are first killed by the insertion of a needle through the head. The lobster trade is mostly in the hands of one salesman, Mr. Saunders, of Thames Street, who often has upwards of 15,000 consigned to him of a morning, and who causes no less than 15,000*l.* a-year to flow into the fishy palms of Norwegians for this single article of commerce. As to the total supply of fish to the London market, we borrow the following estimate from Mr. Mayhew’s very clever book on ‘London Labour and the London Poor.’ The figures seemed to us at first sight so enormous, that we hesitatingly submitted the table to one of the largest salesmen, who assured us that it was no overstatement:—

Description of Fish.	No. of Fish.	Weight of Fish.
<i>Wet Fish.</i>		lbs.
Salmon and salmon trout (29,000 boxes, 14 fish per box) . . . . .	406,000	3,480,000
Live cod (averaging 10 lbs. each) . . . . .	400,000	4,000,000
Soles (averaging $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. each) . . . . .	97,520,000	26,880,000
Whiting (averaging 6 oz. each) . . . . .	17,920,000	6,720,000
Haddock (averaging 2 lbs. each) . . . . .	2,470,000	5,040,000
Plaice (averaging 1 lb. each) . . . . .	33,600,000	33,600,000
Mackerel (averaging 1 lb. each) . . . . .	23,520,000	23,520,000
Fresh herrings (250,000 barrels, 700 fish per barrel) . . . . .	175,000,000	42,000,000
Ditto in bulk . . . . .	1,050,000,000	252,000,000
Sprats . . . . .	.....	4,000,000
Eels from Holland (principally), England, and Ireland (6 fish per lb.) . . . . .	9,797,760	{ 1,505,280
Flounders (7,200 quarterns, 36 fish per qtn.) . . . . .	259,200	127,680
Dabs (7,500 quarterns, 36 fish per quartern) . . . . .	270,000	43,200
		48,750

Dry

Description of Fish.	No. of Fish.	Weight of Fish.
<i>Dry Fish.</i>		
		lbs.
Barrelled cod (15,000 barrels, 40 fish per barrel)	750,000	4,200,000
Dried salt cod (5 lbs. each) . . . . .	1,600,000	8,000,000
Smoked haddock (65,000 barrels, 300 fish per barrel) . . . . .	19,500,000	10,920,000
Bloaters (265,000 baskets, 150 fish per basket)	147,000,000	10,600,000
Red herrings (100,000 barrels, 500 fish per barrel)	50,000,000	14,000,000
Dried sprats (9,600 large bundles, 30 fish per bundle) . . . . .	288,000	96,000
<i>Shell Fish.</i>		
Oysters . . . . .	495,896,000	....
Lobsters (averaging 1 lb. each fish) . . . . .	1,200,000	1,200,000
Crabs (averaging 1 lb. each fish) . . . . .	600,000	600,000
Shrimps (324 to a pint) . . . . .	498,428,648	....
Whelks (227 to half bushel) . . . . .	4,943,200	....
Mussels (1,000 to half bushel) . . . . .	50,400,000	....
Cockles (2,000 to half bushel) . . . . .	67,392,000	....
Periwinkles (4,000 to half bushel) . . . . .	304,000,000	....

And now for the *pièce de résistance*.

London has always been celebrated for the excellence of its meat, and her sons do justice to it; at least it has become the universal impression that they consume more, man for man, than any other town population in the world. It was a sirloin, fresh and ruddy, hanging at the door of some Giblett or Slater in a former century, that inspired, we suspect, the song which ever since has stirred Englishmen in a foreign land, 'The Roast Beef of Old England.' The visitor accustomed to the markets of our large provincial towns would doubtless expect to find the emporium of the live-stock trade for so vast a population of an imposing size. The foreigner, after seeing the magnificence of our docks—the solidity and span of our bridges—might naturally look for a national exposition of our greatness in the chief market dedicated to that British beef which is the boast of John Bull. What they do see in reality, if they have courage to wend their way along any of the narrow tumble-down streets approaching to Smithfield, which the great fire unfortunately spared, is an irregular space bounded by dirty houses and the ragged party-walls of demolished habitations, which give it the appearance of the site of a recent conflagration—the whole space comprising just six acres, fifteen perches, roads and public thoroughfares included. Into this narrow area, surrounded with slaughter-houses, triperies, bone-boiling houses, gut-scraperies, &c., the mutton-chops, scrags, saddles, legs, sirloins, and rounds, which grace the smiling boards of our noble imperial capital throughout the year, have, for the major part, been goaded and contused for the



the benefit of the civic corporation installed at Guildhall. Thanks to the common sense which has at length lifted up its potential voice, the days of Smithfield are numbered, and those who wish to see this enormous aggregation of edible quadrupeds before it takes its departure to its spacious new abode at Copenhagen Fields must not delay the visit much longer. The best time is early in the morning—say one or two o'clock of the 'great day,' as the last market before Christmas-day is called. On this occasion, not only the space—calculated to hold 4100 oxen and 30,000 sheep, besides calves and pigs—is crammed, but the approaches around it overflow with live stock for many hundred feet, and sometimes the cattle are seen blocking up the passage as far as St. Sepulchre's church. If the stranger can make his way through the crowd, and by means of some vantage-ground or door-step can manage to raise himself a few feet above the general level, he sees before him in one direction, by the dim red light of hundreds of torches, a writhing party-coloured mass, surmounted by twisting horns, some in rows, tied to rails which run along the whole length of the open space, some gathered together in one struggling knot. In another quarter, the moving torches reveal to him now and then, through the misty light, a couple of acres of living wool, or roods of pigs' skins. If he ventures into this closely wedged and labouring mass, he is enabled to watch more narrowly the reason of the universal ferment among the beasts. The drover with his goad is forcing the cattle into the smallest possible compass, and a little further on half a dozen men are making desperate efforts to drag refractory oxen up to the rails with ropes. In the scuffle which ensues the slipping of the ropes often snaps the fingers of the persons who are conducting the operation, and there is scarce a drover in the market who has not had some of his digits broken. The sheep, squeezed into hurdles like figs into a drum, lie down upon each other, 'and make no sign'; the pigs, on the other hand, cry out before they are hurt. This scene, which has more the appearance of a hideous nightmare than a weekly exhibition in a civilised country, is accompanied by the barking of dogs, the bellowing of cattle, the cursing of men, and the dull blows of sticks—a charivari of sound that must be heard to be appreciated. The hubbub gradually abates from 12 o'clock at night, the time of opening, to its close at 3 P.M. next day; although during the whole period, as fresh lots are 'headed up,' individual acts of cruelty continue. Can it excite surprise that a state of things, the worst details of which we have suppressed, because of the pain which such horrors excite, sometimes so injures the stock that, to quote the words of one of the witnesses before the Smithfield Commission, 'a grazier will not know his own beast four days after it has left him'? The meat  
itself

itself suffers in quality; for anything like fright or passion is well known to affect the blood, and consequently the flesh. Beasts subjected to such disturbances will often turn green within twenty-four hours after death. Mr. Slater, the well-known butcher of Kensington and Jermyn Street, states that mutton is often so disfigured by blows and the goad that it cannot be sold for the West-end tables. Many of the drovers we doubt not are ruffians, but we believe the greater part of this cruelty is to be ascribed to the market-place itself, which, considering the immense amount of business to be got through on Mondays and Fridays, is absurdly and disgracefully confined. According to the official account, the number of live stock exhibited in 1853 was—

Oxen.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.	Total.
294,571	1,518,040	36,791	29,593	1,893,888

But this is far from giving a true idea of the whole amount brought into London. Much stock arrives in the capital which never enters the great mart. For example, Mr. Slater, who kills per week, on the average, 200 sheep and from 20 to 25 oxen, says, in his evidence before the Smithfield Commission, that he buys a great deal of his stock from the graziers in Norfolk and Essex. Again, 'town' pigs are slaughtered and sent direct to the meat market, while many sheep are bought from the parks, where they have been temporarily placed till they find a purchaser. A much more correct estimate of the flocks and herds which are annually consumed in London may be gathered from a report of the numbers transmitted by the different lines of railway, compiled from official sources by Mr. Ormandy, the cattle-traffic manager of the North-Western Railway. From this able pamphlet we extract the following table:—

	Oxen.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.	Total for 1853.
By Eastern Counties . .	81,744	277,735	3,492	23,427	386,398
„ L. & N. Western . .	70,435	248,445	5,113	24,287	348,280
„ Great Northern . .	15,439	120,333	563	8,973	145,308
„ Great Western . .	6,813	104,607	2,320	2,909	116,649
„ L. & S. Western . .	4,885	100,960	1,781	516	108,142
„ South Eastern . .	875	58,320	114	142	59,451
„ L. & B. & S. Coast .	863	13,690	117	54	14,724
„ Sea from North of Eng- land and Scotland . .	14,662	11,141	421	3,672	29,896
„ Sea from Ireland . .	2,311	3,472	21	5,476	11,280
Imported from the Conti- nent . . . . .	55,065	229,918	25,720	10,131	320,834
Driven in by road, and from the neighbourhood of the metropolis (obtained from the toll-gate lessees) . .	69,096	462,172	62,114	48,265	641,647
Total . . . .	322,188	1,630,793	101,776	127,852	2,182,609

These



These numbers show at a glance what a part the railway plays in supplying animal food to the metropolis, and how trifling in comparison is the amount that travels up on foot. The Eastern Counties lines, penetrating and monopolising the rich breeding and fattening districts of Norfolk and Essex, bring up the largest share. Many of the little black cattle, that tourists see in Scotland climbing the hills like cats, come directly from these counties, having some months before been sent thither from their native north to clothe their bones with English substance. By the same line we receive a fair portion of that great foreign contribution to our larders, the mere shadow of which so frightened our graziers some years ago, principally Danish stock, which finds its way from Tonning to Lowestoff, a route newly opened up by the North of Europe Steam-ship Company. The North-Western is next in rank as a carrier of live stock. This line takes in the contributions from the midland counties, and, by way of Liverpool, abundance of Irish and Scotch cattle. The Great Northern is perhaps destined to surpass both in the quantities of food it will eventually pour into London, running as it does through the northern breeding districts, and receiving at its extremity the herds which come from Aberdeen and its neighbourhood.

The foreign supply last year of cattle, sheep, pigs, and calves was more than a seventh of the entire number sent to London. The Daily Bill of Entries at the Custom House furnishes us with a valuable indication of the fields from which we have already received, and may in future expect to receive still further additions of what Englishmen greatly covet—good beef and mutton at a moderate price. The arrivals by steam in the port of London in 1853 were as follows:—

	Oxen.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.	Total.
From Holland . . . . .	40,538	172,730	24,280	9,370	246,918
„ Denmark . . . . .	9,487	7,515	60	..	17,062
„ Hanseatic Towns . . .	4,366	37,443	1	632	42,442
„ Belgium . . . . .	449	12,006	1,244	..	13,699
„ France . . . . .	105	224	135	129	593
„ Portugal . . . . .	100	..	..	..	100
„ Spain . . . . .	17	..	..	..	17
„ Russia . . . . .	3	..	..	..	3
Total . . . . .	55,065	229,918	25,720	10,131	320,834

Holland, Denmark, and the Hanseatic Towns, it will be seen, were the principal contributors. A more striking example of the influence of the legislation of one country in modifying the occupations

occupations of the people of another could not be cited, than the manner in which Sir Robert Peel's tariff revolutionized the character of Danish and Dutch farming. Before 1844 the pastures of the two countries, more especially the rich marshes of Holland, were almost exclusively devoted to dairy purposes: the abolition of the duty on live stock in that year quickly introduced a new state of things. The farmers began to breed stock, and consequently turnips and mangel-wurzel have been creeping over fields, where once the dairy-maid carried the milking-pail, as gradually as one landscape succeeds another in the Polytechnic dissolving views. We get now from both countries excellent beef, especially from Jutland, whose lowing herds used formerly to go to Hamburg—and who has not heard of the famous Hambro' beef? We may expect in time to receive still finer meat from this quarter, for the Danes have been sedulously improving their breed, and agriculturists, who saw the beasts which were sent over to the last Baker-street show, admitted that they were in every respect equal to our own short-horns. It is gratifying to note how ready the world is to follow our lead in the matter of stock-breeding. Bulls are bought up at fabulous prices by foreigners, and especially by our cousins on the other side of the Atlantic, for the purpose of raising the indigenous cattle to the British standard. An American, for instance, purchased last year, for 1000*l.*, the celebrated bull bred by Earl Ducie, though unfortunately the animal broke his neck on his passage out. Another noble specimen was secured, we have heard, for the same quarter, for 600*l.*

A considerable proportion of the pork consumed in London—a much larger proportion than people imagine—is 'town made,' or at least is the produce of the immediate suburbs. Shepherd's Bush might perhaps be termed *the* pigsty of the metropolis; for here every house has its piggery, and the air is sonorous with the grunting of porkers. Again, in those portions of the outskirts, such as Kensington, which are inhabited by Irish colonies, the Celtic population does not forget its old habits or companions, especially that all-important 'jintleman who pays the rint.' The Cockney taste for pork must have greatly fallen off during the past century and a half, for last year there were sold in Smithfield only 24,287 pigs, against 250,000 which Stow tells us were disposed of in the same market in 1698; that is not a tenth of what were eaten when the population was only 550,000! With this and the still more remarkable exception of sheep, the arrivals at Smithfield have in some degree kept pace with the increase of the population. The supply of sheep and lambs has, during the last twenty years, stood nearly still; for in 1828 there were  
brought



brought to market 1,412,032, and in 1849 but 1,417,000—or only an extra four thousand for the 500,000 mouths which have been added to the metropolis between these two periods. That London has of late years abjured mutton, as our immediate ancestors appear to have done pork, the evidence of our senses denies. How then are we to explain this stagnation in the Smithfield returns? By the fact that a new channel has been found in the rapid rise of Newgate market, the great receptacle of country-killed meat brought up to town by the railways. Those who remember the place forty years ago, state that there were not then 20 salesmen, and now there are 200! This enormous development is due to steam, which bids fair to give Newgate, in the cold season at least, the lead over Smithfield. The new agent has more than quadrupled the area from which London draws its meat. Twenty years ago, 80 miles was the farthest distance from which carcases ever came; now the Great Northern and North-Western railways, during the winter months, bring hundreds of tons from as far north as Aberdeen, whilst some are fetched from Hamburg and Ostend. Country slaughtering will in time, we have little doubt, deliver the capital from the nuisances which grow out of this horrible trade. Aberdeen is in fact becoming little else than a London abattoir. The style in which the butchers of that place dress and pack the carcases leaves nothing to be desired, and in the course of the year mountains of beef, mutton, pork, and veal arrive the night after it is slaughtered in perfect condition. According to returns obligingly forwarded to us by the different Railway Companies, we find that the following was the weight of country-killed meat by the under-mentioned lines:—

	Tons.
Eastern Counties . . . . .	10,398
North-Western . . . . .	4,602
Great Western . . . . .	5,200
Great Northern . . . . .	13,152*
South-Eastern . . . . .	1,035
South-Western . . . . .	2,000
Brighton and South Coast . . . . .	100
	<hr/>
	36,487

Thus no less than 36,487 tons of meat are annually ‘pitched’ at Newgate and Leadenhall markets. As the Scotch boats convey about 700 tons more, we have at least 37,187 tons of country-killed meat brought into London by steam, and these immense contributions are totally independent of the amount slaughtered at Smithfield, which is estimated to average weekly 1000 oxen, 3000 sheep and lambs, and 400 calves and pigs. We have

\* This return contains some small proportion of game, the quantity of which is not stated.

given the average supply, but on some occasions the quantity is enormously increased. The Eastern Counties line, during last Christmas week, deposited at Newgate about 1000 tons of meat; and the weight sent by other companies on the same day would be proportionately large. No less than 40 waggons were waiting on one occasion to discharge their beef and mutton into the market. And what does our reader imagine may be the area in which nine-tenths of this mass of meat are sold? Just 2 roods 45 perches, having one carriage-entrance, which varies from 14 to 18 feet in width, and 4 foot-entrances, the widest of which is only 16 feet 6 inches, and the narrowest 5 feet 8 inches. No wonder that, as we are informed by more than one of the witnesses before the Smithfield Inquiry Commission, there is often not sufficient space to expose the meat for sale, and it becomes putrid in consequence. Though we have acquired the fame of being a practical people, it must be confessed that we conduct many of our every-day transactions in a blundering manner when we cannot provide commodious markets for perishable commodities, or even turn out an omnibus that can be mounted without an effort of agility and daring.

Mr. Giblett, the noted butcher, late of Bond Street, calculates that the amount of meat brought by the railways into Newgate is three times that supplied by the London carcase butchers, who annually send 52,000 oxen, 156,000 sheep, 10,400 calves, and 10,400 pigs. Taking this estimate, and applying it also to the Leadenhall market, we shall have at

	Beasts.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.
Newgate, meat . . . . .	156,000	468,000	31,200	31,200
Leadenhall, ditto . . . . .	5,200	41,600	..	..
	161,200	509,600	31,200	31,200
Live stock brought to London .	322,188	1,630,793	101,776	127,852
Total supply of live stock and meat to London . . . . .	483,388	2,140,393	132,976	159,052

This we are convinced is still below the truth, for we have not included the country-killed meat sold at Farringdon and White-chapel markets.\* The total value of this enormous supply of flesh cannot be much less than 14 millions annually.

These

\* There is, we confess, some little discrepancy between this estimate of the country-killed meat at Newgate, and the known quantity brought in by railway, as most assuredly 161,200 oxen, 509,600 sheep, and 62,400 calves and pigs far outweigh the 36,487 tons of meat brought by the different lines, even 'sinking' the offal. But so assured is Mr. Giblett, and the Smithfield Commissioners with him



These figures demonstrate that the falling off of sheep sold at Smithfield is solely because they now come to town in the form of mutton. It is sent to a much greater extent than beef, in consequence of its arriving in finer condition, being more easily carried, and better worth the cost of conveyance on account of the larger proportion of prime joints. Indeed, the entire carcase of the oxen is never sent, since the coarse boiling pieces would have to pay the same carriage as the picked 'roastings.' Newgate, be it remembered, is eminently a West End market, and fully two-thirds of its meat find its way to that quarter of the town. Accordingly most of the beef 'pitched' here consists of sirloins and ribs; and, in addition to whole carcasses of sheep, there are numerous separate legs and saddles of mutton. This accounts for a fact that has puzzled many, namely, how London manages to get such myriads of chops. Go into any part of the metropolis and look into the windows of the thousand eating-houses and coffee-shops in the great thoroughfares, and in every one of them there is the invariable blue dish with half-a-dozen juicy, well-trimmed chops, crowned with a sprig of parsley. To justify such a number, either four-fold the supply of sheep must come to London that we have any account of, or, in lieu of the ordinary number of vertebræ, they must possess as many as the great boa. When the prodigious store of saddles which the country spares the town have once been seen the wonder ceases. 'Sometimes I cut 100 saddles into mutton chops to supply the eating-houses,' says Mr. Banister, of Threadneedle Street.

The weather preserves a most delicate balance between Newgate and Smithfield. Winter is the busy time at the former market, when meat can be carried any distance without fear of taint. As soon as summer sets in Smithfield takes its turn; for butchers then prefer to purchase live-stock, in order that they may kill them the exact moment they are required. Sometimes as many as 1200 beasts and from 12,000 to 15,000 sheep are slaughtered in hot weather on a Friday night in the neighbourhood of Smithfield for Saturday's market. Every precaution is taken on the railways to keep the meat sweet. The Eastern Counties Company provide 'peds,' or cloths cut to the shape of the carcase or joint, for the use of their customers, and sometimes it is conveyed from the north in boxes. When, in spite of care, it turns out to be tainted, the salesman to whom it is consigned calls the officer of the market, by whom it is forthwith sent to Cow Cross, and there burnt in the nacker's yard. According, however, to a competent

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him, that he is under the mark, that we give credit to his estimate, and take it for granted that much country-killed meat must come to market by other conveyance than the railway.

witness—Mr. Harper—bad meat in any quantity can be disposed of in the metropolis to butchers living in low neighbourhoods, who impose it upon the poor at night. ‘There is one shop, I believe,’ he says, ‘doing 500*l.* per week in diseased meat. This firm has a large foreign trade. The trade in diseased meat is very alarming, and anything in the shape of flesh can be sold at about 1*d.* per lb. or 8*d.* per stone.’

If the reader is not already surfeited with the mountains of meat we have piled before his eyes, let us beg his attention for a few minutes to game and poultry, which we bring on in their proper course. Leadenhall and Newgate, as all the world knows, are the great metropolitan depôts for this class of food, especially the former, which receives perhaps two-thirds of the entire supply. The quantities of game and wild birds consigned to some of the large salesmen almost exceeds belief. After a few successful battues in the Highlands, it is not at all unusual for one firm to receive 5000 head of game, and as many as 20,000 to 30,000 larks are often sent up to market together. All other kinds of the feathered tribe which are reputed good for food are received in proportionate abundance. If it were not for the great salesmen, many a merry dinner would be marred, for the retail poulterers would be totally incapable of executing the constant and sudden orders for the banquets which are always proceeding. The good people at the Crystal Palace have already learned to consume, besides unnumbered other items, 600 chickens daily; and from this we may guess how vast the wants of the entire metropolis. The sources from which game and poultry are derived are fewer than might be imagined. The Highlands and Yorkshire send up nearly all the grouse; and scores of noblemen, members of Parliament, and other wealthy or enthusiastic sportsmen, who are at this present moment beating over the Moors, and walking for their pleasure twenty-five miles a-day, assist to furnish this delicacy to the London public at a moderate rate.

Pheasants and partridges mainly come from Norfolk and Suffolk; snipes from the marshy lowlands of Holland, which also provides our entire supply of teal, widgeon, and other kinds of wild fowl, with the exception of those caught in the ‘decoys’ of Cambridgeshire and Lincolnshire. From Ostend there are annually transmitted to London 600,000 tame rabbits, which are reared for the purpose on the neighbouring sand dunes. We are indebted to Ireland for flocks of plovers, and quails are brought from Egypt and the south of Europe. In most of our poulterers’ windows may be seen the long wooden boxes, with a narrow slit, in which these latter little birds are kept until required for the spit. Not long since upwards of 17,000 came to London *via* Liverpool,



Liverpool, whither they had been brought from the Campagna near Rome. Of the 2,000,000 of fowls that every year find a resting-place *vis-à-vis* to boiled tongues on our London tables, by far the greatest quantity are drawn from the counties of Surrey and Sussex, where the Dorking breed is in favour. Ireland also sends much poultry. No less than 1400 tons of chickens, geese, and ducks are brought to town annually by the Great Western Railway, most of which are from the neighbourhood of Cork and Waterford, whence they are shipped to Bristol. Londoners are accustomed to see shops of late years which profess to sell 'West of England produce,' such as young pork, poultry, butter, and clouted cream. All these delicacies are brought by the Great Western Railway, and are principally the contributions of Somersetshire and Devonshire. The bulk of the geese, ducks, and turkeys, however, come from Norfolk, Cambridge, Essex, and Suffolk—four fat counties, which do much to supply the London commissariat, the Eastern Counties Railway alone having brought thence last year 22,462 tons of fish, flesh, fowl, and good red herrings.

For pigeons we are indebted to 'our fair enemy France,' as Sir Philip Sidney calls her, but now we trust our fast friend. They proceed principally from the interior, and are shipped for our market from Boulogne and Calais. How many eggs we get from across the Channel we scarcely like to say. Mr. M'Culloch considers that the capital receives from 70 to 75 million—a number which we think must be much below the mark, seeing that the Brighton and South Coast line brings annually 2600 tons, the produce of Belgium and France. At Bastoign, in the latter country, there is a farm of 200 acres entirely devoted to the rearing of poultry and the production of eggs for the supply of London.

No perfectly accurate account can be given of the number per annum of poultry, game, and wild birds which enter Leadenhall and Newgate markets; but the following estimate was handed to us by a dealer who turns over 100,000*l.* a year in this trade. As the list takes no account of the quantity which goes direct to the retailer, nor of the thousands sent as presents, it must fall short of the actual consumption:—

Grouse	. . . . .	100,000
Partridges	. . . . .	125,000
Pheasants	. . . . .	70,000
Snipes	. . . . .	80,000
Wild Birds (mostly small)	. . . . .	150,000
Plovers	. . . . .	150,000
Quails	. . . . .	30,000
Carried forward . . .		705,000

Larks

	Brought forward . . .	705,000
Larks . . . . .		400,000
Widgeon . . . . .		70,000
Teal . . . . .		30,000
Wild Ducks . . . . .		200,000
Pigeons . . . . .		400,000
Domestic Fowls . . . . .		2,000,000
Geese . . . . .		100,000
Ducks . . . . .		350,000
Turkeys . . . . .		104,000
Hares . . . . .		100,000
Rabbits . . . . .		1,300,000
		<hr/> 5,759,000

In addition to its dead game and wild fowl, Leadenhall market is quite a Noah's ark of live animals. Geese, ducks, swans, pigeons, and cocks, bewilder you with their noise. Intermingled with these birds of a feather are hawks, ferrets, dogs and cats, moving about in their wicker cages, and almost aggravated to madness by the proximity of their prey. The major portion of the live stock is designed either for sporting purposes or for 'petting' and breeding, and do not belong to the commissariat department. Of the dead game and poultry, the seven railways bring to London about 7871 tons weight in the course of the year.

In taking leave of the poultry-yard we are reminded of the dairy, and of the large establishments required to fill the milk-jugs of London. There are at the present moment, as near as we can learn, 20,000 cows in the metropolitan and suburban dairies, some of which number 500 cows apiece. Even these gigantic establishments have been occasionally exceeded, and one individual, several years ago, possessed 1500 milkers—a fact fatal to the popular superstition, that, notwithstanding many attempts, no dairyman could ever muster more than 999. The terrible ravages of pleuro-pneumonia, which many believe to be a contagious disease, have cured the passion for such extensive herds. The larger dairies of the metropolis are on the whole admirably managed, and the cows luxuriate in airy outhouses, but the smaller owners are often confined for space, and the animals are sometimes cooped in sheds, placed in tiers one above another. The country dairymaid laughs at the ignorance which the Londoner betrays of rural matters when on a visit to her master, but she would be perplexed in her turn if told that in the capital they fed the cows chiefly upon brewers' grains, and milked them on the *second story*? A few years since Mr. Rugg appalled the town, which had forgotten Matthew Bramble, Esq., and the 'New Bath Guide,' by detailing a nauseous process which he affirmed was in use among cunning milkmen for the adulteration of their milk. There was, however, a great deal of exaggeration



exaggeration in the account, and Dr. Hassell, whose analyses of various articles of food in the 'Lancet' are widely known, states that the 'iron-tailed cow' is the main agent employed in the fraud, and that the only colouring matter he has been enabled to discover is annatto. Nearly all the cream goes to the West End; and one dairyman living at Islington informed us that he made 1200*l.* a-year by the trade he carried on in that single article with the fashionable part of the town. It must be evident upon the least consideration, that the London and suburban dairies alone could not supply the metropolis. If each of the 20,000 cows give on the average 12 quarts a-day, the sum total would only be 240,000 quarts. If we suppose this quantity to be increased by the exhaustless 'iron-tailed cow' of which Dr. Hassell speaks, to 300,000 quarts, the allowance to each individual of the two millions and a quarter of population would be little more than a quarter of a pint. This is clearly below the exigencies of the tea-table, the nursery, and the kitchen, and we do not think we shall make an over estimate if we assume that half as much again is daily consumed. Here again the railway, which in some cases brings milk from as far as eighty miles, makes up the deficiency. The Eastern Counties line conveyed last year to London 3,174,179 quarts, the North-Western 144,000 quarts, the Great Western 23,400 quarts, the Brighton and South Coast 100 tons, and the Great Northern as much perhaps as the North-Western. The milk is collected from the farmers by agents in the country, who sell it to the milkmen, of whom there are 1347, to distribute it over the town. In course of time it is possible that town dairies may entirely disappear. Cowsheds, often narrow and low, in thickly populated localities, cannot be as healthy for the animals as a purer atmosphere; and though experiment has shown that they thrive admirably when stalled, the food they get in these urban prisons can hardly be as wholesome as that provided by the verdant pastures of the farm. The milk which comes by railway has, however, this disadvantage, that it will not keep nearly so long as the indigenous produce of the metropolitan dairies. The different companies have constructed waggons lightly hung on springs, but the churning effect of sudden joltings cannot be altogether got rid of.

Of the vegetables and fruit that are brought into the various markets of the capital, but especially to Covent Garden, a very large quantity is grown in the immediate neighbourhood. From whatever quarter the railway traveller approaches London, he perceives that the cultivation of the land gradually heightens, until he arrives at those suburban residences which form the advanced guards of the metropolis. The fields give place to  
hedgeless

hedgeless gardens, in which, to use a phrase of Washington Irving, 'the furrows seem finished rather with the pencil than the plough.' Acre after acre flashes with hand-glasses, streaks of verdure are ruled in close parallel lines across the soil with mathematical precision, interspersed here and there with patches as sharp cut at the edges as though they were pieces of green baize—these are the far-famed market-gardens. They are principally situated in the long level tracts of land that must once have been overflowed by the Thames—such as the flat alluvial soil known as the Jerusalem Level, extending between London Bridge and Greenwich—and the grounds about Fulham, Battersea, Chelsea, Putney, and Brentford. Mr. Cuthill, who is perhaps the best authority on this subject, estimates that there are 12,000 acres under cultivation for the supply of vegetables and 5000 for fruit-trees. This seems an insufficient area for the supply of so many mouths, but manure and active spade husbandry compensate for lack of space. By these agencies four and sometimes five crops are extracted from the land in the course of the year. The old-fashioned farmer, accustomed to the restrictions of old-fashioned leases, would stare at such a statement, and ask how long it would last. But his surprise would be still greater at being told that after every clearance the ground is deeply trenched, and its powers restored with a load of manure to every thirty square feet of ground. This is the secret of the splendid return, and it could be effected nowhere but in the neighbourhood of such cities as London, where the produce of the fertilizer is sufficiently great to keep down its price. And here we have a striking example of town and country reciprocity. The same waggon that in the morning brings a load of cabbages, is seen returning a few hours later filled with dung. An exact balance as far as it goes is thus kept up, and the manure, instead of remaining to fester among human beings, is carted away to make vegetables. What a pity we cannot extend the system, and turn the whole sewerage by drain-pipes entirely into the rural districts, to feed the land, instead of allowing it, as we do, to run into the Thames and pollute the water to be used in our dwellings.

The care and attention bestowed by the market-gardeners is incredible to those who have not witnessed it; every inch of ground is taken advantage of—cultivation runs between the fruit-trees; storming-parties of cabbages and cauliflowers swarm up to the very trunks of apple-trees; raspberry-bushes are surrounded and cut off by young seedlings. If you see an acre of celery growing in ridges, be sure that, on a narrow inspection, you will find long files of young peas picking their way along the furrows.

Everything



Everything flourishes here except weeds, and you may go over a 150-acre piece of ground without discovering a single one. Quality, even more than quantity, is attended to by the best growers; and they nurse their plants as they would children. The visitor will sometimes see 'the heads' of an acre of cauliflower one by one folded up in their own leaves as carefully as an anxious wife wraps up an asthmatic husband on a November night; and if rain should fall, attendants run to cover them up, as quickly as they cover up the zoological specimens at the Crystal Palace when the watering-pots are set to work.

Insects and blight are also banished as strictly as from the court of Oberon. To such a pitch is vigilance carried, that, according to a writer in 'Household Words,' blight and fungi are searched after with a microscope, woodlice exterminated by bantems dressed in socks to prevent too much scratching, and other destructive insects despatched by the aid of batches of toads, purchased at the rate of six shillings a dozen!

The continued extension of London is, however, rapidly encroaching upon all the old market-gardens, and they are obliged to move farther afield: thus high cultivation, like a green fairy-ring, is gradually widening and enlarging its circle round the metropolis. The coarser kinds of vegetables are but sparingly grown in these valuable grounds, but come up in large quantities from all parts of the country; and some of the choice kinds are now reared far away in Devonshire and Cornwall, where they are favoured by the climate. It would be interesting to get an authentic statement of the acreage dedicated to fruit and vegetables for the London market, but we find the information unattainable. Mr. Cuthill calculates that there are 200 acres employed around the metropolis in the growth of strawberries, and 5 acres planted as mushroom-beds. Cucumbers were once very largely cultivated. He has seen as many as 14 acres under hand-glasses in a single domain, and has known 200,000 gherkins cut in a morning for the pickle-merchants. Strangely enough, they have refused to grow well around London ever since the outbreak of the potato disease. The disastrous epidemic of 1849, we have little doubt, had much to do with the diminished supply, for the cholera soon brought about the result desired by Mrs. Gamp, 'when cowcubmers is three for twopence,' prices quite explanatory of the indisposition of the land to produce them. The very high state of cultivation in the metropolitan market-gardens necessitates the employment of a large amount of labour; and it is supposed that no less than 35,000 persons are engaged in the service of filling the vegetable and dessert-dishes of the metropolis. This estimate leaves out  
those

those in the provinces and on the Continent, which would, we doubt not, nearly double the calculation, and show a troop of men and women as large as the allied army now acting in the East. There are five marts in London devoted to the sale of fruit—Covent-Garden, Spitalfields, the Borough, Farringdon, and Portman-markets—besides a vast number of street offsets, such as Clare-market, in which hawkers generally stand with their barrows. Covent-Garden is not only their type, but it does nearly as much business as all of them put together, and for that reason we shall dwell upon it to the exclusion of the others.

At the first dawn of morning in the midst of squalid London, sweet country odours greet the early-riser, and cool orchards and green strawberry slopes seem ever present to the mind.

‘Bright volumes of vapour through Lothbury glide,  
And a river flows on through the vale of Cheapside.’

If those who seek pleasure in gaiety have never visited the market in its prime, let them journey thither some summer morning, and note how fresh will seem the air, and how full of life the people, after the languid waltz in Grosvenor-square. The central alley of the ‘Garden,’ as it is called by the costermongers, is one of the prettiest lounges in town; and, whether by chance or design, it exhibits, in its arrangement from east to west, a complete march of the seasons. At the western entrance the visitor is greeted with the breath of flowers; and there they show in smiling banks piled upon the stalls, or sorted with frilled edges into ladies’ bouquets. As he proceeds, he comes upon the more delicate spring vegetables—pink shafts of the oriental-looking rhubarb, delicate cos lettuce, &c.; still further along the arcade, the plate-glass windows on either side display delicate fruits, done up in dainty boxes, and set off with tinted paper shreds. Behind these windows also might be seen those rarities which it is the pride of the London market-gardeners to provide, and in producing which they all struggle to steal the longest march upon time—a sieve-full of early potatoes, each as small and costly as the egg of a Cochin-China fowl—a basin-full of peas, at a guinea a pint—a cucumber marked 5s., and strawberries 18s. the ounce.

The market-gardeners of Penzance are beginning to send up many of these early vegetables, the mildness of the south-western extremity of Cornwall giving them a wonderful advantage over every other part of the kingdom. Gentlemen’s gardeners also contribute somewhat, by sending to the salesmen such of the produce of their glazed houses as is not consumed in the family,



family, and receive articles in return of which they happen to have an insufficient quantity themselves. These forced vegetables give way, it is true, as the season advances; but when in, they are always most to be found at that end of the walk nearest the rising sun. As the year proceeds, the lustier and more natural fruits are displayed—peaches that have ripened with blushing cheek to the wind, gigantic strawberries, raspberries, nectarines, or blooming plums. Feathery pines add their mellow hue; and when these fail, the colour deepens into amber piles of oranges, umber filberts, and the rich brown of Spanish chestnuts, the produce of the waning year.

To leave, however, our fancied procession of the seasons, and to return to the actual business of the market. As early as two o'clock in the morning, a person looking down the dip of Piccadilly will perceive the first influx of the daily supply of vegetables and fruit to Covent-Garden market: waggons of cabbages, built up and regularly faced, with the art rather of the mason than the market-gardener; light spring-vans fragrant with strawberries; and milk-white loads of turnips which slowly roll along the great western road, and bring the produce of the fertile alluvial shores of the Thames to the great West End mart. The pedestrian proceeding along the southern and eastern roads sees the like stream of vegetable food quietly converging to the same spot. From this hour, especially upon a Saturday morning, until nine o'clock, the scene at the market itself is of the most exciting description.

Without some organisation it would be impossible to receive and display to the advantage of the buyer and seller the varied products that in the grey of the morning pours into so limited a space. Accordingly different portions of it are dedicated to distinct classes of vegetables and fruits. The finest of the delicate soft fruit, such as strawberries, peaches, &c., are lodged, as we have mentioned, in the central alley of the market—the inmost leaf of the rose. On the large covered space to the north of this central alley is the wholesale fruit-station, fragrant with apples, pears, greengages, or whatever is in season. The southern open space is dedicated to cabbages and other vegetables; and the extreme south front is wholly occupied by potato-salesmen. Around the whole quadrangle, during a busy morning, there is a party-coloured fringe of waggons backed in towards the central space, in which the light green of cabbages forms the prevailing colour, interrupted here and there with the white of turnips, or the deep orange of digit-like carrots; and as the spectator watches the whole mass is gradually absorbed into the centre of the market. Meanwhile the space dedicated

to wholesale fruit sales is all alive. Columns of empty baskets twelve feet high seem progressing through the crowd 'of their own motion.' The vans have arrived from the railways, and rural England, side by side with the Continent, pours in its supplies from many a sheltered mossy nook. It is very easy to discover by a glance which are the home-grown, which the foreign contributions. There stand the English baskets and sieves, solid and stout as Harry the Eighth, amidst little hampers, as delicate as French ladies, and seemingly as incapable of withstanding hard usage. Yet some of these have come from Algiers, others from the south of France with greengages, and the majority from Normandy. France is beginning to send large quantities of peaches and nectarines, carefully packed with paper-shavings in small boxes; and even strawberries this summer have found their way here from the same quarter. The frost which occurred in the early part of the present year destroyed nearly all the fruit-crops in the neighbourhood of London; and were it not for the bountiful stores which are brought from abroad, Covent-Garden would have been little better than a desert.

The repeal of the high duty upon foreign fruit has so far widened the field of supply that it can no longer be destroyed by an unusual fall of the mercury. By means of the telegraph, the steamboat, and the railroad, we annul the effects of frost, obliterate the sea, and command, at a few hours' notice, the produce of the Continent. When there is a dearth in this country the fact is immediately noticed by the great fruit-dealers in the City: the telegraph forthwith conveys the information to Holland, France, and Belgium; and within forty hours steamers from one or other of these countries will be seen making towards the Downs and adjoining coasts, and in another six their cargoes, fresh plucked from the neighbourhoods of old Norman abbeys and quaint Flemish stadthouses, are blooming in Covent Garden. Fruit that will bear delay comes up the Thames by boat, and is discharged at the wharfs near London bridge, but the major part eventually finds its way to the 'Garden.' The South-Western and South-Eastern are the two principal lines for foreign fruit; the former brings large quantities of Spanish and Portuguese produce—such as oranges, grapes, melons, nuts, &c.; the latter conveys apples, pears, strawberries, peaches, nectarines, &c., from Dover, to which place they are brought by steamers. To show how enormous is the supply from abroad, we give, on the authority of the goods-manager of the South-Eastern line, the amount brought by them in one night:—



100 tons	of green peas from France.
50 "	of fruit from Kent.
10 "	of filberts from Kent.
25 "	of plums from France.
10 "	of black currants from France.

In all 195 tons; out of which 135 were from across the water. The Brighton and South Coast transmit the produce of Jersey and Dieppe—apples, pears, and plums—to the extent last year of about 300 tons. Of vegetables the Great Northern is the principal carrier; last year they brought to town the enormous quantity of 45,819 tons of potatoes, besides 1940 tons of other vegetables. The potatoes mainly proceed from the fen country. Walnuts generally come by the Antwerp boats, which sometimes carry cargoes of between 400 and 500 tons. Everybody who has travelled in the Low Countries remembers the magnificent walnut-trees which grow along the sides of the canals as commonly as elms in our own country. These eke out our scantier native stores, and help to make cosier the after-dinner chat over the glass of port. During two mornings that we visited Covent Garden we saw 613 bushel-baskets of strawberries that had just come from Honfleur, and upwards of 1000 baskets of greengages arrived from the same neighbourhood during the week. As we gazed, on one of these occasions, upon the solid walls of baskets extending down the market, crowned with parapets of peach and nectarine boxes, we wondered in our own minds whether it would ever be all sold, and the wonder increased as waggon after waggon arrived, piled up as high as the second-floor windows of the piazza. Venturing to express this doubt to a lazy-looking man who was plaiting the strands of a whip, 'Blessee, sir,' he replied without looking up from his work, 'the main part on 'em will be at Brummagem by dinner-time.' True enough, while we had been guessing and wondering, a nimble fellow had run to the telegraph and inquired of Birmingham and a few distant towns whether they were in want of certain fruits that morning. The answer being in the affirmative, the vans turned round, rattled off to the North-Western station, and in another hour the superfluity of Covent Garden was rushing on its way to fill up the deficiency of the midland counties. Thus the wire\* and steam, both at home and abroad, cause the

\* It ought to have been mentioned in the article in our last number on the Electric Telegraph, that the idea of sending forward by it an account of the thieves who had started from the London Terminus originated with Dr. Hawtrey, in his desire to preserve to the Etonians their triennial Montem, by guarding, as far as possible, against the evils to which it was liable. The trial which took place, with such success, at his suggestion, familiarised the officials with the notion, and was the cause of its being instantly acted upon in the case of Tawell.

supply to respond instantly to the demand, however wide apart the two principles may be working.

The strawberry trade of Covent Garden is not likely, however, at present to fall into the hands of foreigners. The London market-gardeners have long looked with justice upon this fruit as particularly their own. By the skill they have bestowed upon its culture it has advanced enormously, both in flavour and size, from the old standard 'hautboy' of our fathers, and which foreigners mainly cultivate to the present day. Mr. Miatt, of Deptford, is the great grower; by judicious grafting he has produced from the old stock half-a-dozen different kinds, the most celebrated being the 'British Queen,' which attains a prodigious size. Large quantities of strawberries are sent to the market in light spring-vans. They are placed in 1 lb. punnets or round willow baskets, or they are carefully piled in pottles, and the process of 'topping-up,' as it is called, is considered quite an art in the trade. The rarest and ripest fruit, which goes direct to the pastrycooks, is still more deftly treated. Lest it should be injured by jolting, horse is exchanged for human carriage. A procession of eight or ten stout women, carrying baskets full of strawberry-pottles upon their heads, may often be seen streaming in hot haste up Piccadilly, preceded by a man, like so many sheep by a bell-wether. It is probable that they have trudged all the way from Isleworth with the fruit, and, as they frequently make two journeys in the day, the distance traversed is not less than twenty-six miles.

After strawberries, perhaps peas are the most important article produced by the market-gardeners. Dealers, in order to consult the convenience of hotel-keepers and such as require suddenly a large supply for the table, keep them ready for the saucepan; and not the least curious feature of Covent Garden, about midday, is to see a dense mass of women—generally old—seated in rows at the corners of the market, engaged in shelling them. One salesman often employs as many as 400 persons in this occupation. The major part of these auxiliaries belong to the poor-houses around; they obtain permission to go out for this purpose, and the shilling or eighteen pence a-day earned by some of the more expert is gladly exchanged for the monotonous rations of the parish. In the autumn, again, there will be a row of poor creatures, extending along the whole north side of the square, shelling walnuts, each person having two baskets, one for the nuts, another for the shells, which are bought by the ketchup-makers. The poor flock from all parts of the town directly a job of the kind is to be had. If a fog happens in November, thousands of link-boys and men spring up with ready-made torches; if a frost occurs,  
hundreds



hundreds of men are to be found on the Serpentine and other park waters, to sweep the ice or to put on your skates: there are in the busy part of the town half-a-dozen fellows ready of a wet day to rush simultaneously to call a cab 'for your honour;' and every crossing when it grows muddy almost instantly has its man and broom. A sad comment this upon the large floating population of starving labour always to be found in the streets of London.

The busiest time at the market is about six o'clock, when the costermongers surround Covent Garden with their barrows, and hundreds of street hawkers, with their hand-baskets and trays, come for their day's supply. The same system of purchase is pursued here as at Billingsgate—the rich dealers buy largely and sell again, and the poorer club their means and divide the produce. The regular street vendor who keeps his barrow, drawn by a donkey or a pony, looks down with a certain contempt upon the inferior hawkers, principally Irish. They only deal in a certain class of vegetables, such as peas, young potatoes, broccoli, or cauliflowers, and have nothing to do with *mere greens*. Another class of purchasers are the little girls who vend watercresses. Such is the demand for cresses, that they are now largely cultivated for the market, the spontaneous growth proving quite inadequate to the demand. They are produced principally at 'Spring Head,' at Walthamstow, in Essex, and at Cookham, Shrivenham, and Faringdon, on the line of the Great Western, which brings to town no less than a ton a week of this wholesome breakfast salad. The best, however, come from Camden Town. Most people fancy that clear purling streams are necessary for their production; but the Camden Town beds are planted in an old brick-field, watered by the Fleet ditch; and though the stream at this point is comparatively pure, they owe their unusually luxuriant appearance to a certain admixture of the sewerage. A great many hundreds of bunches are sold every morning in Covent Garden; but the largest share goes to Farringdon Market. The entire supply to the various metropolitan markets cannot be less than three tons weekly. Rhubarb is almost wholly furnished by the London market-gardeners. It was first introduced by Mr. Miatt forty years ago, who sent his two sons to the Borough market with five bunches, of which they only sold three. From this time he continued its cultivation, notwithstanding the sneers at what were called his 'physic pies.' As he predicted, it soon became a favourite, and now hundreds of tons weight are sold in Covent Garden in the course of the year. It would be impossible to give any precise account of the fruit and vegetable produce that is poured day by day into London;  
for

for the authorities themselves only know how many baskets arrive, not how much they contain. The railway returns give us the quantity brought from a distance, and we find that the seven lines transmit annually somewhere about 70,000 tons of vegetables and soft green fruit. This is irrespective of dried fruit, oranges, &c.—a business of itself, involving great interests and employing an immense capital, and of which we will say a few words.

The foreign-fruit trade has its head-quarters in the city. The pedestrian who walks down Fish Street Hill would assuredly never surmise that at certain seasons a regular fruit exhibition is kept up within those dull brick houses, before which the tall column lifts its head. All the world knows the Messrs. Keeling and Hunt, whose effigies seem to stand in the public eye upon a vast pyramid of pine-apples. This firm hold sales of various kinds of fruit in their auction-rooms in Monument Yard. On these occasions the long apartment makes a show, before which, for quantity at least, that of Chiswick pales. Pine-apples by thousands, melons, forbidden fruit, and mangoes, fill the room from end to end; so famous indeed is the display, that there are lithographic engravings of it, in which the salesmen are seen walking about, as perplexed apparently by the luscious luxuriance around them, as Adam might have been in his own happy garden. The pine-apple market is of modern date. The first cargo was brought over about twelve years ago, and since that time the traffic has rapidly increased, and at the present moment 200,000 pines come yearly into the port of London, of which nine-tenths are consigned to Messrs. Keeling and Hunt, the original importers. They are principally from the Bahamas, in the West Indies, where they grow almost spontaneously; but of late years they have been more carefully cultivated, and grafts of our best hot-house pines have been taken out to improve their quality. There are five clippers appropriated to the carriage across the sea of this single fruit. The melons come from Spain, Portugal, and Holland. Spain is known to abound in melons, for Murillo's beggar-boys are perpetually eating them; but we believe it will be news to most Englishmen that the land of dykes supplies London with fragrant cargoes of an almost tropical fruit. The largest foreign-fruit trade, however, by far, is that in oranges. We shall perhaps astonish our readers when we tell them that upwards of 60,000,000 are imported for the use of London alone, accompanied by not less than 15,000,000 lemons. Any time between December and May the orange clippers from the Azores and Lisbon may be seen unloading their cargoes in the neighbourhood of the great stores in Pudding and Botolph Lanes. There are 240 of these fast-sailing vessels engaged in the entire trade, and  
of



of this fleet 70 at least are employed in supplying the windows of the fruiterers and the apple-stalls of London. All these fruits, together with nuts and walnuts, apples, plums, pears, and some peaches, &c., are disposed of weekly at the auction sales in Monument Yard to the general dealers, the majority of whom are located in Duke's Place, close at hand, and are mostly Jews. Indeed we are informed that many of them are the identical boys grown up to manhood that used some twenty-five years ago to sell oranges about the streets, and whose old place has gradually been taken by the Irish. They act as middlemen between the importers and the tribe of peripatetics, who at certain times of the day resort hither to fill their baskets and barrows. Covent Garden also supplies retailers with oranges and nuts, especially on Sunday mornings, when the place is sometimes crowded like a fair. The following bill of quantities, drawn up by Mr. Keeling, is derived, we believe, from the Custom House returns:—

*Fruit.*

Apples . . . . .	39,561 bushels.
Pears . . . . .	19,742 "
Cherries . . . . .	264,240 lbs.
Grapes . . . . .	1,328,190 "
Pine-apples . . . . .	200,000 "
Oranges . . . . .	61,635,146
Lemons . . . . .	15,408,789

*Nuts.*

Spanish nuts }		
Barcelona }		72,509 bushels.
Brazil . . . . .		11,700 "
Chestnuts . . . . .		26,250 "
Walnuts . . . . .		36,088 "
Cocoa-nuts . . . . .		1,255,000

Of the amount of bread consumed in London we have no specific information, but there are data which enable us to approximate to the truth. Porter, in his 'Progress of the Nation,' gives us the returns of eight schools, families, and institutions, containing 1902 men, women, and children, each of whom ate on the average  $331\frac{1}{8}$  lbs. of bread per annum. Now if we multiply this quantity by the number of the inhabitants of the metropolis—2,500,000 or thereabouts—we have a total of 413,760,000 half-quartern loaves of 2 lbs. weight each. The flour used in puddings, pies, &c., we throw in as a kind of offset against the London babies under one year old. Some of this bread is a contribution from the country, and one Railway—the Eastern Counties—brought last year 237 tons 12 cwts. to town.

Now let us see how much sack goes to all this quantity of bread—with what rivers of stout, &c., we wash down such

mountains of flesh. According to the excise returns, there were 747,050 quarters of malt consumed in London in the year 1853 by the seventeen great brewers. As each quarter of malt, with its proportionate allowance of hops, produces three and a half barrels of beer, we get as the total brew of last year 1,614,675, or pretty nearly a thousand million tumblers of ale and porter. On countless sign-boards of the metropolis this last is advertised by the title of 'entire,' and it is thus that the liquid and its name arose. Prior to the year 1730, publicans were in the habit of selling ale, beer, and twopenny, and the 'thirsty souls' of that day were accustomed to combine either of these in a drink called half and half. From this they proceeded to spin 'three threads,' as they called it, or to have their glass filled from each of the three taps. In the year 1730, however, a certain publican, named Horwood, to save himself the trouble of making the triune mixture, brewed a liquor intended to imitate the taste of the 'three threads,' and to this he applied the term 'entire.' His concoction was approved, and, being puffed as good porters' drink, it speedily came to be called porter itself. Of the seventeen great London breweries, the house of Truman, Hanbury, Buxton, and Co. stood last year at the top of the list, having consumed 140,000 quarters of malt, and paid to the excise 180,000*l.*, or enough to build two ninety-gun ships, at the usual cost of a thousand pounds per gun. The visitor in proceeding through this establishment realizes, perhaps better than in any other place, the enormous scale on which certain creature-comforts for the use of the town are produced. As he walks between the huge boilers in which 1600 barrels are brewed nearly every day, or makes the circuit of the four great vats, each containing 80,000 gallons of liquor, or loses himself amid the labyrinth of 135 enormous reservoirs, which altogether hold 3,500,000 gallons—he begins to fancy himself an inhabitant of Lilliput, who has gone astray in a Brobdignagian cellar. There is a popular notion that the far-famed London stout owes its flavour to the Thames water: this, however, is a 'vulgar error.' Not even the Messrs. Barclay, who are upon the stream, draw any of their supply from that source, but it is got entirely from wells, and those sunk so deep, that they and the Messrs. Calvert, whose brewery is half a mile distant upon the opposite side of the river, find they are rivals for the same spring. When one brewery pumps, it drains the wells of the other, and the firms are obliged to obtain their water on alternate days. Whether it is owing to the increase of the great breweries and of other manufactories, which alone consume millions of barrels of water yearly, we know not, but it is an ascertained fact, that the depth of water in the London wells has  
for



for the last twenty-five years been diminishing at the rate of a foot a year. 'It is comforting to reflect,' said one of the great brewers, 'that the reason simply is, because the water which used to be buried underground is now brought up to fill the bodies, wash the faces, and turn the wheels of two millions and a half of people.'

If the underground stock of water is shrinking, it has increased vastly on the surface. The seven companies which supply the metropolis bring in between them forty-four million gallons daily—a quantity which, large as it is, could be delivered in twenty-four hours by a brook nine feet wide and three feet deep, running at the rate of three feet per second, or a little more than two miles per hour.

The inability of figures to convey an adequate impression to the mind of the series of units of which the sums are composed renders it impossible to give more than a faint idea of the enormous supplies of food required to victual the capital for a single year. But the conception may be somewhat assisted by varying the process. Country papers now and then astonish their readers by calculations to show how many times the steel pens manufactured in England would form a necklace round their own little town, or how many thousand miles the matches of their local factory would extend if laid in a straight line from the centre of their market-place. Let us try our hand on the same sort of picture, and endeavour to fill the eye with a prospect that would satisfy the appetite of the far-famed Dragon of Wantley himself.

If we fix upon Hyde Park as our exhibition ground, and pile together all the barrels of beer consumed in London, they would form a thousand columns not far short of a mile in perpendicular height. Let us imagine ourselves on the top of this tower, and we shall have a look-out worthy of the feast we are about to summon to our feet. Herefrom we might discover the Great Northern road stretching far away into the length and breadth of the land. Lo! as we look, a mighty herd of oxen, with loud bellowing, are beheld approaching from the north. For miles and miles the mass of horns is conspicuous winding along the road, ten abreast, and even thus the last animal of the herd would be 72 miles away, and the drover goading his shrinking flank considerably beyond Peterborough. On the other side of the park, as the clouds of dust clear away, we see the great Western road, as far as the eye can reach, thronged with a bleating mass of wool, and the shepherd at the end of the flock (ten abreast) and the dog that is worrying the last sheep are just leaving the environs of Bristol, 121 miles from our beer-built pillar. Along Piccadilly, Regent-street, the Strand, Fleet-street, Cheapside,

and the eastward Mile-end-road line, for  $7\frac{1}{2}$  miles, street and causeway are thronged with calves, still ten abreast; and in the great parallel thoroughfares of Bayswater-road, Oxford-street, and Holborn, we see nothing for nine long miles but a slowly-pacing, deeply-grunting herd of swine. As we watch this moving mass approaching from all points of the horizon, the air suddenly becomes dark—a black pall seems drawn over the sky—it is the great flock of birds—game, poultry, and wild-fowl, that, like Mrs. Bond's ducks, are come up to be killed: as they fly wing to wing and tail to beak they form a square whose superficies is not much less than the whole enclosed portion of St. James's Park, or 51 acres. No sooner does this huge flight clear away than we behold the park at our feet inundated with hares and rabbits. Feeding 2000 abreast, they extend from the marble arch to the round pond in Kensington Gardens—at least a mile. Let us now pile up all the half-quartern loaves consumed in the metropolis in the year, and we shall find they form a pyramid which measures 200 square feet at its base, and extends into the air a height of 1293 feet, or nearly three times that of St. Paul's. Turning now towards the sound of rushing waters, we find that the seven companies are filling the mains for the day. If they were allowed to flow into the area of the adjacent St. James's Park, they would in the course of the 24 hours flood its entire space with a depth of 30 inches of water, and the whole annual supply would be quite sufficient to submerge the city (one mile square) 90 feet. Of the fish we confess we are able to say nothing: when numbers mount to billions, the calculations become too trying to our patience. We have little doubt, however, that they would be quite sufficient to make the Serpentine one solid mass. Of ham and bacon again, preserved meats, and all the countless comestibles we have taken no account, and in truth they are little more to the great mass than the ducks and geese were to Sancho Panza's celebrated mess—'the skimmings of the pot.'

Such, then, is a slight sketch of the great London larder. It may be imagined that many of these stores come to the metropolis only as to a centre for redistribution, and are again scattered over the length and breadth of the land. This, however, is not the case. The only line that takes food in any quantities out of London is the North-Western. This railway speeds into the midland counties, but especially to Birmingham, 350 tons of fish consigned to the country dealers, and to the nobility and gentry. As we have before seen, van-loads of fruit are often despatched in the same direction. The South-Eastern conveys large quantities of grain down the line, and the London and Brighton



Brighton and South Coast takes annually to Brighton 26 tons of meat and 1100 cattle; and here all the food carried out of London in bulk ends. A constant dribble of edibles, it is true, is continually escaping by the passenger trains, of which the railways take no notice in their goods-department traffic; but it must be remembered that a much larger quantity is perpetually flowing unheeded into the London commissariat through the same channels. Of the stout and porter brewed in the metropolis by the great houses, again, one-seventh perhaps finds its way abroad—a drop in comparison to that which must be contributed by the 2482 smaller brewers of the town, and the great contingent supplied by Guinness, Allsopp, and other pale-ale brewers. This simple statement will suffice to make it evident that in the foregoing picture we have given anything but ‘heaped measure.’

The railways having poured this enormous amount of food into the metropolis, as the main arteries feed the human body, it is distributed by the various dealers into every quarter of the town, first into the wholesale markets, or great centres, then into the sub-centres, or retail tradesmen’s shops, and lastly into the moving centres, or barrows of the hawkers, by which means nourishment is poured into every corner of the town, and the community at large is supplied as effectually as are the countless tissues of the human body by the infinitely divided network of capillary vessels. According to the census of 1851 these food distributors are classified in the following manner:—

<i>Males.</i>		<i>Females.</i>	
Grocers . . . . .	6,475	Grocers . . . . .	676
Cowkeepers and milksellers . . . . .	3,372	Innkeepers . . . . .	93
Cheesemongers . . . . .	2,156	Innkeepers’ wives . . . . .	217
Butchers . . . . .	7,428	Cowkeepers . . . . .	1,158
Poulterers . . . . .	551	Butchers . . . . .	205
Fishmongers . . . . .	2,238	Butchers’ wives . . . . .	3,086
Other dealers in animal food . . . . .	1,376	Fishmongers . . . . .	151
Greengrocers . . . . .	3,325	Others dealing in animal food . . . . .	283
Bakers . . . . .	9,841	Greengrocers . . . . .	941
Confectioners . . . . .	1,806	Bakers . . . . .	480
Other dealers in vegetable food . . . . .	1,303	Confectioners . . . . .	542
Brewers . . . . .	2,499	Other dealers in vegetable food . . . . .	939
Licensed victuallers and beer-shop-keepers, &c . . . . .	6,843	Licensed victuallers and beer-shop-keepers . . . . .	970
Wine and spirit merchants . . . . .	1,915	Wives of ditto . . . . .	4,440
Other dealers in drinks . . . . .	3,805	Wine and spirit merchants . . . . .	15
Saltmakers . . . . .	37	Other dealers in drinks . . . . .	457
Water providers . . . . .	428		
Innkeepers . . . . .	433		14,653
	<hr/>		
	56,601		

If to this total of 71,254 we add the wandering tribe of costermongers, hawkers, and stallkeepers, estimated at 30,000 persons, we shall have an army exceeding 100,000 persons; and, as indirectly

rectly there must be quadruple this number of persons employed, the merest pauper among the population has hundreds of invisible hands held out to provide him the necessaries and comforts of life. The smooth working of this great distributive machine is due to the principle of competition—that spring which so nicely adjusts all the varying conditions of life, and which, in serving itself, does the best possible service to the community at large, and accomplishes more than the cleverest system of centralization which any individual mind could devise.

ART. II.—1. *The Bell: its Origin, History, and Uses.* By the Rev. Alfred Gatty. London. 1848.

2. *Paper on Bells, with Illustrations.* By the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe, in Report of Bristol Architectural Society, 1850.

THERE is abundance of literary evidence to show that in by-gone times the history and office of the bell engaged the attention of the learned. Mr. Ellacombe enumerates nearly forty distinct treatises of foreign origin, ranging from 1495 to the present century. Of these the best known is the work of Magius 'De Tintinnabulis.' The author, an Italian, was a civil judge in the Venetian service at Candia, when besieged in 1571 by the Turks. He was taken prisoner, and amused his captivity by writing the treatise which has preserved his name. His occupation could gain him no favour in a land where the bell was considered the symbol of sinful infidelity, and he was finally beheaded by order of a pasha. The productions of our native pens are mostly confined to the art of ringing, which is peculiarly an English accomplishment. In other countries there is no attempt at a musical peal, and the only object is to produce the utmost possible noise by a chance, irregular clanging. Such was formerly among ourselves the enthusiasm of the educated classes on the subject, that, in the reign of Queen Mary, Dr. Tresham thought there was no surer method of enticing the students at Oxford to mass than by promising to make the University peal the finest in England. The revived interest in all ecclesiastical studies has extended itself to bells; and the instructive work of Mr. Gatty and the researches of Mr. Ellacombe are worthy fruits of this newly-awakened spirit.

We are accustomed, to use the expression of Mr. Gatty, 'to hear the bell speak for itself.' From youth to age the sound is sent forth through crowded streets or floats with sweetest melody above the quiet fields. It gives a tongue to time, which would otherwise



otherwise pass over our heads as silently as the clouds, and lends a warning to its perpetual flight. It is the voice of rejoicing at festivals, at christenings, at marriages, and of mourning at the departure of the soul. From every church-tower it summons the faithful of distant valleys to the house of God; and when life is ended they sleep within the bell's deep sound. Its tone, therefore, comes to be fraught with memorial associations, and we know what a throng of mental images of the past can be aroused by the music of a peal of bells:—

‘O, what a preacher is the time-worn tower,  
Reading great sermons with its iron tongue!’

The bell has had a continuous existence amongst civilised people from a very early time. For nearly fourteen centuries it has been employed by the Church, and it was known to ancient nations for perhaps as many centuries before our era. Consecrated to christian purposes, its sound has travelled with the light that has lighted the Gentiles; and, now that the Gospel has penetrated to the most distant regions of the globe, there is not perhaps a minute of time in which the melody of bells is not somewhere rising towards Heaven, as—

‘Earth with her thousand voices praises God.’

For ages before the bell from its airy height in the old church-tower announced its cognizance of human events, diminutive bells were in common use. An eastern patriarch in the twelfth century quotes a writer who gravely avers that Tubal Cain, the artificer in brass and iron, formed the sounding metal into a rude kind of bell, and that Noah employed it to summon his ship-carpenters to their work. Less theoretical historians may be well contented to begin with the golden bells mentioned in the Book of Exodus as attached to the vestment of the high priest in the Sanctuary, in the same way that they were appended to the royal costume amongst the ancient Persians; or with those small bronze bells, apparently intended for horse and chariot furniture, of which a great number were found by Mr. Layard in a chamber of the palace of Nimroud. On being analysed, the curious fact was discovered that they contain one part of tin to ten parts of copper; and if, as Mr. Layard remarks, the tin was obtained, as probably was the case, from Phœnicia, it may actually have been exported nearly three thousand years ago from the British isles.

Amongst the Greeks hand-bells were employed in camps and garrisons, were hung on triumphal cars, sounded in the fish-market of Athens, summoned guests to feasts, preceded funeral processions, and were sometimes used in religious rites in the temples.

temples. Another purpose to which they were put was to hang them about the necks of malefactors on their way to execution, 'lest,' says Zonaras, 'innocent persons should be defiled by touching them.' It is more likely that it was to draw the gaze of the people upon the criminal, and thus aggravate his punishment. From this Greek custom was derived (we are told) the Roman one of fixing a bell and a scourge to the emperor's chariot, that in the height of his power he might be admonished against pride, and be mindful of human misery.

It is needless to recapitulate all the less doubtful applications of bells among the Romans. The hour of bathing and of business at public places was announced by it, and with the imperfect means possessed by the ancients of measuring time, it must have been a far more important signal than at present. The wealthier Romans had them in domestic use to assemble their families, 'just,' says Magius, writing about 1570, 'as the household of nobles and cardinals at Rome are summoned to dinner and supper by a bell hung in the highest part of the building, so that it may not only be heard by the inmates, but by those who are without.' Something larger than the hand-bell would appear to have been common about the same period in English mansions, to judge from the expression in Macbeth—

'Go bid thy mistress, when my drink is ready,  
She *strike* upon the bell.'

But in the reign of Elizabeth the horn still hung outside the gate, and did much of the duty which afterwards devolved upon bells. In the court at Penshurst there is a bell of considerable size, suspended from a wooden frame, with the inscription, 'Robert, Earl of Leicester, at Penshurst, 1649.' The horn had by this time been quite superseded. The disuse of the hand-bell was one of the many visible signs of the downfall of the old aristocratic system—an indication that the troop of servants had ceased to be 'in waiting.' Few persons are aware how modern is the present practice of domestic bell-hanging; for no trace of it has been discovered in the old mansions of our nobility, even so late as the reign of Queen Anne. A correspondent of the 'Builder' states that when he was taken over Belton Hall by Lord Brownlow, about forty years ago, his lordship pointed out two large bells, one suspended over the landing on the stairs at the north end of the hall and the other at the south end, remarking that they were the only means his predecessors had of commanding the services of the domestics; 'but as it is getting into fashion,' he added, 'to have bells hung from the rooms in houses, I must have them also.' The late Duke was the



the first Northumberland who allowed the walls of Alnwick to be pierced. Each room had its lackey instead of its bell. The palatial mansion of Holkham, which was commenced in 1734 and completed in 1760, had no such conveniences till the present Earl provided them a few years ago. So many centuries did it take to conduct mankind to the simple invention of ringing a bell in a horizontal direction by means of a crank and a piece of wire.

But we have not yet emerged from ancient Rome, where, amongst other fancies, bells were appended to horses, a custom which lingers in many parts of the continent, and which was almost universal, until recent days, with our English teams. On dark nights in narrow lanes they answered the important end of warning horsemen or waggoners of each other's approach, and enabling them to avoid a collision in a spot where there was not room enough to pass. The improvement in roads has put an end to the practice. The Romans 'belled' their flocks as well as their horses, in order, according to Strabo, that wild beasts might be scared away by the sound. 'If any one,' it is enacted in the rural laws of Justinian, 'take away the bell from an ox or sheep, let him, being convicted, be scourged as a thief, and, if the animal be lost thereby, let him pay the loss.' Magius relates that the shepherds of his day continued the custom, 'but not so much to keep off beasts of prey as to enable the owners to trace their cattle when they strayed,' which is its chief modern use, and every flock in Scotland has one such indicator to enable the herdsman to find the whereabouts of his animals when lost in the snow. 'Besides,' adds Magius, 'the shepherds think that the flocks are pleased with the sound of the bell, as they are by the flute, and that they grow fat in consequence.' The notion that animals have some sort of conscious pride in these appendages is countenanced by Southey, who, speaking of the Alpine cattle in his youth, says, that 'they stalk forth proud and pleased when wearing their bells. If the leading cow, who hitherto bore the largest bell, be deprived of it, she manifests a sense of disgrace by lowing incessantly, abstaining from food, and growing lean; and the happy rival on which the bell has been conferred is singled out for her vengeance.'

The material of the bells so long known to heathen antiquity was generally bronze, sometimes silver, and not uncommonly gold. Their first construction in the expanded form with which we are familiar now was due to christians. When the true God was worshipped in lonely caverns, amid the haunts of the wolf, or under the ban of heathens more cruel than the beasts, no sounds proclaimed their whereabouts to their foes; but from the time when praise and incense rose in stately temples, enriched with all the accessories  
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that devotion could contrive, the bell assumed its part in the solemnities of religion. Some authors have ascribed its introduction (A.D. 400) to Paulinus Bishop of Nola, in Campania, the contemporary of St. Jerome; but the silence of the bishop with regard to either tower or bells, in an epistle in which he minutely describes his church, is, as Mr. Gatty remarks, a strong argument against the claim, especially as there is no allusion to the subject in any contemporary or immediately subsequent writer. It was not till after A.D. 500, according to Hospinianus, that bells, which he calls *campanæ*, came into ecclesiastical use. They are supposed to have received their designation from the place where they were originally made. 'Because,' says Magius, 'the founders practised this most useful work in Campania, the large bells were called *campanæ*;'\* and hence the term *campanile* was given to the towers in which they were hung. A species of diminutive bells were in like manner called *nolæ*, from Nola, the city, and these were sometimes attached to a frame and rung during service.

The wandering ecclesiastics would naturally bring over specimens of the *nolæ* from abroad shortly after their primitive application in Italy to sacred purposes, and the portable altar bells seem accordingly to have been the first which were known in England. But the ponderous, far-sounding bell was introduced by the Anglo-Saxons at an early period. It was among the enrichments for his church which Benedick, abbot of Weremouth and Jarrow, brought from Italy in the reign of king Egfrid; and about the same period (A.D. 680) the nuns of St. Hilda's sisterhood, as Bede relates, were summoned by it to prayers. It has been conjectured by several antiquaries that the tower of the church was suggested by the bell, that being lifted up aloft it might throw its solemn tones to a greater distance.

For many centuries the bell-foundries appear to have been set up in the religious houses of Europe, and the abbots, priors, and frequently the bishops were the master-manufacturers. As long as the casting took place in the monasteries a religious character was given to the process. The brethren stood ranged round the furnaces; the 150th Psalm was chanted, and the Almighty was invoked to overshadow the molten metal with his power and bless the work for the honour of the saint to whom it was to be dedicated.†

\* A Roman gentleman of the present day, well known as an Etrurian collector, claims the title of Marchese Campana in right of an ancestor set up against Bishop Paulinus as inventor of bells, and the title has, we believe, been sanctioned either by Pius IX., or the King of Naples, or both.

† The grand Ode of Schiller on the 'Casting of the Bell' is now so familiar to all the world, that we need do no more than recommend those who are ignorant of German to read it in the translation of Sir E. B. Lytton.



One of the earliest notices of monastic bell-founding occurs in a Life of Charlemagne, quoted by Magius, in which it is stated that in the abbey of St. Gall, a monk, who greatly excelled in the art, produced a specimen of his craft, the tone of which was much admired by the emperor. 'My lord emperor,' said the monk upon this, 'command a great quantity of copper to be brought to me, which I will purify by fire, and let me have silver instead of tin, about a hundred pounds, and I will cast for you such a bell that the other in comparison with it shall be mute.' Magius lamented that princes were more avaricious than formerly, and would no longer bestow the necessary coin to impart a silvery sound to the bells. But we learn from Mr. Gatty, who appears to have derived his information from some cunning artificers of the present day, that the wide-spread notion of the advantage of this ingredient is a complete mistake. 'Persons,' says he, 'talk as familiarly of sweetening the tone of bell-metal by the introduction of a little silver, as they would speak of sweetening a cup of tea, or a glass of negus with a lump of sugar. This is a dream. Silver, if introduced in any large quantity, would injure the sound, being in its nature more like lead as compared with copper, and therefore incapable of producing the hard, brittle, dense, and vibratory amalgam called bell-metal. There are, no question, various little ingredients which the skilful foundry employs to improve his composition; but these are the secrets of the craft and peculiar to every separate foundry.' Nor is there any valid reason for supposing that our ancestors employed it any more than ourselves, except that it was a custom to cast a few tributary coins into the furnace. The composition of the amalgam in England six hundred years ago is known to us from the materials delivered in the 36th year of Henry III. for the purpose of making three bells for the church in Dover Castle, when all that was furnished was an old bell, 1050 pounds of copper, and 500 pounds of tin. The mixture was therefore made up of rather more than two parts of copper to one of tin; the modern receipt only differs from the ancient in allowing three parts of copper. The vaunted superiority of a few of the older bells over those of recent times has been ascribed by some to the influence of the atmosphere in the course of centuries; others have suggested that it was due to melting the metal by a fire of wood, which is known to improve the quality of iron, instead of by the rapid process of a blast furnace. But there is another cause which has had its share in the effect. 'If the quantity of metal,' says Mr. Gatty, 'be not in due proportion to the calibre of the bell, the power of its tone will be lost; and only a *panny*, harsh, iron-like sound can be produced from it. For instance, if you try to get  
the

the note E out of a quantity of metal which is only adapted to sustain F well, the F in that case would be preferable to the E intended.' Now in old bells a far larger mass of metal was allowed to a given note than is the case with us, for modern skill is necessarily directed as much to economy as excellence of manufacture. The tenor bell of Rochester cathedral weighs 28 cwt., but its note F would be reached at present with half the metal, at an equivalent sacrifice of dignity of tone. In science and dexterity the living artificers surpass those of bygone times. By the early part of the fourteenth century a distinct class of workmen followed the trade, and the bell of Crokesden abbey, in Staffordshire, having been fractured in 1313, Master Henry Michel of Lichfield was engaged with his assistants in recasting it from the Octave of the Trinity to the Feast of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin. Notwithstanding the time bestowed upon the process it turned out a failure, and being recommenced anew it took two months more to bring the work to a happy conclusion. A modern bell-founder would have much to teach Master Henry Michel in the technicalities of the trade.

However admirable may be the material employed, the excellence of the bell still depends upon its shape, and the proportion observed in its different parts. Slight defects in the tone are remedied after the casting. 'If the note is too sharp,' says Mr. Gatty, 'the bell is turned thinner: if too flat, its diameter is lessened in proportion to its substance by the edge being cut. When an entire set turn out to be in harmony, they are called 'a maiden peal.' This, however, is a most rare occurrence; many sets of bells have the credit of being 'maiden' without deserving it, and a great many, for the honour of being considered such, are left decidedly out of tune.' Whether the old bell-founders practised these after-processes for the rectification of the tone, or whether they were obliged to abide by the original casting, we are not informed.

In 1463 the manufacture of the smaller sort of bells had attained to such importance in England that on the complaint of the artificers to the king in parliament that they were impoverished by the importation from abroad, it was ordained that no merchant or other person should bring any sacring bells into the country. The great weight, and consequently expensive carriage of the larger kinds, rendered the native artists comparatively safe from foreign competition as to them. An account has been preserved of the cost a few years before (A.D. 1457) of one of these bigger productions. The material is charged 100*s.* 8*d.*; the making it, 20*s.* 1*d.*; for the conveyance of an old broken bell to Bristol, 5*s.*; and the bringing the new one thence to Yeovil, 6*s.* 8*d.*



6s. 8d. Two days and a half were spent in raising the bell, and the wages of three carpenters for this period came to 2s. One of the churchwardens had 6d. for his expenses in superintendence, the other 2d.; and a total sum of 2s. 2½d. went in refreshments.

The Bristol founders appear to have been celebrated in the fifteenth century. Before the year 1684 Abraham Rudall, of Gloucester, had brought the art to great perfection. His descendants in succession continued the business, and down to Lady Day, 1774, the family had cast the enormous number of 3594 bells. Several of the most famous peals in the West of England were of the Rudall make, besides many others in different parts of the country, such as those of All Saints, Fulham, and those of St. Dunstan's, St. Bride's, and St. Martin's in the Fields. The bells of the University Church, Cambridge (*circa* 1730), so much admired by Handel, were from the St. Neot's foundry. The Messrs. Mears, who succeeded to Rudall at Gloucester, and who have also an immense establishment in London, are stated by Mr. Gatty to manufacture annually several hundred bells, and to have not uncommonly thirty tons of molten metal in their furnace. The vast number of new churches which have been built of late years, and the admirable spirit which prevails for restoring old ones to their pristine completeness, must have raised the trade to a pitch of prosperity never known before. Many, however, of the modern towers are of too flimsy a construction to bear the jarring of a full peal. A catastrophe which occurred at Liverpool in 1810, when the spire of St. Nicholas' Church fell upon the roof as the people were assembling for the service, and killed twenty-three of the congregation, was partly caused by the vibration of the bells.

The bell having been cast, the next step in old times was to name it, and in this the ecclesiastics followed all the ceremonies employed in the christening of children. It was carried to the font, it had godfathers and godmothers, was sprinkled with water, was anointed with oil, and was finally covered with the white garment, or chrisom, which in the Roman Catholic ritual was put upon infants at the conclusion of the rite, as an emblem of innocence. Nothing could exceed the pomp and solemnity of the service. 'Costly feasts were given, and even in poor villages a hundred gold crowns were sometimes spent on the ceremony.' The usage is so ancient that it is mentioned by Alcuin, who says that 'it ought not to seem a new thing that bells are blessed and anointed, and a name given to them.' It would be easy to enumerate a variety of instances; but we forbear to subjoin a list which would find few readers, unless perchance among the members of the Society of Antiquaries. The custom

continued

continued in England down to the Reformation; and we give a single memorial of the practice from the accounts of the churchwardens of St. Laurence, Reading, in 1499:—

‘Payed for halowing of the bell named Harry, vj s. viij d. And over that, Sir William Symes, Richard Clech, and Mistress Smyth being godfaders and godmoder at the consecracyon of the same bell, and beryng all other costs to the suffragan.’

‘By the term baptism,’ says Magius, ‘it is not meant that bells are baptized with that baptism by which the remission of sins is conferred; the term is used because the principal ceremonies observed in the baptism of children are observed in blessing bells.’ This is superfluous as an explanation and inadequate as a defence. ‘Bells,’ says Southey, ‘are not baptized for the remission of sins, because the original sin of a bell would be a flaw in the metal, or a defect in the tone, neither of which the priest undertakes to remove.’ The profanity of the proceeding was in applying the forms of a Christian sacrament to a purpose in which there was no correspondence between the outward sign and the inward effect. When the Roman Catholic rite was done away, Protestants went into the opposite extreme, and superstition was exchanged for indecorous conviviality. White, of Selborne, in noticing the high festival which was observed in his village at the inauguration of a new peal in 1735, states that the treble was fixed bottom upwards and filled with punch. This is still the favourite plan, and we cannot help thinking that it is a bad beginning to teach the parishioners to associate their ‘church-going bells’ with rum and beer.

Comparatively few of the immense number of baptized bells that were existing at the time of the Reformation still hang in their ancient towers, and on these it is often no easy matter to trace in the antique and half-corroded characters the once venerated name that was invoked by their sound. A more careful search in remote districts might make known several, of which no account has been given, though we might hear of none so old as that which was taken down from a church in Cornwall in the time of the late Mr. Davies Gilbert, the President of the Royal Society, and which bore, as he used to relate, with all possible pride, the inscription ‘Alfredus Rex!’ It was supposed to have been the gift of King Alfred, and to have done duty for a thousand years. Multitudes of bells, famous for their tone and magnitude, frequently the offerings of wealthy laymen and in the production of which no pains or expense had been spared, were taken away at the dissolution of the monasteries. Nor, though Holinshed remarks that ‘bells remain as in times past,’ were those of the cathedrals and parish churches always spared. King  
Henry



Henry VIII., according to Stow, staked a bell tower, with a lofty spire of timber, which stood in St. Paul's Churchyard and contained four bells, the largest in London, against a hundred pounds, with Sir Miles Partridge, a courtier. Sir Miles won, and had the bells broken up and the tower and spire pulled down. Bulkeley Bishop of Bangor sold the bells of his cathedral in 1541, and Sir Henry Spelman relates that at the period of his boyhood (*circa* 1572), the people used to tell how many had been removed in every part of his county (Norfolk). The destruction began when ecclesiastical property was seized by the Crown and granted to laymen. The hundred of Framland, in Leicestershire, affords an example of the rarity of genuine antique specimens. Out of 38 churches, with an aggregate of 127 bells, 88 have been cast since 1600; of 16 the date is uncertain, and only 23 are clearly of the pre-reformation period. The puritans, though the enemies of church music and of almost everything which had once been put to superstitious uses, did not wage direct war against bells. Yet in the general depredation then committed upon churches, the tower was frequently rifled of its contents. The good people of Yarmouth petitioned the Parliament in 1650 'to be pleased to grant them a part of the lead and other useful materials of that *vast and altogether useless cathedral* in Norwich, towards the building of a workhouse to employ their almost starved poor, and *repairing their piers*.' When the inhabitants of a neighbouring town could propose to strip off the covering from the roof of a noble cathedral and lay it open to the ravages of frost and rain because such edifices were useless, it was not to be expected that bells would be valued except for the metal of which they were made. In the tasteless apathy which succeeded after the Revolution, the belfry was often robbed to repair the church. Very numerous were the instances in which four bells out of five have been sold by the parish to defray the churchwardens' 'little account.' Of those that escaped such accumulated dangers, several in the lapse of time have been injured and recast; and altogether the ancient stock has been sadly reduced.

With Scotland it fared considerably worse than with us. Abbot, Archbishop of Canterbury, told Spelman in 1632 that when he was shown the church at Dunbar by 'a crumpt unseemly person, the minister thereof,' he inquired how many bells they possessed, to which the minister answered, 'None.' His Grace asked how it 'chanced,' and the minister replied, with some astonishment at so simple a question, that 'it was one of the Reformed churches.' In Edinburgh, Abbot found only a single relic. All its companions throughout the city had been shipped to the Low Countries. In France the Revolution was

fatal

fatal to many of the bells, and so much the more that the metal was available for cannon. The celebrated 'George of Amboise,' which hung in the cathedral of Rouen, was devoted to the purpose during that sacrilegious delirium when the religion of the people might be said to consist in war.

Some of our old writers delighted to trace the judgments which they imagined had descended on the depredators. Spelman observes significantly that Sir Miles Partridge, who gambled for the bells with Henry VIII., was hanged a few years afterwards on Tower Hill, and the trafficking Bishop of Bangor was affirmed to have been suddenly stricken with blindness when he went to see his peal safely shipped. Bad luck attended many of the bells themselves, the vessels in which they were embarked having been wrecked. It never seems to have occurred to these enthusiastic worthies that church property was not the only cargo lost at sea, or that a miracle, which destroyed instead of preserving the bells, was wrought for a very inadequate end.

Still many great bells remain which are noticeable for antiquity as well as magnitude and beauty of tone. The peal of Exeter Cathedral, the heaviest in England, is a noble example of the occasional superiority of ancient over modern bells in regard to tone. The Exeter peal consists of ten bells; the peal of St. Saviour's, Southwark, which is the next heaviest, numbers twelve, of which nine are upwards of four hundred years old. Another peal of twelve, that of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, was much admired by Queen Elizabeth; and when they rang out in honour of her approach from Hatfield to London, she seldom failed to stop at a short distance from the church and commend their melody. There are peals of ten bells at St. Margaret's Church, Leicester, at St. Mary's, Nottingham, and in the tower of Fulham, which are considered among the finest in the country. The musical bells of Dewsbury are famous, even beyond Yorkshire, as 'England's sweetest melody.' One of the number, which is popularly known as 'Black Tom of Sothill,' is said to have been an expiatory gift for a murder. It is tolled on Christmas-Eve as at a funeral, and this ringing is called 'the devil's knell,' the moral of it being that the devil died when Christ was born.

It has been computed that in England there are 50 peals of ten bells, 360 peals of eight bells, 500 peals of six bells, and 250 peals of five bells. The calculations, however, rest upon superficial data, and are probably wide of the truth. 'Eight bells,' says Mr. Gatty, 'which form the octave or diatonic scale, make the most perfect peal.' It is a matter of pride to be able to ring a vast variety of *changes*, and these increase enormously with the number of the bells. 'This term is used'—we quote again



again from Mr. Gatty—'because every time the peal is rung round, a change can be made in the order of some one bell, thereby causing a change in the succession of notes. The following numbers are placed to show how three bells can ring six changes:—

1	2	3
1	3	2
2	1	3
2	3	1
3	1	2
3	2	1

Four bells will ring four times as many changes as three, viz. 24; five bells five times as many as four, viz. 120; and so on.' The progression advances at such a fearful rate that twelve bells will give 479,001,600 changes. These, it was calculated by Southey, who was fond of the curiosities of the art, would take ninety-one years to ring, at the rate of two strokes to a second, or ten rounds to a minute. The changes, he continues, upon fourteen bells could not be rung through at the same rate in less than 16,575 years; and upon four-and-twenty they would require more than 117,000 billions of years. In practice, bells are rung more than twice as quickly as Southey supposes. He has recorded a feat of eight Birmingham youths, who managed to get through 14,224 changes in eight hours and forty-five minutes. Their ambition was to have reached a complete peal of '15,120 bob major,' but they were too exhausted to proceed. 'Great, then,' exclaims the Laureate, in 'The Doctor,' from which we borrow these particulars, 'are the mysteries of bell-ringing,' and mysterious, we may add, are its fascinations. Yet one unparalleled enthusiast, whose book was printed in 1618, devoted 475 pages to prove that the principal employment of the blessed in heaven will be the continual ringing of bells. Southey pronounces that the art is at least entitled to the praise of being the most harmless of all the devices for obtaining distinction by making a noise in the world. The justice of the remark, however, is more than doubtful. Bell-ringers as a class have always had the credit, or discredit rather, of being a disorderly set. The fellowship commenced in the belfrey conducts to the public-house, all gratuities are spent in tippling, and it is a common observation that the ringers, after summoning the congregation to church, are prone to slip away themselves.

To go from peals to single bells, Mr. Gatty has drawn up a list of the largest which exist, or till lately existed, in the world:—

	tons.	cwts.	qrs.	lbs.
The Great Bell of Moscow (height 21 ft. 4½ in., diameter 22 ft. 5½ in., circumference 67 ft. 4 in., greatest thickness 23 in.) weighs . . . . .	198	2	1	0
Another cast in 1819 weighs . . . . .	80	0	0	0
The bell in the tower at St. Ivan's Church at Moscow (height 21 ft., diameter 18 ft., weight of clapper 4200 lbs.) weighs . . . . .	57	1	1	16
Another in the same church weighs . . . . .	17	16	0	0
The Great Bell at Pekin (height 14½ ft., diameter 13 ft.) weighs . . . . .	53	11	1	20
One at Nankin . . . . .	22	6	1	20
One at Olmutz . . . . .	17	18	0	0
The Great Bell of the Cathedral of Rouen, destroyed 1793 (height 13 ft., diameter 11 ft.), weighed . . . . .	17	17	0	16
One at Vienna, cast in 1711 by order of the Emperor Joseph from the cannon left by the Turks when they raised the siege of that city (height 10 ft., circumference 31 ft., weight of the clapper 1100 lbs.), weighs . . . . .	17	14	0	0
One in Notre Dame in Paris, placed in the Cathedral 1680 (circumference 25 ft.), weighs . . . . .	17	0	0	0
One at Erfurt in Germany, and considered to be of the finest bell metal extant (height 10½ ft., diameter 8½ ft.), weighs . . . . .	13	15	0	0
One in the Roman Catholic Cathedral at Montreal (cast 1847), weighs . . . . .	13	10	0	0
'Great Peter,' which was placed in York Minster in 1845, weighs . . . . .	10	15	0	0
'Great Tom' at Oxford (diameter 7 ft. 1 in., height 6 ft. 9 in.), weighs . . . . .	7	11	3	4
'Great Tom' at Lincoln (recast in 1835 with an additional ton of metal), weighs . . . . .	5	8	0	0
Great Bell of St. Paul's (diameter 9 ft., weight of the clapper 180 lbs.), weighs . . . . .	5	2	1	22
Do. Do. before recast, weighed . . . . .	3	13	3	1
'Dunstan' at Canterbury . . . . .	3	10	0	0

It will be seen that 'Great Peter' of York, which has been cast since the fine peal in the Minster was destroyed by the fire of 1840, is the reigning monarch of all the bells of the United Kingdom. It is stated by Mr. Gatty that the ordinary price of a bell is about six guineas per cwt., but it is probable that the rate increases with the size, for 'Great Peter' cost no less than two thousand pounds, which was contributed by the citizens of York. It is many inches higher than the tallest grenadier in her Majesty's service, and requires fifteen men to ring it. A bell which once added a glory to the cathedral of Canterbury is said to have required twenty-four men to raise it, and another no fewer than thirty-two.

The two 'Toms' of Oxford and Lincoln are supposed by some to have owed their appellation to the circumstance of their giving out a sound which resembled the name. The original Oxford bell, which hung, like the present, in the Gate Tower of Christchurch, was brought from the abbey of Oseney, and was christened Mary at the commencement of the bloody Queen's reign,



reign, by Tresham, the vice-chancellor. 'O delicate and sweet harmony!' he exclaimed, when first it summoned him to mass,— 'O beautiful Mary! how musically she sounds! how strangely she pleaseth my ear!' But musically-tongued Mary was recast in 1680, and has now a voice as masculine as its name, for it is neither accurate in its note nor harmonious in sound. Every evening at nine it tolls 101 times, in commemoration of the number of scholarships with which the college is endowed.

The great bell of St. Paul's, which is one of the most popular curiosities in the cathedral, hangs in the south or clock tower, above the two bells which sound the quarters. It bears the inscription—'Richard Phelps made me 1716.' It is struck hourly by the hammer of the clock, but the clapper hangs idle, except when its ponderous stroke announces the death or funeral of a member of the royal family, a bishop of London, a dean of St. Paul's, or the Lord Mayor of the year. There is an erroneous notion that most of its metal was derived from the remelting of 'Great Tom of Westminster,' which, from a clock-tower that then stood near the door of the Hall, had sounded the hours for four hundred years to the judges of England. This bell, so replete with venerable associations, was given or sold by William III. to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, and re-cast by one Wightman. It was speedily broken in consequence of the cathedral authorities permitting visitors to strike it, on payment of a fee, with an iron hammer, and Phelps was employed by Sir Christopher Wren to make its fine-toned successor. It was agreed, however, that he should not remove the old bell till he delivered the new, and thus there is not one single ounce of 'Great Tom' in the mass. The latter is destined, after the lapse of a century and a half, to have a mighty substitute, for close to its ancient historic site the external clock of the New Palace of Westminster is to strike the hours on a bell of fifteen tons, and deprive 'Great Peter' of York of its short-lived pre-eminence.

But the monster bells of England are mere playthings in comparison with the leviathans of Russia. The Czar Kolokol, or Monarch, as it is called, is the largest in the world. The value of the raw material alone was estimated by Dr. Clarke at 66,565*l.* 16*s.*, and by Erman at 350,000*l.* 'Great Peter' of York took fourteen days to cool. The molten metal of the Montreal bell was twelve minutes in filling the mould. What must have been the process when, instead of some eleven or thirteen tons, 198 were employed. It was cast by the order of the Empress Anne in 1734, from the metal of a gigantic predecessor, which had been greatly damaged. The people assert that it was once hung aloft, but that the beam from which it was sus-

pended being burnt in 1737, it was buried in the earth by the fall, and a piece broken out. Dr. Clarke maintained, without sufficient reason, that the fall was a fable, that the bell remained in the pit in which it was cast, and that the fracture was caused by the water, which was employed to extinguish a fire in the building above, having flowed upon the metal when it was heated by the flames. The Emperor Nicholas had it raised in 1837, and placed on a low circular wall. Steps lead into the pit over which it hangs; and this excavation in the earth, with the Monarch bell for a dome, is consecrated as a chapel. The Czar Kolokol is dumb, but the lesser sovereign in the tower of St. Ivan sends out its mighty voice three times a year, which produces a tremulous effect through the city, and a noise like the rolling of distant thunder. The bells in Russia are fixed immoveably to their beams, and it is merely the clapper which swings to and fro. This alone in the bell of St. Ivan takes three men to sway it from side to side. Barbaric ambition is always pleased with what is big, but the tone of the Russian bells is likewise fine, though, as the art of harmonious ringing is unknown among them, the practical result is a confused clashing of sounds, extremely painful to English ears.

With all the Russian fondness for bells, the permission to employ them is a concession which the Czar has never obtained for Greek churches within the Ottoman border. Only the rocky peninsula of Athos has enjoyed a special privilege which the inhabitants showed not, nor show, any backwardness to exercise. Some recent travellers were earnestly entreated by the old sacristan of a monastery, where a tower was just completed, to send out an English bell. The period at which ringing commenced or ceased in the East has not been ascertained. Cardinal Baronius says that the Maronites began to use bells in 865, having received them from the Venetians; and Matthew Paris states that Richard I. was welcomed at Acre with a peal when he landed in 1190 for his crusade. It is not unlikely, among other prospective changes, that the church-bell may be allowed to speak its summons in conjunction with the muezzin's call to prayer.

Enormous as are some of the bells of China, they are inferior to the Russian both in size and tone, and the dulness of their sound is increased from their being struck with a wooden instead of an iron clapper. The Burmese indulge in the almost universal taste; and a large specimen, which was taken in the late war from the Dagon Pagoda at Rangoon, was valued at 17,000*l*. But enough of the big bells of the world, which are rather matters for idle wonder than use.



It is a great descent from the Czar Kolokol to those small ancient hand-bells, which are connected with the personal history of the first apostles of Christianity in Ireland and Britain. They are made of a dark bronze, are of a quadrangular form, which was probably copied from Roman specimens, and are usually from nine to twelve inches in height, and about six in width. Sometimes they are cast in one piece, but in many instances they consist of two or three plates riveted together and subsequently fused into one mass by a process of founding which is not practised in the present day. The more perfect specimens are remarkable for sweetness of tone, and the distressing note given out by others is owing to their being cracked or repaired. In the middle ages they were held in such veneration, that they were carried about when contributions were raised for the monasteries in which they were kept,—they were taken to solemn assemblies, oath was made upon them in judicial trials, and the people were more afraid to swear falsely by them than the Gospel, expecting that the immediate vengeance of the saint would fall upon the offender who dared despise his bell. Nay, some are used in Ireland to this day for the same purposes as of old—for enforcing oaths, honouring funerals, exercising a species of ordeal, and for gracing the festivals of the patron-saint of the district.

Amongst the shadows of bygone times, few are more unsubstantial than those of the 'gray fathers' of the Irish and British Church—St. Patrick, St. Kieran, St. Columba, St. Gildas, St. David, St. Senanus. Yet, in remote and secluded districts, bells, which are repeatedly mentioned in historical manuscripts, have come down upon a stream of testimony as having been the identical instruments used by them at their altars and in their ambulatory ministrations. Three are alleged to have had the honour of belonging to St. Patrick himself. One of these is said to have been in his hands when, on the hill of conflict, the modern 'Croagh Patrick,' he had his last encounter with the demons of Ireland. His violent ringing proved insufficient to scare away his adversaries, and he at last flung the bell itself into the midst of them, when they fled precipitately, and left the island free from their aggressions for seven years, seven months, and seven days. The missile, broken by the fall, was afterwards bestowed on the patron-saint of Kildare, and called 'the Broken Bell of Brigid.' It was another bell, we suppose, which is mentioned in the 'Acta Sanctorum' as having been mended for St. Patrick by an angel, and the seam was shown in attestation of the miracle. This is like the evidence of the Whig witness in 'The Rambler,' who, to prove that the son of James II.

was

was a supposititious child, testified that he had seen the *warming-pan* in which the infant had been smuggled to the Queen's bed.

A second St. Patrick bell became an heirloom of the abbey of Armagh, and was employed in 946 by the abbot to measure the tribute paid him by a northern tribe, the bell-full of silver being given him for his 'Peace,' as successor of the apostle of Ireland. The third and most prized of the relics is that known as 'the Bell of Patrick's Will.' The breach of an oath taken upon it in 1044 was affirmed to have been revenged by an incursion in which a large number of prisoners and 1200 cows were carried away. At the commencement of the twelfth century it was encased in a costly shrine, embellished with serpents, curiously and elegantly interlaced. The custody of it had become hereditary, and formed a source of considerable emolument; it appears that a Henry Mulholland, who died late in the last century, closed the long line down which this relic of ancient art had been conveyed in one family through a period of 700 years. The bell itself is much corroded, but appears to have been of rude construction. The work of the later shrine, however, which was undoubtedly executed in the island seventy years before Henry the Second's army landed on the Irish shores, proves that the natives then could hardly have been behind their invading neighbours in the arts of peace. The bell and its shrine were in the Cork Exhibition in 1852, and its sound is described as amply sufficient to scare away evil spirits, as well as any reptiles except the deaf adder.

Hand-bells possessing similar virtues, and some of which are preserved, were common in Wales. They were held sacred in all the Welsh churches previous to the Reformation, and were taken round to the houses of deceased persons on the day of the funeral—a very ancient custom, which is stated by Mr. Westwood, in his interesting papers published a few years back in the '*Archæologia Cambrensis*,' to have stood its ground until lately at Caerleon. Some specimens which existed in Scotland partially retained their hold on popular veneration down to nearly our own day, in defiance, as Dr. Wilson remarks, of reforming zeal and the discipline of Presbyterian kirk-sessions. Curious superstitions were connected with them here, as elsewhere. The bell of St. Fillan, which belonged to a famous old chapel at Killin, in Perthshire, was affirmed to cure lunacy, a belief which would now be deemed of itself an indication of the disease. After the patient had dipped in the well or pool of St. Fillan, and passed a night in the chapel, the bell, if he survived, was set on his head in the morning with great solemnity, and his wits returned. Still more  
extraordinary,



extraordinary, it was believed that if this invaluable specific was stolen it would extricate itself from the hands of the thief, and return from whence it was taken, ringing all the way. The same power was attributed to a bell in Leinster. A chieftain of Wicklow got possession of it, and he was obliged to tie it with a cord to prevent its escaping to its home, at St. Fillan's church in Meath. Clothaire II. (it is Baronius who tells the tale) carried off a bell from Soissons, in Burgundy, which resented its removal in a more effectual way. It became dumb on the road, and when it arrived at Paris its voice was gone. The king sent it back to its old quarters, and it no sooner approached the town than it recovered its tone and rang so loudly that it was heard while yet seven miles distant. An occurrence of recent date would in those days have figured among the miracles of the age. On the death of the Duke of Wellington, the bells of Trim, which he had represented in Parliament, and where he spent many of his early years, were ordered by the Dean to be tolled. The tenor, one of the finest and sweetest in Ireland, was no sooner set going than it suddenly broke. On examining the bell it was found to have been cast in 1769—the very year the Duke was born. So we read in 1854.

An old Sancte-bell still hangs in a few of our churches in the bell-cote above the chancel arch. It received its name from being always rung at the words *Sancte, sancte, sancte Deus Sabbaoth*, as the priest elevated the Host, and all who heard it knelt and offered a prayer to the Virgin. Most persons have witnessed this scene in the streets of Roman Catholic cities, where a hand-bell is rung before the priest who carries the sacred elements. Some years since in Spain the sound penetrated to the interior of a theatre, and not only did all the spectators rise up and kneel, but the dancers on the stage stopped in their performance to drop upon their knees.

Of the inscriptions upon bells not very many of early date remain. Some Anglo-Saxon bells, which are only known to us from history, were dedicated to English saints and confessors, as the bell called 'Guthlac,' at Croyland, and the bells named 'Turketul,' 'Betelem,' and 'Bega,' given to the same holy site by Turketul's successor. The oldest of those which still exist in England generally bear the name, if not of the Saviour or of the Virgin Mary, at least that of an apostle, a martyr, or some other saint of special eminence, with the usual addition 'ora pro nobis.' But in later times it became common to couple some longer invocation with the name. Thus we find, in uncouth Latin, sentiments like the following, which we translate for the benefit of our fair readers:—

'JESUS,

‘JESUS, regard this work, and by thy strength prosper it!’  
 ‘Jesus, who abidest above the stars! heal our wounds.’  
 ‘May my sound please Thee, O Christ, Heavenly King!’  
 ‘Christ! give us the joys of eternal life.’  
 ‘I am the Way and Giver of Life:—give thyself to me.’  
 ‘Our motion speeds the Redeemer’s praise.’

An old bell at Thirsk bears the inscription—

‘In the name of Jesus I call, sounding Mary in the world.’

The bells dedicated to the Virgin have such labels as these—

‘I am called Mary: I disperse the storms, scatter enemies, and drive away dæmons.’

‘I sound in the world the name of Mary.’

‘I am called Mary, and sound the Rose of the World.’

‘O crowned Virgin! I will proclaim thee blessed.’

‘O Mary! by thy prayers protect those whom I call together.’

On bells in honour of St. Michael we find,

‘I laud in holy tones him who broke the sceptre of the dragon.’

‘May the Creator associate us with the angels!’

On a bell in honour of All Saints,

‘Govern us, O God! and unite us to Thy saints.’

On a bell in honour of St. Katherine,

‘In this assembly I sound sweetly the name of Katherine.’

There are many bells dedicated in the names of St. Peter and St. Paul; and on one of them is the epigraph

‘The bell of Peter sounds for the name of Christ.’

The bell of the great Minster of Schaffhausen, and another in a church near Lucerne, proclaim that they ‘mourn at funerals, disperse storms, honour festivals, excite the tardy, and pacify the turbulent.’ The monkish jingle to the same effect was a common inscription in the middle ages:—

‘Funera plango, Fulgura frango, Sabbata pango,  
 Excito lentos, Dissipo ventos, Paco cruentos.’

In a few instances the words were deemed, for what reason we cannot perceive, a charm against fire, as was the case with the inscription on the great bell of the priory of Kenilworth, preserved by Dugdale:—

‘May a healthy and willing mind, freedom for our country, and the peace of Michael and the Angels, be given by Heaven to this house for the honour of God.’

An actual fire-bell (cast 1652) in the church of Sherborne has upon it the distich—

‘Lord! quench this furious flame;  
 Arise, run, help, put out the same.’

A local



A local poet seems to have resided about this period in the town, for in the same tower a bell, recast in 1670 from one which was said to have been brought by Cardinal Wolsey from Tournay, has a second couplet, which bears a strong resemblance to the first in style:—

‘ By Wolsey’s gift I measure time for all ;  
To mirth, to grief, to church, I serve to call.’

The original Great Tom of Lincoln (1610) announced that it was dedicated ‘ to sound sweetly unto salvation, of the Holy Spirit proceeding from the Father and the Son.’ A bell in Carlisle Cathedral, dated 1667, has this exhortation:—

‘ I warn ye how your time passes away. Serve God, therefore, while life doth last, and say *Gloria in Excelsis Deo*!’

The great bell of Glasgow Cathedral (1790) bears a wordy inscription characteristic of Scotch divines, but, though somewhat lengthy, it has a redeeming conclusion:—

‘ In the year of grace 1594, Marcus Knox, a merchant in Glasgow, zealous for the interests of the reformed religion, caused me to be fabricated in Holland for the use of his fellow-citizens of Glasgow, and placed me with solemnity in the tower of their cathedral. My function was announced by the impress on my bosom—“ Ye who hear me, come to learn of holy doctrine;” and I was taught to proclaim the hours of unheeded time. One hundred and ninety-five years had I sounded these awful warnings, when I was broken by the hands of inconsiderate and unskilful men. In the year 1790 I was cast into the furnace, refounded at London, and returned to my sacred vocation. Reader! thou also shalt know a resurrection—may it be unto eternal life!’

If there was no peculiar felicity in the old inscriptions, they were usually reverent. Here and there we meet with an exception, as in the case of ‘ Great Tom’ of Oxford, which, before it was recast in 1680, had an epigraph to the effect that in the praise of St. Thomas it rang out ‘ Bim, Bom.’ The great bell at Rouen bore a miserable stanza, which has been translated by Weever into verse that is not a great deal worse than the original:—

‘ Je suis George d’Ambois,  
Qui ai trente-cinq mille pois ;  
Mais lui qui me pesera  
Trente-six mille me trouvera.’

‘ I am George of Ambois,  
Thirty-five thousand in pois ;  
But he that shall weigh me  
Thirty-six thousand shall find me.’

In those days the ecclesiastics devised the inscriptions, but later,  
when

when the churchwarden who ordered the bell also settled the label, we must expect to find the most ridiculous specimens of parochial poetry. Thus at St. Mary's, Bentley, in Hampshire, where there are six bells, No. 1 (1703) is inscribed—

‘ John Eyer gave twenty pound  
To meck mee a losty sound.’

On No. 5 we have,

‘ Unto the church I do you call,  
Death to the grave will summons all.’

On another,

‘ Thomas Eyer and John Winslade did contrive  
To cast from four bells this peale of five.’

On a bell at Binstead, one of a peal of five,—

‘ Doctor Nicholas gave five pound  
To help cast this peal tuneabel and sound.’

On another,

‘ Samuel Knight made this ring  
In Binstead steeple for to ding. 1695.’

On a bell at Bradfield church in Berkshire,

‘ At proper times my voice I'll raise,  
And sound to my subscribers' praise.’

Nothing is too low or ludicrous for rustic tastes, and the same sort of genius which loves to embellish the leads and benches of the church with facsimiles of the soles of heavy shoes, bearing in the centre the name and age of the wearer, with the date of his carving, is equally visible in the inscriptions on bells and the epitaphs upon gravestones.

It may be presumed that the earliest use of bells in churches was to summon the congregation; but superstition soon enlisted them into her service. It then became customary at their consecration to pray that they might be endowed with power to drive away devils, and dissipate thunder-storms, hail, and tempests.\* In the opinion of those who originated the practice, the evil spirits were the cause of foul weather, and, being terrified at the saintly sound of the bells, they precipitately fled. ‘For this reason,’ to give the strange delusion in the words of the eminent ritualist Durandus, ‘the church, when a tempest is seen to arise, rings the bells, that the fiends, hearing the trumpets of the eternal King, may flee away, and cease from raising the

\* On some of the old bells the expression ‘I drive away pestilence’ occurs. In this case, perhaps, the influence was ascribed (by some at least) to natural and not to spiritual causes, for we read among the rules of Dr. Hering, against ‘pestilentiall contagion’ in 1625,—‘Let the bells in cities and townes be rung often, and the great ordnance discharged; thereby the air is purified.’



storm.' When he wrote this in 1286, the belief had already existed for centuries, and Magius centuries afterwards gravely discussed and resolved in the affirmative the questions, whether it is the fiends that brew the tempests, and whether church-bells will put to rout the fiends. There are numerous allusions to the practice in ancient manuscripts; and in parish accounts in the fifteenth century, bread, cheese, and beer are charged for the refreshment of the ringers during 'thunderings.' It was one of the 'fooleries' which Latimer exposed at the Reformation in that happy style of argument which has never been surpassed for its exact adaptation to the tastes and comprehension of illiterate hearers. 'Ye know,' he said, 'when there was a storm or fearful weather, then we rung the holy bells: they were they that must make all things well; they must drive away the devil! But I tell you, if the holy bells would serve against the devil, or that he might be put away through their sound, no doubt we would soon banish him out of all England; for I think, if all the bells in England should be rung together at a certain hour, there would be almost no place but some bells might be heard there, and so the devil should have no abiding-place in England.' No disease of the body is more hereditary and inveterate than these disorders of the mind. The Bishop of Chalons christened a peal not many years since, and in a sermon which he pronounced on the occasion enforced the 'fooleries' which Latimer had laughed away. 'The bells,' said he, 'placed like sentinels on the towers, watch over us, and turn away from us the temptations of the enemy of our salvation, as well as storms and tempests. They speak and pray for us in our troubles; they inform Heaven of the necessity of earth.' If this be true, there is more virtue in the clapper of a bell than in the tongue of a prelate. So late as 1852, the Bishop of Malta ordered all the church-bells to be rung for an hour to allay a gale. Under the auspices of a hierarchy so enlightened the custom continues to flourish to this day in many parts of the Continent, and may not impossibly endure while a tower, a bell, and a Roman Catholic priesthood can be found collected on the same spot.

In many places the practice was kept up from mere habit when the superstition had ceased, there having grown up in lieu thereof a notion that the ringing of bells dispersed storms or retained them at a distance by moving the air. An event which occurred in Britany in 1718 convinced philosophers that the means employed to drive away the lightning was singularly efficacious in drawing it down. A great storm arose on the coasts. The bells were rung in twenty-four churches, every one of which was struck, whereas all the towers which held their tongues were spared. M. Arago

has

has boldly questioned the conclusiveness of the evidence. He remarks that storms sometimes travel in long and narrow zones, that the specified churches may have occupied just such a strip, that the injuries done to the ringers would make a deep impression, while the slight cracks and displaced bits of plaster in neighbouring edifices, which were equally scathed, would pass unobserved. The story indeed proves too much. If the lightning picked out the towers where the bells were rung in this complete and unerring manner, a usage which had prevailed for centuries must have destroyed half the churches and ringers in the world. A single circumstance explains the tale. The storm happened on Good Friday, when not a bell is permitted to sound. Some accident occurred, and the people at once exclaimed that it was a judgment for infringing the precepts of the Church: the rest was the exaggeration of ignorance and superstition, ever ready to make a marvel. In 1769 the tower of Passy was struck during the ringing of the protecting peal, and again much was said of the mischief of the system; but this example was in direct contradiction to the legend of Brittany, for two other neighbouring towers within the limits of the storm, in which the bells were set going, remained untouched. The general result was, that educated people denounced the plan, and Roman Catholic ecclesiastics and the lower orders persevered in patronising it. The secular authorities interposed in some parts of Europe to put it down. The King of Prussia directed an ordinance, prohibiting the practice, to be read in 1783 in all the churches of his dominions, and the same was done in the Palatinate and several dioceses in France. The Prefect of Dordogne found it necessary in 1844 to repeat the order; and, to prove that pretended science can be as blind to evidence as superstition itself, he assured the people that to ring the bells was 'an *infallible* method of causing the lightning to strike.' Whether these agitations of the air have any effect at all upon tempests, is considered by M. Arago to be still undecided. It was till lately the usage in particular districts of France to fire small cannon or mortars to ward off such storms of hail and rain as would be destructive to the crops. The method was thought to be efficacious by those who tried it, and to indemnify them abundantly for the powder they expended. The few observations, however, of military men rather tend to the conclusion that the roar of artillery is without influence upon the weather, and, if cannon are ineffective, it would go far to show that no result has been produced by the comparatively feeble though more continuous sound of bells. On one point at least M. Arago is decided—that it has never been demonstrated that they increase the danger. In no single instance is there any valid reason to suppose



suppose that ringing has brought down lightning upon buildings which would otherwise have escaped. M. Arago points out that the ringers, nevertheless, are in a perilous position. As the highest objects are commonly struck, church-towers offer a prominent mark; the rope, moistened by the humid atmosphere, is a powerful conductor, and the charge is lodged in the man at the end of it. If no one is present, and the rope is left hanging, as is usually the case, at a certain distance from the ground, it is possible for the lightning to make the circuit of the loop at the extremity, and return by the way it came, without leaving within the tower any trace of its visit. A German *savant* calculated in 1783 that in the space of thirty-three years 386 towers had been damaged and 121 ringers killed. The same flash being constantly fatal to more than one of the company, the total of deaths is not the measure of the number of churches which were struck during a peal. In 1755 three ringers were killed in a belfry, together with four children who were standing underneath. In 1768 a flash was fatal to two men in a church-tower in Dauphiné, and wounded nine more. It is therefore evident that, if bells have any power whatever over storms, it is not sufficiently rapid or marked to counterbalance the risk to the ringers.

After the discovery had been made of the potency of bells in terrifying spirits, they were naturally employed in all the matters in which fiends were reputed to interfere. It was the weapon with which St. Anthony fought the legion of demons who tormented him during his long eremitical life, and in the figures which were drawn of him during the middle ages he is represented as carrying a bell in his hand, or suspended from his staff. The passing-bell, which was formerly tolled for those who were dying, or passing out of the world, as well as the peal which was rung after their death, grew out of the belief that devils troubled the expiring patient, and lay in wait to afflict the soul at the moment when it escaped from the body; yea, occasionally even to do battle for it with good or guardian angels—a scene, by the way, given in apparently the oldest remains of Etrurian, if not of Egyptian art. The tolling of the passing-bell was retained at the Reformation, and the people were instructed that its use was to admonish the living and excite them to pray for the dying. To discourage the fancy that demons could assault the liberated soul, or that the jingling of bells would deter them from their purpose, only a single short peal was to be rung after death. In the articles of inquiry in different dioceses at various periods, inquisition is made both as to keeping up the practice of tolling the passing-bell, and the discontinuance of the former superstitious ringing. The injunction began to be neglected towards the close  
of

of the seventeenth century, and by the beginning of the eighteenth the passing-bell, in the proper sense of the term, had almost ceased to be heard. The tolling, indeed, continued in the old fashion, but it took place after the death instead of before. The short peal that was once the peculiar signal to announce that some mortal had put on immortality, is still rung in many places as the prelude or the conclusion to the tolling, though it has no longer any meaning. It is less surprising that the usage should have been given up than that it should have lasted so long. It must often have been a bitter pang to relations to order the doom of those to be sounded whose lives were dearer to them than their own, and an aggravation of their misery to have their ears, as they sat by the dying bed, filled with the sorrowful knell. It must frequently have dismayed the patients themselves, and hastened, if it did not sometimes cause, the event it foretold. Nelson said of the dying Christian, in his 'Fasts and Festivals' (1732), that, 'should his senses hold out so long, he can hear even his passing-bell without disturbance.' Such was the case with Lady Catherine Grey, who died in the Tower in 1567. The question of the Governor to one of the attendants—'Were it not best to send to the church that the bell may be rung?'—caught her ear, and she herself answered, 'Good Sir Owen, let it be so.' A Mrs. Margaret Duck, who departed this life in 1646, on finding her end draw near, summoned her family to take leave of her, and then gave orders herself for the bell to give out its warning note. But these were the minority, and many felt more like the swearer mentioned in the 'Anatomy of Abuses,' who, 'hearing the bell toll for him, rushed up in his bed very vehemently.' Now and then, in spite of the bell, the patient recovered, and of this old Fuller gives a curious instance. His father called upon Dr. Fenton, a divine, who, after some conversation, apologised for leaving him. 'Mr. Fuller,' said he, 'hear how the passing-bell tolls for my dear friend Dr. Felton, now a-dying; I must to my study, it being mutually agreed upon betwixt us in our healths that the survivor of us should preach that other's funeral-sermon.' But 'my dear friend Dr. Felton, now a-dying,' recovered, and lived ten years after he had preached, in fulfilment of the compact, the funeral-sermon of Dr. Fenton!

Whatever was the origin of the curfew, or *couvre-feu*, which was rung at eight o'clock as a signal for the inhabitants to put out their fires and go to bed, its object, as far as it can be traced, was exclusively social or political, and not religious. The introduction of the practice into England is usually ascribed to William the Conqueror, and the most plausible conjecture as to its purpose is, that it was to diminish the risk of extensive conflagrations



flagrations at a period when houses were principally of wood. Milton has described it in a couplet sonorous and musical as the bell itself:—

‘ On a plat of rising ground,  
I hear the far-off curfew sound,  
*Over some wide-watered shore,*  
*Swinging slow, with solemn roar.*’

It is an instance of the tenacity with which we cling to a practice once established, that, though for centuries its only use has been ‘to toll the knell of parting day,’ it continues to be rung wherever there are funds to pay the ringer, and few who have been accustomed to its sound that would not feel, if it was hushed, that a soothing sentiment had been taken out of their lives.

The manifold other purposes to which bells are applied are too familiar for description. They are the appointed voice of public rejoicing, and sound for every festive event. They ring in the new year, the new sovereign, the new mayor, the new squire, and the new rector; for hope is stronger than memory, expectation than gratitude, and the multitude feel that their life is in the future and not in the past. Often the peal breaks forth on unworthy, and in the last generation was sometimes employed on shameful, occasions. Mr. Brand had known it called into requisition to celebrate the winning of a ‘long main’ at cock-fighting. But the commonest application of its merry music is to proclaim that two lovers have just been made happy. ‘Well is it,’ says Mr. Gatty, ‘when all continues to go

Merry as a marriage bell.

Alas! we have known sequels to such a beginning, with which the knell had been more in unison!’ So thought one Thomas Nash,\* who in 1813 bequeathed fifty pounds a-year to the ringers of the Abbey Church, Bath, ‘on condition of their ringing on the whole peal of bells, with clappers muffled, various *solemn and doleful changes* on the 14th of May in every year, being the anniversary of my wedding-day; and also the anniversary of my

\* In the days of his namesake all the visitors to the city were welcomed by a peal from the Abbey, a compliment which cost them half-a-guinea. The company, thus apprised of every fresh arrival, used to send and inquire for whom the bells rang. Anstey describes the practice in his ‘New Bath Guide:’—

‘ No city, dear mother, this city excels  
In charming sweet sounds both of fiddles and bells.  
I thought like a fool that they only would ring  
For a wedding, a judge, or the birth of a king;  
But I found ’twas for me that the good-natur’d people  
Rung so hard that I thought they would pull down the steeple;  
So I took out my purse, as I hate to be shabby,  
And paid all the men when they came from the Abbey.’

decease to ring a grand bob-major, and *merry mirthful peals* unmuffled, in joyful commemoration of my happy release from domestic tyranny and wretchedness.'

Passing from the realities of tangible bells, we may advert for a moment to the stories which belong to the regions of illusion or romance. Uhland refers to one of these traditions in his poem of 'The Lost Church,' which Lord Lindsay, whose translation we quote, supposes to have been founded on an ancient tradition of the Sinaitic peninsula:—

' Oft in the forest far one hears  
A passing sound of distant bells;  
Nor legends old nor human wit  
Can tell us whence the music swells.  
From the Lost Church 'tis thought that soft  
Faint ringing cometh on the wind:  
Once, many pilgrims trod the path,  
But no one now the way can find.'

Similar legends of churches swallowed up, and of their bells sending out their wonted music on certain occasions from the depths of the earth, are attached to several localities. At a place called Fisherty-Brow, near Kirkby Lonsdale, there is a sort of natural basin, where, according to the *superstitio loci*, a church, the clergyman, and the congregation were engulfed, and here the bells may be heard ringing on a Sunday morning by any one who puts his ear to the ground. A like fate was said to have befallen the entire village of Raleigh, in Nottinghamshire; and it was formerly the custom for the inhabitants on Christmas morning to go out to the valley and listen to the mysterious chimes of their lost parish church. According to a tradition at Tunstall, in Norfolk, the churchwardens and parson disputed for the possession of some bells which had become useless because the tower was burnt. While the quarrel was in progress the arch-fiend stepped in and carried off the bells. The parson pursued him with hot haste and much Latin, but the evil one dived into the earth with his ponderous burthen, and the place where he disappeared is marked by a boggy pool, popularly known by the name of Hell-hole. Notwithstanding the aversion of the powers of darkness to such sounds, even these bells are sometimes permitted to favour their native place with a ghostly peal. Many more such traditions, slightly varied, exist both here and abroad.

None of these histories of phantom bells, whose voice has come 'upon the wind,' can be more remarkable than the circumstance related by the ever agreeable author of 'Eöthen.' He was travelling, seated on his camel, in the desert, and, having  
closed



closed his eyes against the fierce glare, he gradually fell asleep.

'After a while,' he says, 'I was gently awakened by a peal of church bells—my native bells—the innocent bells of Marlen, that never before sent forth their music beyond the Blaygon hills! I roused myself and drew aside the silk that covered my eyes, and plunged my bare face into the light. Then, at least, I was well enough wakened; but still those old Marlen bells rang on, not ringing for joy, but properly, prosily, steadily, yet merrily ringing 'for church!' After a while the sound died away slowly; it happened that neither I, nor any of my party, had a watch by which to measure the exact time of its lasting, but it seemed to me that about ten minutes had passed before the bells ceased. I attributed the effect to the great heat of the sun, the perfect dryness of the clear air through which I moved, and the deep stillness of all around us; it seemed to me that these causes, by occasioning a great tension and consequent susceptibility of the hearing organs, had rendered them liable to tingle under the passing touch of some mere memory that must have swept across my brain in a moment of sleep. Since my return to England it has been told me that like sounds have been heard at sea; and that the sailor becalmed under a vertical sun in the midst of the wide ocean, has listened in trembling wonder to the chime of his own village bells. Referring to my journal, I found that the day was Sunday, and, roughly allowing for the difference of longitude, I concluded that, at the moment of my hearing that strange peal, the church-going bells of Marlen must have been actually calling the prim congregation of the parish to morning prayer. I could not allow myself a hope that what I had experienced was anything other than an illusion. It would have been sweeter to believe that my kneeling mother, by some pious enchantment, had asked and found this spell to rouse me from my forgetfulness of God's holy day.'

It was impossible in Mr. Kinglake's case that the ringing in his ears could be caused by actual bells; but at sea, where there is a wide unbroken expanse, with nothing to check the sound until it is reflected to the ears of the crew from the sails, a peal, in a favourable state of atmosphere and wind, will sometimes be heard at an enormous distance. A ship's company could distinctly distinguish the bells of Rio Janeiro when they were 70 miles from the coast.

When ships go down in a tempest a warning bell is said to be heard amid the storm: and on land it is no uncommon notion that its prophetic tongue will sometimes announce to persons who are about to die their impending doom.

'The death-bell thrice was heard to ring,  
An ærial voice was heard to call,  
And thrice the raven flapp'd its wing  
Around the towers of Cumnor Hall.'

Rogers, in his lines on an 'Old Oak,' alludes to the same superstition :—

‘ There, once, the steel-clad knight reclined,  
His sable plumage tempest-toss’d ;  
And as the death-bell smote the wind  
From towers long fled by human kind,  
His brow the hero cross’d.’

Until its cause was discovered no sound could have seemed more supernatural than the note of the Campanero, or Bell-bird of Demerara, which is of snowy whiteness, and about the size of a jay. A tube, nearly three inches long, rises from its forehead, and this feathery spire the bird can fill with air at pleasure. Every four or five minutes in the depths of the forest its call may be heard from a distance of three miles, making a tolling noise like that of a convent bell. What a tale of wonder might have been founded on such sounds in such a wilderness !

The pleasant story of the Bells of Bow bringing back the poor runaway apprentice by their cheering burthen—

‘ Turn again Whittington, thrice Lord Mayor of London,’—

seems to belong to the fabulous part of our subject ; but it has perhaps, after all, a substratum of truth, and indicates a disposition, of which there are other traces, to interpret the language of the belfry by the wishes of the heart. There is an anecdote told in many old books of a rich and well-born dame who had fallen in love with her valet, consulting a priest upon the expediency of taking the dear man for her husband. The priest bid her listen to the bells and follow their direction. With unmistakable distinctness they pealed forth in her ears, ‘ *Marry your valet, marry your valet, marry your valet.*’ A few weeks afterwards she reappeared before her father confessor, told him of the misery of the match, and complained that the bells had misled her. ‘ It is you,’ replied he, ‘ that must have misinterpreted the bells : go and listen again.’ She went accordingly, and this time they said, with vehement perspicuity, ‘ *Don’t marry your valet, don’t marry your valet, don’t marry your valet.*’

From the nature of the associations connected with them, as well as from their inherent charm, it is no wonder that bells should have exerted an influence on the mind in every age and clime.

‘ What music is there that compared may be  
With well-tuned bells’ enchanting melody ?  
Breaking with their sweet sounds the willing air,  
They in the listening ear the soul ensnare.’

These lines, which are inscribed in the belfry of St. Peter’s church at Shaftesbury, first made Bowles in love with poetry.

‘ The



'The enchanting melody' had an Orpheus-like power over the rude pedantry of Dr. Parr. He once conceived the design of treating at large upon Campanology, and many and pressing were the calls upon the pockets of his friends for the peal at Hatton. On going to reside he made several changes, and he specifies as one of them, that 'Bells chime three times as long.' Even the soul of the conqueror who had devastated Europe was stirred in its inmost depths by the simple sound. 'When we were at Malmaison,' says Bourrienne of Napoleon, 'how often has the booming of the village bell broken off the most interesting conversations! He stopped, lest the moving of our feet might cause the loss of a single beat of the tones which charmed him. The influence, indeed, was so powerful that his voice trembled with emotion while he said, That recalls to me the first years I passed at Brienne.' None have more reason to be affected by the associations which bring back the days of comparative innocence and peace than the troubled spirits who are entangled in the labyrinths of a guilty ambition. But of all the instances of the power of bells 'to touch a sympathetic chord of the heart,' the most moving is the tradition told in connection with the peal of Limerick cathedral. It is said to have been brought from a convent in Italy, for which it had been manufactured by an enthusiastic native, with great labour and skill. The Italian, having afterwards acquired a competency, fixed his home near the convent cliff, and for many years enjoyed the daily chime of his beloved bells. But in some political convulsion which ensued the monks were driven from their monastery, the Italian from his home, and the bells were carried away to another land. After a long interval the course of his wanderings brought him to Limerick. On a calm and beautiful evening, as the vessel which bore him floated along the broad stream of the Shannon, he suddenly heard the bells peal forth from the cathedral tower. They were the long-lost treasures of his memory. Home, happiness, friends—all early recollections were in their sound. Crossing his arms on his breast, he lay back in the boat. When the rowers looked round they saw his face still turned to the cathedral—but his eyes had closed for ever on the world.

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- ART. III.—1. *Encyclopædia Britannica*. Eighth edition. Edinburgh, 1853. 4to. Art. 'Architecture.'  
 2. *Proceedings of the Liverpool Architectural and Archæological Society*. 4to. Vol. I. Liverpool, 1852.  
 3. *The Builder*, No. 609. London, 1854.  
 4. *The Building Chronicle: a Journal of Architecture and the Arts*. Edinburgh, 1854.

THE last five-and-twenty years have been a period of very unusual activity in architecture both in this country and upon the continent. The art has been thoroughly roused from the torpor into which it had fallen at the end of the eighteenth century. Opportunities, which were contingent upon accident, and therefore to be speculated upon only as improbable possibilities, have had no small share in this result. The spirit once excited spread far and wide, confirming the truth of the French proverb, *L'appétit vient en mangeant*. That demand creates supply, is a well known maxim in political economy; and hardly less true is it that supply creates demand.

At the present day far more attention is paid to architectural appearance, or what Mr. Garbett quaintly terms 'politeness,' than formerly. A numerous class of buildings—to wit, private banks, insurance and other offices, which used to make so little pretension to external character as to be scarcely distinguishable from the ordinary houses around them—now contribute to the adornment of our streets. Although not exactly public buildings, they shame several which are included in that prouder title. Nor are their façades altogether without practical utility, especially to strangers; inasmuch as being conspicuous objects they serve as landmarks, by breaking up the bewildering and tiresome monotony which is the sole characteristic of many parts of the metropolis.

Of late years, moreover, entirely new classes of buildings have been called into being by the changes incident to a progressive age, such as Railway Stations, Public Baths and Wash-houses, Bazaars, Arcades, and covered Markets. To these we may add a variety of Galleries, Museums, and Exhibition Rooms, which were places of amusement never dreamt of in the good old days of Ranelagh and Vauxhall—the first now vanished utterly, the second the mere ghost of its former self. There are other buildings still, which, if not new in purpose, have assumed a new form, and, in compliance with the humour of the time, are planned with a regard to effect. Schools and provincial colleges, hospitals and almshouses, nay, even Union workhouses affect to 'have a taste,' which, in some of the last, has been so little in keeping



keeping with their purpose as to have obtained for them the name of 'palaces of pauperism.' We have heard, on tolerably trustworthy authority, that not long ago the owner of a genuine Elizabethan mansion withdrew from it in disgust, on a large Union of the same school of architecture being erected almost within sight of his windows. For our own part we should not be sorry were its application to such incongruous purposes to diminish the present partiality for a style which is chiefly characterised by uncouth stateliness, and is ill adapted to the accommodation rendered necessary in a modern residence by increased refinement in the mode of living. In general, it may be remarked that, notwithstanding our progress in other respects,\* we have rather degenerated from the taste which was displayed by our nobility in the last century, in some of their truly palatial country-houses. The race of the Wansteads, Worksops, and Wentworths have no successors at the present day; the princely and, though not faultless, almost peerless Holkham, has now no rising competitor: our Leicesters and our Burlingtons are no more.

The number of buildings erected, and the increased pretensions of the designs, are not the only favourable symptoms. We have got a chartered Royal Institute of British Architects, and architectural societies and associations planted nearly through the length and breadth of the land. We have had, and are, it seems, now to have again, Architectural Exhibitions secure from the step-motherly caressings of the Royal Academy. There is a special Architectural Publication Society; *item*, an Architectural Museum. Architectural periodicals—such as the 'Builder'—have been established among us; and the subject is treated both more fully and frequently than formerly in miscellaneous journals. Still there are shadows as well as lights in the picture, and, we

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\* One of the most important improvements of late years is *hypæthral fenestration*, or the lighting halls, galleries, saloons, libraries, and similar rooms from above. In proportion to the size of the apertures a far larger quantity of light is admitted, and it is more equably diffused. The 'great room' of the Hall of Commerce in Threadneedle-street would be little better than darkness visible, were its three ceiling windows to be transferred to one of the side walls. Among the many advantages attending hypæthral fenestration, we may enumerate these:—It admits of greater diversity of design than what is of necessity the usual mode; it enables the architect to bring in one of the principal rooms where it would otherwise be impossible; it shuts out from view, what, if seen, would be unsightly; it conduces to regularity and *balance* by allowing design to be kept up and decoration carried on continuously, whereas the effect is marred when one side of a room is cut up by being nearly all window in the daytime, and nearly all drapery of an evening; it produces variety by the contrast between the sky-lighted and window-lighted rooms; and it admits of still further contrast at night by burning the gas *externally*—a mode that has already been practised in one or two instances, and is capable of being made particularly striking.

fear, ugly blemishes also, that are not likely to be removed without considerable effort.

Among the worst evils under which architecture labours in the present day, is the general faith in the virtue of competition. The system has been tried in a variety of ways, and has never succeeded. The manager of the Haymarket Theatre offered five hundred pounds for the best comedy, and got for his money a piece which was not worth five pence; religious societies have proposed innumerable prizes for essays on all sorts of subjects, and have failed to obtain a single pamphlet of average merit; an occasional picture has been procured by this method by some dissenting community, and the result was a daub. Men of eminence refuse to expose themselves to the chances of such a contest; and though architects are an exception on great occasions, even they, if of any sort of note in their profession, will not risk failure for a trifling object. Hence in the immense majority of cases it is only inferior ability which is brought into play, and even such as it is it works at a disadvantage, inasmuch as the artist is more intent upon producing, with the least expenditure of thought and time, some showy elevation to catch the eye of the vulgar spectator, than upon elaborating a plan which will obtain the permanent approbation of the public. Yet, let the talent which enters the lists be ever so great, and the designs ever so good, nothing is gained unless the judges are competent and impartial. In general they are neither. Many of the committees who advertise for plans are guilty of a fraud on the profession. They have commonly their favourite candidate, who is a resident in the place, or is connected with some influential member of their body, and the herd of architects are invited to sacrifice their time and money for no other purpose than to enhance the merit of this lucky individual, and to give a show of fairness to a job. With the best intentions, the tribunal would rarely be qualified to decide, and this brings us to say something on the imperfect knowledge possessed by the public of the qualities which constitute beauty in the art.

Contrary to what might be presumed from the manner in which the productions of the architect are broadly thrust upon the general gaze, their most distinguishing characteristics make but a faint impression upon those who are unable to look at them with an educated eye. Nothing can truly be said to be seen of a building beyond what is specifically noticed and comprehended, and how little in this sense is commonly taken in by spectators is evident from the circumstance that even a painter is altogether at a loss how to represent a piece of architecture, unless he is acquainted with each of its component parts. That he will be able,



able, at least, to produce something like his model, is not disputed; but though it may be passable as to general resemblance it will be crude and spiritless, because those nicer distinctions and qualities which are not perceived by the mind cannot be expressed by the hand.

Besides eyesight, some *insight* into the principles of architecture is necessary in order to obtain that ready apprehension of its productions which nature itself bestows in the case of painting and sculpture, dealing as they do with the express imitation of natural objects. In them the mere imitation is directly perceived by all, without any preparatory training whatever. They afford some pleasure even to the least informed, whose satisfaction is generally proportionate to the matter-of-fact exactness of the representation. With architecture it is different: in spite of all that Mr. Ruskin has written to the contrary, it neither can nor ought to attempt to imitate nature. It then steps out of its legitimate sphere into absurdity, and is hardly less preposterous than the reverse process which formerly prevailed in gardening, when hedges were clipped into formal green walls and trees curiously cut into statues. The Γνωθὶ Σεαυτὸν is a precept of the utmost importance in all the fine arts. Notwithstanding the example of the Sistine chapel even painting has, in our opinion, frequently passed its proper boundary when, called in to the embellishment of architecture, it has almost turned it out of doors, unroofing rooms by representing sky and clouds upon ceilings, or obliterating every indication of solid wall by covering the sides of apartments with figures or landscapes. Flowers and foliage are all that architecture can properly borrow from nature, and these are only applicable for palpable ornament. The more conventionally, too, they are treated the better, because they are then most in accordance with the *nature* of architecture itself. Mr. Ruskin protests against their being regularly disposed so as to form wreaths or festoons, the mode in which they lend themselves best to architectural embellishment. Of such symmetrical and consequently artificial arrangement, he is, according to his wont, dogmatically intolerant. No one can gainsay the truth of his assertion that flowers do not group themselves in such formal shapes, but we dissent entirely from his inconsistent *ergo*, and merely remark that neither do leaves sprout up upon the capitals of columns and curl around them. Our enthusiastic lover of nature himself has no admiration for some of its productions, and he cannot abide the 'Ribstone pippins' which he fancies he detects in the festoons on the exterior of Wren's noble cathedral. To say the truth, a large part of Mr. Ruskin's architectural doctrines are not worth serious discussion.

'Copiousness

'Copiousness of words, however ranged,' says Lady Mary Montagu, 'is always false eloquence, though it will ever impose on some understandings.' It is this declamation, accompanied by a confidence of assertion, of which we know no parallel example, that beguiled the 'unskilful' into the commendation of vagaries which 'made the judicious grieve.' His recent extravagances have dispelled the illusion, and there is no longer reason to dread the deformities which might otherwise have risen at his bidding.

Notwithstanding the general ignorance of the rudiments of architecture, most persons take an interest in seeing buildings of more than ordinary pretension. *Quantity* speaks to every eye; not so artistic *quality*, and seldom do they look for anything beyond what is apparent on a hasty glance. In like manner the worth of the material is more easily understood than that of the design, and even as

'A saint in crape is twice a saint in lawn,'

so does stone, in the common apprehension, raise an edifice at once to the rank of 'architecture' which, if executed in brick, would be passed by unregarded. Yet it is surely the reverse of satisfactory to find the best material bestowed, as it often is, on very inferior designs, and durability given to buildings which would be universally considered eyesores, if the vision of the public could only be purged by some æsthetic *euphrasy*. Who possessing any feeling for architecture can look upon the front of the London Guildhall without regretting that it was not constructed of 'lath and plaster,' that it might long since have returned to a shapeless heap of rubbish?

As mistakes made in brick or stone do not admit of being rectified, like the misprints in a book, by a list of *errata* and *corrigenda*, every possible precaution should obviously be taken before commencing the work. Rarely does a building attain to what may be called a second edition, by undergoing only just so much alteration as improves without effacing the original design. However discreditable it may be to our national taste, an edifice once erected must keep its ground till time has whittled it away, or the pressing demands of sheer utility reclaim the site. In nothing, however, is less care used to guard against positive errors, or to produce the maximum of effect that means and circumstances will allow. In some cases considerable, and of course expensive alterations, have been made in the design while it was in the process of execution. When the present Buckingham Palace was in progress, the wings were pulled down and rebuilt; before Bridgewater House was roofed in, some large  
internal



internal walls were demolished.\* But such instances of tardy amendment are very few. In general the evil goes on to its unalterable conclusion, and innumerable are the existing edifices in which what is not bad might have been rendered positively good, and what is good still better, had the architect's plans been thoroughly examined and deliberately considered beforehand.

The main cause of this negligence is the inability of most persons to form any judgment from drawings of what the building will be. The language which architectural design of necessity employs to express its conceptions, though easy to be acquired, is an unknown tongue to people in general. Those who would smile if they were asked whether they could understand a map, would think it unreasonable to be expected to comprehend a plan. A 'section' is a mystery which they would at once throw aside in despair, and even an 'elevation' is considered to be only an awkward, formal, and disagreeable kind of picture. It is by no means easy to make them see the relative nature and value of geometric and perspective representations, and that both are indispensable for complete illustration of a structure. Geometrical delineation gives the exact forms and dimensions of objects; perspective shows the *images* of them,—not as they are in themselves, but as they appear to the eye, according to the direction and distance from which they are viewed. The latter mode does not need an interpreter, for habit has caused it to speak intelligibly to all; and the simplicity of the other would make it equally intelligible if a very little instruction on the subject were to form a portion of general education. To say nothing of the value, under almost any circumstances, of some acquaintance with a study which trains the eye to accuracy of observation, and which is the copious source of so pure

\* This was done in order to convert what was at first intended for two small inner courts, with the principal staircase placed between them, into a large central hall. It admits of question whether it would not have been better, after removing the staircase to where it now stands, to have thrown the two little courts together and formed an inner cortile. The corridors around it would have remained as at present, with no other difference than that of their arcades being filled in with windows, affording a view of what might have been made a strikingly ornate piece of 'exterior' design, introduced where it could be contemplated from within the mansion itself. Now that it forms a portion of the interior it is brought into contrast with the other apartments; and although no exception is to be taken to its own proportions, it is so spacious and lofty in comparison with the rooms to which it is only an approach, as to diminish—certainly to moderate—the impression they would otherwise make. In Northumberland House, which is not for the most part a model of plan, the approach to the lower suite of rooms is exceedingly unpretending, and the Gallery, or rather saloon, which is placed at their extremity, is rendered all the more striking in consequence. Even the 'Mansion House' presents this valuable quality of climax, which is usually overlooked in designs—the so-called Egyptian Hall being placed in the rear of the other rooms.

an enjoyment, as to be utterly incapable of any taint of sensuality, it would plainly be to the advantage of the art itself, and of those who practise it—supposing them to practise it worthily—if the public were able to read its productions. Its professors would then be compelled to keep pace with the increased information of their patrons; and would be stimulated to diligence by the encouraging assurance that superior talent would be competently appreciated even when displayed upon paper. Designs would thenceforth be regarded as works of art in themselves; instead of being looked upon as mere patterns, because they neither are, nor assume to be, pictures also. There is nothing, we will venture to affirm, to hinder any one, with taste for the study, from understanding and relishing architectural plans quite as thoroughly as those who belong to the profession.

Architects, however, taken as a body, while complaining heavily of the popular ignorance, are extremely jealous of any effort to remove it, and, we fear, they would be the last to say honestly—‘Go and learn,’ or even ‘Come and be taught.’ In this, in our opinion, they show themselves short-sighted. In their eagerness to escape from some inconvenience, they plunge into far greater difficulties. The discernment that is too blind to distinguish imperfections is the discernment they require: a seemingly comfortable state of matters, no doubt, but attended with this disadvantage, that those who are pleased out of ignorance may be equally displeased on no better grounds. The dread of criticism and the attempt to discourage it is in fact, from first to last, mistaken policy, because nothing tends so much to excite interest and keep it alive. ‘I would rather,’ said Dr. Johnson, ‘be attacked than unnoticed; for the worst thing you can do to an author is to be silent as to his works. An assault upon a town is a bad thing; but starving it is still worse: an assault may be unsuccessful; you may have more men killed than you kill; but if you starve the town, you are sure of victory.’ Summary verdicts, however honest and just in themselves, only ask an uninquiring, passive, drowsy acquiescence, and can neither communicate instruction nor awaken interest. In other departments of art, as well as in literature, detailed criticism of individual works, far from being considered unnecessary or unwelcome, forms the staple of no small quantity of writing and printing; and it is curious that architecture, unless in special publications, should hitherto have been almost an exception to the rule. There is no danger that amateurs will trespass on the professional preserves, for besides that the actual exercise of the calling involves much that is the reverse of pleasurable, it demands long and special training. There is the same difference between comprehending  
and



and practising the art as there is between reading and writing a book. The union of very opposite and almost incompatible talents is required to constitute a complete architect. He ought to be a very Cerberus of ability, with a leash of heads, one for business, one for practical science, and a third for art;—such a combination of *capita*, that we fear it is rarely found on one pair of shoulders. We farther fear there are some who are entirely wanting in the last and most essential of these heads, and who, nevertheless, contrive, in consequence of the want of discrimination in the public, to get credit for possessing it.

Such observations upon buildings as are met with in works designed for the guidance of ordinary readers are not even good in their kind. ‘Of the impediments to the progress of architecture there is one which claims more particular notice, viz. the absence of genuine criticism. Most of the criticism found in itineraries, in the literary department of works illustrating architecture, and in others of a similar nature, is written in Cimmerian darkness.’ Such is the remark made by Mr. S. Huggins in an admirable paper on ‘The Architecture of the Day,’ in the first volume (as yet the only one) of the ‘Proceedings of the Liverpool Architectural and Archæological Society,’—a collection highly creditable to its authors, and which contains many other ably-written papers, which we should like to see reprinted in a more popular shape.\* These Proceedings altogether afford proof of an energy and spirit that contrasts strikingly with the *fainéant* listlessness of the ‘Royal Institute.’ ‘The Cimmerian darkness,’ so justly complained of by Mr. Huggins, is at once both a cause and an effect. Those who furnish this kind of letterpress are well aware that their readers are still less enlightened than themselves. However intelligently travellers may write upon other subjects, their comments upon buildings are either nonsensical, or meagre, and stale. They cannot even describe the edifices they have beheld in language which conveys any definite ideas. Indeed criticism and description are usually condensed into one or two hackneyed epithets, which are like the answer of Shakespeare’s clown, that served for all questions. Nor does clear and graphic writing appear to be the forte of authors professedly architectural. The mantles of Vitruvius, Pausanias, and Procopius have fallen upon their successors, who have inherited their tendency to repulsive barrenness and dryness.

The manner again in which the architectural portion of local guide-books is got up generally indicates how slight is the interest

\* Many of the contributions of Mr. Huggins to ‘The Builder,’ where they shine ‘velut inter ignes Luna minores,’ are no less deserving of being collected and republished.

it possesses for the public, and how little pains are taken to create any. Worse still, the views are, with few exceptions, so paltry, that the poor buildings might complain, with Mrs. Beecher Stowe, that their soi-disant portraits had transformed them into veritable Gorgons. Not that our English guide-books are entitled to a bad pre-eminence. Many of the foreign are even worse, and, incredible as it may sound, the plates or cuts in several of the Italian works of this class are hardly to be surpassed for vileness both of drawing and of execution. We have seen a set of views of the principal modern buildings of Munich, which seem intended to warn strangers how little there is which is worthy of notice in that boasted seat of art. That such pictorial abominations should be endured at all is surprising; but what astonishes us most is that purchasers should have only Hobson's choice, and that nothing of a superior quality exists. Civic pride is strong in the inhabitants of every considerable place, and we know no method in which the local *amour propre* could be turned to such useful account as in providing the public with an 'official' guide-book, prepared and illustrated by competent persons, and brought out under the sanction of the municipal authorities. It would not be amiss if every college in our two Universities were to do the same, and furnish full descriptions, graphic as well as verbal, of their respective buildings: the expense would not be ruinous—the boon to the lovers of architecture would be great.

We look to photography, which has already achieved wonders, and which, from improvements in the process, is every day achieving greater, for many most essential services to architecture. Its delineations of buildings are incomparable, and must cause the ablest draftsman to despair of emulating them. No amount of skill and diligence could possibly attain to such perfect similitude. This fidelity, quite apart from the beauty of the productions, is of inestimable value. Excellent as drawings may be for their pictorial merits, there is always more or less doubt of their truthfulness. The better the artist, the more is he apt to indulge in the *furberia dell' arte*—putting in captivating effects which are not to be seen in the original. Deception to a practised eye is frequently written upon the pretended portrait, as when, in order to enhance the majesty of a building, the *staffage* or figures are made so much too small that the edifice appears considerably larger than it is. Falsehood is falsehood, however stated or expressed, and what good end is answered by this particular species of it we are unable to perceive, while it has the obvious disadvantage of causing disappointment when the original comes to be seen in its actual dimensions.

But though photography will, no doubt, supersede to a large extent



extent the labours of the architectural draftsman, there is one thing which must ever be beyond its powers of achievement. Not only is it incapable of getting at plans and sections, but also of producing geometrical elevations. Architects must themselves supply the requisite complement of graphic illustration, which, we are sorry to perceive, they are backward in doing. Those of the present day do not, like many of their predecessors, publish the designs of their principal works, and which, being engraved from their own papers, would be accredited documents. The building itself cannot be visited by many, or must be hastily and therefore imperfectly studied. The engraving brings the cathedral, the palace, the gallery, within our own doors, and is a source of constantly recurring pleasure. Neither must it be overlooked that, although a solid construction may be expected to last, under ordinary influences, for an indefinite length of time, its duration may be cut short either through the accident of fire, or by deliberate demolition. Instances of the first are hardly necessary: let Wyatt's Pantheon, the admired of all admirers in its day, serve as an *instar omnium*. But many will imagine that nothing has been destroyed intentionally that was worth preserving, or that it has only been swept away to make room for something better. Where, then, are Wanstead and Worksoy? where Carlton House, with its beautiful portico and piquantly scenic circular dining-room? where that bit of choice Palladianism, by Burlington, the façade of General Wade's house in Cork Street?\*. Where Sir R. Taylor's wings to the Bank, or Sir J. Soane's 'Board of Trade,' his Scala Regia and Royal Gallery? and, not to be tedious, where is the noble front of the Excise Office† in Broad Street? When complete destruction has not levelled the building with the ground, there has in many cases been such a change, and sometimes, we admit, for the better, as to amount to complete metamorphosis. The old College of Physicians, in Warwick Lane, which was a work of Wren's, has been transformed into a slaughter-house.

The original Oxford Street 'Pantheon' was unaccountably omitted both from the supplementary volumes to Campbell's 'Vitruvius Britannicus,' and from the new 'Vitruvius Britanni-

\* The beauty of the front and the inconvenience of the interior led Lord Chesterfield to say that, 'as the General could not live in it to his ease, he had better take a house over against it, and look at it.'

† The recent destruction of this edifice deserves to be reprobated as an act of barbaric vandalism. We have seen the Excise Office spoken of as in no respect remarkable, nor indeed was there much in it that would strike in description. Nevertheless, simple as it was, its façade had a singularly imposing appearance. The park or public front of Buckingham Palace shrinks into littleness in comparison with it.

cus' of Richardson. These collections of designs by various architects—the best, because the only ones of the kind which have been produced in this country—are singularly defective. Notwithstanding that they contain many subjects which have nothing to recommend them, they entirely pass by some of the worthiest, and very imperfectly illustrate the best that they give. Seldom is there more than a single plan and elevation; a section is a rarity; and although there are some perspective engravings in Campbell's volumes, they are all 'bird's-eye' views, which are useless for any of the purposes of study, and as pictures are detestable. No representation is to be found in our 'British Vitruvius,' of the colonnades in the court-yard of Burlington House; nor, greatly as they have been extolled, does any drawing of them ever appear to have been published. St. George's, Bloomsbury, and its namesake of Hanover Square, are equally set aside. Both are of more than average merit, and the Bloomsbury church in particular is a masterly conception, in spite of all that has been alleged against it by disingenuous hypercriticism and small-witted epigram. Owing to its *pose*, the portico (a hexastyle diprostyle) possesses an air of elegance and nobleness united, which displays itself most picturesquely from every point of view. But the satisfaction is sadly diminished when, on a nearer approach, it is found to be cut up within by the five small arched doors, and corresponding windows placed above them. Pity that a single grand doorway, or flanked at most by two smaller doors, should not be substituted for this crowded assemblage of petty apertures. In St. George's church the portico projects only a single intercolumn. Yet it 'tells well,' and it is not deficient either in energy of expression, or individual character. Here we have but three doors and no windows; and to this advantage must be added a second, by no means inconsiderable, that it has only a small belfry rising up behind it. The gain will be evident by a comparison with the famous portico of St. Martin's, which is dwarfed by the lofty and anything but well-composed or beautiful steeple immediately in its rear. Independently of their porticos, these Bloomsbury and Hanover Square churches have many excellent points, which is more than can be said of St. Martin's. The latter we suspect mainly owes its great reputation to the first hasty commendation, which, as sometimes happens, has so swelled by tradition, that everybody praises what few persons of cultivated taste would have been found to admire, if it had been built from the designs of an architect of the present day.

It would be endless to particularize all the similar oversights in Campbell and Richardson. If there were sufficient encouragement



agement to undertake a 'Vitruvius Britannicus' worthy of the name, the mere gleanings to be picked up from a field whose produce is supposed to have been carefully garnered would be equivalent to a harvest, and a harvest too of better quality than the first. From the vast improvement in architectural drawing and engraving, the more tasteful choice of subjects would be conjoined with an equal superiority of execution. The plates in Campbell's work, and the same may be said of all the productions of his time, have no other merit than that of preserving honestly but drily—intelligibly but with most prosaic hardness—the bare features of the buildings. The engravings, however, of the last century, possess the recommendation of being shaded instead of being only in outline, the method commonly adopted at present, and which has certainly the advantage of showing more accurately elaborate detail and ornament. The disadvantage is, that it does not express aggregate character and effect. Where an elevation consists of many planes, some receding from and others advancing before the principal plane, it is only by reference to the ground-plan that the design can be understood; and even when comprehended by the mind, it would not show itself to the eye. In any case indeed, if two engravings of the same subject, one in outline and the other with the addition of shadow, were placed side by side, the first would be lifeless and unsubstantial in comparison with the second. Still, outline engraving, in the hands of our English artists, has shown itself capable of vigorous expression, without forfeiting either correctness or delicacy of contour. It is otherwise on the continent, where the fashion prevails of carrying delicacy of line to a most faulty excess—to monotony, tameness, and feebleness; nay, sometimes to such indistinctness, that prints newly published have the look of being taken from worn-out plates, and, at a little distance, show scarcely better than so much blank paper.

In the advanced state to which they have now attained, lithography, chromo-lithography, and wood-engraving should be more extensively applied to architectural purposes than they are at present. In its infancy, lithography did not seem capable of ever becoming serviceable where decision of form and firmness of surface are a *sine quâ non*. Looseness, raggedness, and woolliness were then its characteristics. It seems to have now reached its culminating point, as shown in such examples as are to be found in the publications of the Messrs. Day, and in the graphic works of Haghe and Joseph Nash.\* The process of printing  
from

\* Some of the original drawings by this admirable artist, in illustration of the interior of Windsor Castle, may be pronounced matchless for their pictorial qualities

from several stones, or '*à plusieurs teints*,' is a most valuable discovery. The same may be said of chromo-lithography, which furnishes fac-simile studies of colouring, as well as design, in the various branches of decorative art. Although in itself no new invention, wood-engraving may be considered almost a new process as regards its masterly application in recent years to architectural subjects, and which proves that in able hands it is not only capable of producing extreme fineness and sharpness, but great variety of tint, both of surface and shadow. How admirably it is adapted to book illustration we need not tell those who are acquainted with the specimens in Parker's '*Glossary of Architecture*,' or Sharpe's '*Seven Periods of Church Architecture*.' In the latter, indeed, the woodcuts are scarcely distinguishable from the steel-plates, except by being printed on the same page with the letterpress.

Nothing can be better calculated to render popular the study of architecture than publications like those of Parker and Sharpe. The needlessly expensive form in which superior works of the kind have been generally brought out limits their circulation to professional persons who are compelled to make use of them, and to the wealthy few who can afford to indulge in the luxury of magnificent show-books. In many instances their preposterous size renders them well-nigh worthless to anybody. They can only be kept in the compartments of library tables, or in cases especially provided for the purpose; and when thickness is added to overgrown dimensions of length and breadth, to lift them requires an arm that could almost fell an ox. To add to the inconvenience the letterpress is often associated with the plates, where to peruse it at all is next to impossible, and is a severe penance at best. By far the most judicious plan is to print the text in a smaller companion volume. It is not against costly works that we are arguing, nor is there much occasion to dissuade from a practice that is nearly abandoned in England; but we desire to see some substitutes of equal intrinsic worth, which, while less pretentious in form, will be more practically useful. A beginning was made by John Britton about half a century ago, and his '*Architectural Antiquities*,' and his '*Cathedrals*,' found their way into book-cases where people would as soon have thought of lodging an elephant *in propria persona*, as of stabling the elephant paper folio '*Cathedrals*' of the Society of Antiquaries. Independently of other considerations, convenience of size had no small share

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qualities and exquisite beauty of execution. They were worthy of occupying a place in any gallery, and will bear comparison with the choicest productions of the kind. When water-colour paintings are prized as they deserve, these gems will be ranked among the treasures of art.

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in recommending to general notice Mr. Britton's publications, and thus diffusing a feeling for the styles exemplified in the edifices he selected, and which, as far as they were represented, were illustrated most attractively by Mackenzie, Cattermole, and others, whose productions formed an epoch in the architectural drawing of England.

When we turn from the literature to the practice of architecture we see at once that it has to guard against two insidious influences — doting antiquarianism, with its superstitious reverence for whatever is old, no matter how inapplicable to actual requirements; and fashion, self-willed, and morbidly craving after change, to obtain which it will not only tolerate, but even welcome deformity. Fixity is the principle of the one, mutation of the other. Those who insist upon rigid adherence to precedent may be allowed to show some astuteness, because they are conscious that it is the only staff upon which they can lean. It is no difficult matter to tell whether their model has been copied or abandoned, and they wisely stand up for a test which is within the compass of their powers. But if the old masters of design had acted upon the pedantic principle of their modern scholars, architecture could never have advanced beyond its infancy. It was not by servilely copying, but by studying to improve upon *their* antiquity, that they attained to excellence. The modern practice of adopting in their integrity ready-made styles which are susceptible of considerable further development, and capable of adaptation to purposes never contemplated by those who originated them, gives us, instead of the diversified conceptions of individual minds, a monotonous repetition of the same hackneyed ideas. Denied the privilege of thinking for themselves, architects at last, for want of exercising the faculty, lose the power of invention. The style itself, after its brief turn of popularity, is suddenly exploded, for either it must grow with the growth of those who use it, or they outgrow it. The more it was adapted to the particular usages and social idiosyncrasy of the period in which it flourished, the more it must be unsuitable for present practice without considerable modifications. The greater, therefore, its elasticity or capacity of accommodating itself to altered circumstances, the longer it is likely to retain its hold upon the public. The call for innovation from the new demands of the age is an assistance to genius, by directing its efforts to definite points in which utility is to be made the instrument of beauty, and originality to arise out of commonplace wants. 'He extracted an ornament,' says Dr. Johnson of Pope, 'from an inconvenience, and vanity produced a grotto where necessity enforced a passage.' If for 'vanity' we read 'taste,' the aim of architecture could

not be better expressed. The brick channel which was to convey smoke from the house was at first a disfigurement, and remains so still in the vast majority of cases, but the Tudor designers set to work to turn it to account, and drew from it the most striking of all their effects.

No one can wonder, when these things are considered, that the ultra-Grecism affected in the earlier part of the present century, when little else was required to gain credit for classical design than handing over to the stonemason the copy of a plate in Stuart's 'Athens,' has passed away. Besides that the remaining examples are comparatively few, and all more or less imperfect,—so much so, indeed, that until of late years the traces of polychromy remained undetected,—Greek architecture goes but a very little way towards supplying what is now-a-days required, and is rather to be studied for its refined taste than to be literally copied. The borrowed features and members, in the works of its last revivers, were seldom assimilated to the rest of the design, and consistency of character, and harmony of composition, were almost disregarded. The spirit of the style evaporated in the very effort to retain the letter. What there was of Greek in such productions was 'done' out of the original into the baldest English, and was scarcely better—the strongest condemnation we can pass upon it—than the contemporary Gothic. The College of Surgeons in Lincoln's Inn Fields, as originally built about forty years ago, was, notwithstanding its Ilyssus Ionic columns, a pitiful abortion. There is a very common delusion on the subject which might lead us to suppose that people judged of buildings rather through their ears than by their eyes. The essential attributes of the style itself are imputed to all the edifices which nominally belong to it. Every species, however, of architecture comprehends productions of widely different degrees of merit; for there are good things in a poor style, and exceedingly poor things in the best. The generic name vouches nothing whatever for the quality of any individual work. As much depends upon an architect's own 'style'—that is to say, his *treatment* of the style\* he adopts—as on the style itself. It seems to have been imagined that each of the great divisions of architecture was endued with some wondrous *automatic* power, and that it worked of itself in every one's hands alike. Extraordinary indeed would be the art which could so readily dispense with artistic skill.

The reaction which has taken place since the beginning of

\* A term is much wanted which would perform the same office in the architectural as in the literary vocabulary, where style denotes the peculiar manner of the writer, and not the language in which he writes.



the century has not been confined to the buildings. After affecting a plainness that might even be called ostentatious in our rooms and our furniture, in the days when insipidity went by the name of simplicity, we have now become smitten with a rage for decoration and polychromatic embellishment. The whilom grub has been transformed into a gaudy butterfly. The ultra-classic furniture of Thomas Hope has been banished to garrets, and their former contents been ransacked for antiquated gimcracks. Much of the furniture in the Great Exhibition of 1851 was only remarkable for wretched nonsensical conceits thrown into spasmodic contortions, without the poor merit of being original in its badness. The mingled extravagance and poverty of invention were none the less hideous on account of the excellence of the materials and workmanship, or rather they contributed to aggravate the deformity. In the Gore House exhibition of cabinet work, the egregious ugliness of most of the specimens was at least not secondhand.

It is no uncommon notion that ornament must of necessity be pleasing; whereas the effect may be damaged by the very means which is taken to heighten it. Ornament is one thing, the application of it another. Even the best specimens will not of themselves ensure a happy result; nor could any study of detached patterns teach the art of selecting and combining them. It is the same with furniture. Although every article in a room may be in itself unexceptionable, what should be an harmonious ensemble may prove a distracting jumble of ill-assorted objects. Many a modern drawing-room might be taken for a furniture bazaar, and the so-called men of taste who attend celebrated auctions, or hunt over the Continent for the purpose of purchasing what is rich and rare, often limit their consideration to the individual beauty of successive objects, which are absolutely unsightly when brought together. The most striking internal effects are generally found in those parts of a mansion where there is very little furniture of any description—such as vestibules, staircases, halls, corridors, and picture-galleries; and where, owing to the light being either admitted from above, or more sparingly than in sitting-rooms, there is a greater variety of light and shade. The better a room is in its plan and proportions, the less it stands in need of supplementary adornment. The majority, however, even of costly mansions, are merely cut up into a series of monotonous quadrangular spaces, and hardly exhibit more diversity than a chess-board. Hundreds of houses containing spacious apartments have not a single room that is architecturally remarkable. Everywhere we meet the same four flat walls, and, as the Greek painter reproached his pupil with

having tricked out Helen with finery, because he could not make her beautiful, so it is with us and our houses. Undoubtedly, the furniture ought to be worthy of the apartment, but the apartment itself should be superior to its equipments. In a word, the architect should, when possible, accomplish by his design a large part of what at present is left to the upholsterer. The wonderful charm of an intrinsically beautiful and well-appointed room will be felt by all who have ever had the good fortune to see the Library of Mr. Fergusson in Langham Place. To such epicures as ourselves it is truly delicious.

With all the imperfections which exist, we can still speak encouragingly of much that has been done of late. Destruction and renovation on a large scale have quite changed various quarters of the metropolis; and have given a cheerful look and civilized aspect to localities that a few years back were labyrinthine regions of noisome alleys—a terrible *terra incognita*, known only to its aborigines and the police. The broad lines of traffic which are cut through a pent-up mass of houses serve to ventilate a whole neighbourhood both physically and morally. A more respectable class of inhabitants are brought into the district, whose interest it is to maintain order and decency. The lurking-places of vice and crime are thinned out or swept away, and the poor are no longer crowded together in dens which were little better than so many Black Holes of Calcutta. Extensive improvements of the kind carry the spirit of improvement along with them, and diffuse the blessing on each side of their course. Adjacent streets catch the salutary infection, and, as occasions for repairs or rebuilding occur, the opportunity is taken to pay some attention to appearance and design. Although much very questionable taste is exhibited, there is a decided advance in this particular also, and some of the lately erected façades in New Cannon Street, and other parts of the City, are incontestably superior either to Regent Street or the Regent's Park Terraces, or to the prosaic style which has unaccountably prevailed in the aristocratic territory of Belgravia, where the houses are dull and insipid, and at the same time pretentious. With some exceptions such as these, we have broken through the systematic blankness of the Baker Street school of design, which used until the time of George IV. to be characteristic of all our street-architecture, patrician as well as plebeian, and which caused the wealthiest capital in Europe to be spoken of by foreigners as a wearisome succession of brick boxes. What few important mansions there were skulked sullenly behind dead walls, though how small was the loss from their being 'wall-veiled' may be judged from Marlborough House, now almost the last survivor of  
of



of the race, and of which, notwithstanding that it is a work of Wren's, the utmost that can be said is, that it is a piece of respectable commonplace.

In spite of all its legion of faults, its frippery, and its drawing-board style of design, it is to Regent Street that we must ascribe the various improvements which have since ensued; for though new lines of communication and traffic might have been opened, we doubt whether more would have been done than actual utility required. But the example once set, embellishment came to be regarded as a desirable and almost indispensable ingredient in every scheme of the kind. The rich commercial firms, the banks, and the insurance offices began next to aim at a display proportioned to their wealth, and with what success may be seen from the contrast which not a few of them now present to the once vaunted halls of the livery companies, which, besides being for the most part heavy and uncouth structures, have by comparison a look that seems to say *Fuimus Troes*. So it is with many large, old-fashioned houses, which, though originally occupied by the City magnates, have been converted into ordinary places of business. One often comes suddenly upon such reliques of quondam civic grandeur in narrow lanes and out-of-the-way corners, and we feel surprised that such situations should ever have been chosen for them. But at the time they were erected there were scarcely any other; for the London of that period was little more than one universal intricate maze of narrow lanes, which emulated Hogarth's line of beauty in their tortuous course. Two centuries ago the City must have been so extremely thick-set as to throw some doubt on the wisdom of our ancestors, if it were not known that the necessity to wall-in towns for their defence contracted the available ground till scarcely elbow or breathing room remained. Happily, it is not very easy for us now to picture to ourselves the condition of the flourishing cities of Europe, when even the thoroughfares, unpaved and undrained, were wrapped in gloom by day, and in utter darkness by night. From the narrowness of the streets, and the inflammable material of the houses, every fire that broke out must have threatened a conflagration, and it is no wonder that almost the whole of the city should at last have been laid in ashes. More wonderful is it perhaps that Malcolm, an antiquary and topographer, should exclaim, 'Thank God, old London was burnt!' Posterity would have greater reason to be thankful if the inhabitants had been prevailed upon to adopt Wren's proposal for rebuilding the city. Yet in one respect we have probably been gainers; for it may fairly be doubted whether Wren's strength lay in street-architecture. His St. Paul's is unquestionably

questionably a most glorious work, but most of his other numerous productions exhibit more of Dutch-built dignity than of elegance and taste.

It is in the neighbourhood of his magnificent cathedral that one of the most admirable changes of recent times has just been introduced, though falling far short of what ought long since to have been effected. It has always struck us as unaccountable that Wren should not have been able to secure a uniform disposition of the houses around that noble pile; for it is not so much want of space in the general area as excessive irregularity which gives St. Paul's the look of being squeezed up and shouldered by the neighbouring buildings. The distance between them and the church varies from about sixty to two hundred feet, and, with the exception of the Chapter-house on the north side, they nowhere stand parallel to it. Greatly is it to be regretted that the scheme brought forward nearly thirty years ago by Mr. James Elmes was dropped in consequence of the death of the Duke of York, who had promised to promote it. The plan which was published at the time was perfectly symmetrical, conforming to the ground-lines of the grand central structure, with two small crescents corresponding to the transepts and their beautiful semicircular porticoes. A third crescent, if we mistake not, for we are writing from memory, corresponded to the east extremity of the cathedral. As regarded enlargement, the proposal was by no means extravagant. In some places it would have required the houses to be brought more forward than they are at present, and the final result would have been to secure a uniform width of about 125 feet of open space. The erection of St. Paul's School, and recently of the extensive pile of building for Cook's warehouses, have placed almost insuperable obstacles in the way of such a scheme. Most welcome, therefore, is the *embouchure* into New Cannon Street, which has opened a very advantageous view of the south side; now seen at a sufficient distance, because, as the Italians say, *la grande aria mangia*—too large an area around a building detracting considerably from its importance and impressiveness, by causing it to appear smaller. But the general irregularity is as great, if not greater, than before, and the north side of the Churchyard remains untouched, with its perplexing multiplicity of breaks, lines, and angles, and its patchwork diversity of meanness and deformity. In other respects New Cannon Street is a vast improvement. Several of the buildings, especially some warehouses close by 'Cook's,' are characterised, if not by grandeur, by *largeness*. Nor do we apply the term disparagingly, for their unusual extent of frontage as well as of height, combined with a discreet sobriety of design, gives



gives them a certain nobleness of appearance. While they do not affect to be more than what they are, they do not betray that they are less, which is the case where a number of houses are clubbed together for the purpose of forming a single large façade,—the doors below plainly indicating the severality of the occupancy. With largeness in one respect, the buildings of Cannon Street have a certain degree of littleness in another, in consequence of the height being the result of an accumulation of storeys, and not of loftiness in each separate floor—a circumstance which is always injurious to dignity. The defect, if such it is to be called, is inevitable, and perhaps it is as well that the genuine palatial stamp cannot be set upon warehouses and hotels.

It is a great advantage to New Cannon Street that the ground-floors are not occupied by shops; for shopkeepers are a most intractable race, and insist upon having every foot of their frontage an entire surface of glass. The disagreeable appearance of insecurity which is produced is of itself a fatal objection. Where the business is of a kind which requires a display of attractive articles at the window, the system is intelligible; but it has spread to trades where it can answer no useful end, and the present passion of every shopkeeper is to have something more conspicuous and extravagant than his neighbour. Hence what was originally meant for regularity and continuity turns in a short time to discordant and beggarly-looking patchwork. There is no restraint put upon individual caprice, and we could almost wish that some regulations were enforced, if only to compel the simultaneous repainting of the several fronts which compose a single façade. At present it is no uncommon thing to see one half of a column restored to its original complexion, while the other, which appertains to a different tenant, is left with its dingy coating of London dirt. Nowhere have the shopkeepers played their pranks more recklessly than at the Royal Exchange, which is now completely disfigured, to the utter disgrace of the Gresham Committee, who had the power of putting its veto upon such scandalous barbarism. It is to be hoped Mr. Tite has enough affection for his masterpiece to publish authentic illustrations of a noble edifice, in which petty shopkeepers and retail hucksters ought never to have been permitted to have a footing. If ever the taunt of '*la Nation Boutiquière*' was justified, it was when the *Royal Exchange*, of which the first stone was laid by Prince Albert, and the completed building inaugurated by the Queen, was disfigured and degraded under the eyes and in the domain of our merchant princes, without meeting with a remonstrance of sufficient vigour to deserve the name.

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The unfortunate Royal Exchange is surrounded by improvements. The view from a line in continuation of Prince's Street presents a striking sight,—a confluence of vistas, and a piquant assemblage of varied architectural objects. Prince's Street itself, which at its south end was little better than a dangerously narrow lane, now deserves the name of a street. The Monument has been thrown open to view in the distance, as well as Hawksmoor's church of St. Mary Woolnoth, which, if somewhat grotesque, is not a little picturesque likewise. The portico of the Exchange, with its deeply recessed central vista into the cortile, or 'Merchants' area,' displays itself admirably in its pristine dignity; while the Bank, by no means the worse for Mr. Cockerell's alterations, is seen to advantage. Though unchanged in name, Lothbury and St. Bartholomew's Lane have been quite metamorphosed; nor must Moorgate Street be forgotten. It is the aggregate effect we are commending, and not every item of which it is compounded. Yet a careful inspection of the environs of the Bank would enable the draftsman or photographer to discover many praiseworthy designs, which, though they do not strike very forcibly when confounded with the mass, would be found worthy of notice if they were exhibited singly. The materials for a work in continuation of Jones's 'London in the Nineteenth Century' have now become ample, and the supplement, if worthily executed, would greatly surpass the original.

On referring to the article on Architecture in the recent edition of the 'Encyclopædia Britannica,' which professes to bring down its information to the present day, to see what was said of our recent buildings, we found, to our astonishment, that the examples quoted were—a church by Mr. Gwilt at East Charlton; the Roman Catholic church by Pugin in St. George's Fields; the Panopticon in Leicester Square; and Mr. Hope's house in Piccadilly; while no mention is made of the New Palace at Westminster; the British Museum; Royal Exchange; new Treasury buildings; Bridgewater House; Holford House (Park Lane); the Irvingite church in Gordon Square; the Tractarian one in Margaret Street, Cavendish Square; St. George's Hall, Liverpool; the Taylor Institute, at Oxford; or the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. 'The works of living men,' the writer begins with saying, 'may not be dealt with unless for praise;' and the unavoidable inference is that he condemns all that he has here passed by. 'Truth,' said Voltaire, 'is a fruit which must be very ripe before it is gathered;' but the Encyclopædist, by a silence which he announces to be censure, intimates that the fruit in this case is not worth the gathering. Where so many edifices of real pretensions are set aside, it is  
perhaps



perhaps consistent that such a building as the Panopticon, which is a mere exotic, and just such another freak as the Pavilion at Brighton, should be specially distinguished. The opinion that 'the effect produced is very striking, and by no means unpleasing,' is to us unaccountable. It is not even a good sample of the style it professes to imitate; and if it strikes, it is merely by its oddity. Seen from the same side of the square, it looks bare and flat, in consequence of the feebleness of the mouldings; and the colouring is not so decided, or so consistently applied, as to produce either relief or richness. Viewed from the opposite side of the square, the small panels over the entrance, painted with armorial shields and other devices, appear like tawdry spots. The dome, which should have risen up conspicuously between the minarets—a balance and a contrast to them—looks, as the Duchess of Marlborough said of some house she visited, as if it was making a curtsy, and is neither correct nor pleasing in its form. Within it shows to greater advantage than any other part of an interior, which is cut up and overdone with ill-assorted finery.

The omission in the *Encyclopædia* of Buckingham Palace is excusable enough. There was no dignity in the portion which was built by Nash; but Blore's addition is worse still; and, notwithstanding that they were laid before Parliament, we can hardly believe that anybody took the trouble to examine the designs. Before the alteration was made there was some degree of effect, because, though shadow prevailed, the light fell upon the sides which were turned towards the open court in front; and the space between the body of the Palace and the public road produced an expression of nobleness. The new building has been brought so much more forward than the original wings, that it seems to obtrude upon the Park itself. Viewed from the Mall it looks dull and lumpish. An open loggia, extended to five intercolumns in the centre of the façade disposed like those in the river front of Somerset House, would have given the vivacity it wants, and a glimpse of the foliage and verdure of the Park would then have been visible from the inner court through the intervals between the pillars. Some sacrifice of space would have resulted, but it is not difficult to see how what was lost at one point might have been gained at another in a way to conduce to further improvement.

If Sir Robert Smirke has never sunk below respectable mediocrity, he has as little risen above it. Dull and decorous, he has indulged no fancies, and, with fidelity to the forms, he has not penetrated to the spirit of classic design. The British Museum can hardly be called a failure, but it has proved a grievous disappointment after the expectation held

out by another Sir Robert, who assured the House of Commons that the façade would be one of the finest in Europe. A wearisome sameness and poverty of ideas—a frigid and almost sullen formality—are apparent here as well as in the General Post-Office. By throwing the portico and hall together, a vista might have been obtained into the inner quadrangle, which, although more carefully finished than many parts which are full in sight, is almost hid. The solid wall which separates the portico from the vestibule beyond it might have been exchanged for square pillars corresponding to the columns in front, with low open-work metal gates between them. No further separation would have been required, and some such combination of external and internal parts would have imparted spirit and variety to the whole of the severe and monotonous colonnaded façade. The pediment, again, of the central octo-style, is deficient in diversity of sky-line. Had this portion been carried up higher than the lateral colonnades, the uniform horizontal line would have been broken, and the portico would have appeared in true central prominence, like that of the University College, in Gower Street. Even if the body of the building had been unexceptionable, it would have been marred by the mean appendages which, though they add to the extent of frontage, detract from its dignity. The official residences are respectable specimens of street architecture; but they are paltry as the wings of a grand public museum. The palisading which surrounds the building is far too gaudy to harmonize with the ultra-Grecism of the Ionic colonnades, and the exceedingly large and plain piers of the gate, which have been made to do double duty, and serve for porters' lodges, show in the general view as huge masses of solid stone, and are so much too bulky that they affect the apparent size of the main edifice itself. The sentry-boxes are an incongruity not peculiar to the British Museum, but undoubtedly they ought to have been incorporated in the plan of the architect, and made characteristic features of the external enclosure. Where the nature of the building does not allow of this, there might surely be something more sightly designed than the barbarous wooden boxes which are at present employed.

To particular parts of the new Houses of Parliament objections may be made; but indisputably it is a most magnificent pile. There is a great deal of minute elaboration bestowed on parts of the exterior, where detail, beautiful as it might look in the drawings, is lost in the building. This is particularly the case with the 'River Front,' which, being due east, is never, except in early morning, illuminated by the  
sunshine,



sunshine, which is necessary to bring out its delicate carving. Architects are apt to overlook the influence of aspect on light and shade—to judge of effects from their own arbitrarily shaded elevations, or from models which can be turned to the light in any direction they please. Sir Charles, we suspect, paid more attention to his own drawing-board than to the site of his palace, or he would have spared much of the costly detail, which is not only thrown away, but destroys that breadth and repose which are indispensable for setting it off to the fullest advantage. In our opinion the original design for the river front was on this account superior to the more richly ornamented second edition. The same preference must be given to some of the plainer parts of the interior over those which are conspicuous for prodigality of embellishment. The House of Lords lacks the sober and impressive dignity which befits an imperial senate-house, and has a gewgaw look in comparison with the beautiful St. Stephen's porch and hall. But we have observed, on a former occasion, that this gorgeous palace cannot be fairly judged till the structure is complete.

Sutherland and Bridgewater Houses are two of our most lordly town mansions, and render strikingly manifest the great improvement in architectural style that has taken place within a quarter of a century. 'Beautiful and classical' are the epithets bestowed on Sutherland House by Sir F. Trench in his volume of 'Papers on the Thames Quay,' in which it is made the subject of six plates. The basement plan is particularly valuable, for it is almost the only one published that reveals the complicated arrangement of the underground offices in a spacious town house.\* As a piece of design, there is not much that offends, and nothing whatever that captivates. The elevations consist of a rusticated basement, with a Corinthian order above; but the rustication is of the feeblest and most poverty-stricken kind, and the order is of an enervated and almost blighted description. Bridgewater House, on the contrary, is in a highly finished and ornamented style, without any taint of tawdry vulgarity. A very unusual degree of richness is there so tempered by delicacy and sobriety as to have all the charm of simplicity. The eye does not detect at first the full beauty of the design, but the longer the building is looked at the more it wins upon the mind. It is an instance of the discrepancy of opinion which constantly exists on such subjects, that Dr. Waagen has delivered a judgment directly the reverse of our own. 'There is no doubt,' he says, 'that this mansion, in the taste of the forms and decorations, is

\* Plans, &c., of the basements and entresol floors over them in some of the club-houses would form an instructive practical work.

inferior to its stately neighbour, Stafford House.' Painting, we apprehend, has occupied more of Dr. Waagen's attention than the sister art; and in the present instance we are confident that those who are most deeply versed in architecture would dissent from his views. A similar contrast exists between Apsley and Holford House in Park Lane to that which we have pointed out between Bridgewater and Sutherland House. Despite its Corinthian loggia towards Piccadilly, Apsley House is inane in design, and is only distinguished for the mawkish simplicity of the Wyatt school. To assert that the richly adorned Holford House eclipses all the mansions in its neighbourhood, would not be saying much, because, with the exception, perhaps, of Chesterfield House, there is nothing worthy of notice; but, next to Bridgewater House, it surpasses everything of the kind in the metropolis. It presents a good specimen of the climax of arrangement of which we have previously spoken—the two loftiest and most spacious apartments (the banqueting and ball rooms) being placed at the extremities of the principal suite, which, including the conservatory, extends to nearly 300 feet.

Even the writer in the 'Encyclopædia' has opened his eyes to the captivating graces of Sir Charles Barry's Italian designs, which, like those of Addison's prose, are almost too delicate and subtle for analysis. The south garden front of the Travellers' Clubhouse, which is nearly concealed from public observation, is a truly exquisite design. Since it was first erected it has been sadly marred by a superstructure on its roof in the shape of smoking-rooms; but it may be seen in its primitive purity in a work published many years ago, in which it was illustrated with unusual fulness. The Italian style adopted by Barry is of so different a cast from that of the Palladian and Burlington School of the last century, that it at once struck by its novelty, as well as charmed by its elegance. It is admirably adapted to street architecture, and, few as are its elements, is capable of great variety of expression, from quiet simplicity to the most exquisite richness. Nor has it at all suffered in the hands of Sir Charles Barry. On the contrary, he has imparted to it delicacies and refinements which are not to be found in his models or his imitators. The latter—and they are many—have caught the outline, but not the essential qualities of his design: we miss the masterly touches which it is beyond the power of the copyist to reproduce.

It might be tedious to continue our criticism of the numerous edifices which of late years have risen up in the metropolis. We have selected for comment a few of the most important buildings in the different departments of architecture, that we might afford

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by examples (which teach better than general descriptions) a view of the present condition of the art in the metropolis, as compared with the past. Upon the whole, it will be seen that we have reason to congratulate ourselves upon the progress we have made. Eccentricities, like the Panopticon, continue to be tolerated—a portion of our recent public edifices fall short of what we had reason to expect—certain domestic houses, such as those in Belgrave and Eaton Squares, exhibit no symptoms of reviving taste; but, on the other hand, the majority of our new streets display a marked improvement—some of our cotemporary public buildings are noble structures—and the two latest mansions upon a palatial scale surpass anything which previously existed. But there is no security that we shall continue to advance, or shall even keep what we have gained, unless the public can control by their judgment the caprices of individuals. It is for the gratification of the many, and for the sake of their commendation, that beauty is studied, and until they can distinguish between what is good and what is bad, architects labour in vain. In the hands of some the profession will be turned from an art into a money-making business; others, whose ability is not equal to their ambition, will be employed in preference to better men, and the Wrens and the Barrys will be fortunate if, besides being deprived of the stimulus of praise, their plans are not marred by the want of knowledge in their patrons of the common principles of design.

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ART. IV.—*Siluria. The History of the oldest known Rocks containing Organic Remains.* By Sir Roderick Impey Murchison, G.C. St. S., D.C.L., M.A., F.R.S., &c. London. 1854.

WE are seated comfortably in our new house at the West-end of London. We have chosen the site of our residence with care, selecting a spot where the foundation should be gravel and not clay. Naturally of an inquisitive disposition, we have not stopped short at the knowledge of the simple fact, but have sought to know what this 'gravel' and 'clay,' about which we hear so much in London conversation, may be. A geological friend tells us that they are the 'elephant gravel' and the 'London clay,' and that the latter is infinitely older than the former. As elephants have not, during historical times, been in the habit of scattering their tusks and bones over British fields, but have confined their peregrinations to the limited bounds of Astley's, Wombwell's, and the Zoological Gardens, we feel quite sure that the gravel in question was accumulated a very long time ago. As to the clay, Highgate-hill, our friend tells us,

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is made of it; and he says that in some places about London it is 600 feet thick. Underneath it is chalk, and to get a good supply of water we must bore through chalk as well as clay. We are advised to read Prestwich 'On the Water-bearing Strata around London,' and to look at Milne's 'Sections of London Strata,' and then we shall understand the matter better. Having shares in water companies, and being tired of American novels, we determine to take the advice of our friend, and seek a new pleasure by reading up geology,—just so much of it, at least, as is quite certain. The good Rector of our parish in the country, a very worthy man and excellent scholar, has told us that there is some truth in the practical part of the science, but that its theories are all doubtful, and no two geologists can agree about them. There are other reasons why we should know something of the subject, having been tempted to take shares in coal-mines at an unpronounceable locality in North Wales, which certainly seems to be singularly uncarboniferous, and to require a great deal of money from the shareholders in order to get at the coal. We subscribe to the 'Miners' Adviser'—a weekly paper of high repute in the speculative world—and read all the correspondence, the gist of which is to the effect that every mining enterprise at present in progress is sure to be productive, and that geology is 'all rubbish.' Our manager at the coal-mines also takes in the 'Miners' Adviser,' and assures us that he agrees in everything that its correspondents write, being satisfied, after long experience, that there is nothing like practical knowledge. He does not, however, despise geology, though he says the so-called geologists are very ignorant. He has a prophet of his own, whom he calls Evan Hopkins, a philosopher who he says must not be confounded with a famous geologist and great mathematician at Cambridge known as William Hopkins. He talks fluently and well on these matters, and uses many excellent technical terms. Several friends in the City think highly of our manager's judgment, and are quite ready to follow his advice about investing money in mining-shares. Our geological friend, however, seems to entertain opinions different from those of our practical manager, and holds the authority of the latter gentleman in small account. He demands to know precisely where the coal-mines are, pulls a parti-coloured map out of his pocket, looks at it attentively, and shakes his head. He is more cautious than our manager, and, though evidently desponding, does not venture upon a definite opinion before the maps of the geological survey are procured. These maps are new to us; but a glance suggests that we ought to have asked for them before, and that, if the state does the people a benefit by putting accurate information within their reach,



reach, for their own sakes they should take advantage of it. Our friend explains to us the colours of the map, and communicates the intelligence that our imaginary coal-mines are in the Llandeilo flags or Wenlock shales, we forget which. Either, however, according to the geologist, was quite sufficient, and the sooner we get rid of our manager and break up the works the better for our purse. Our friend is evidently too sure of what he is saying to permit of a doubt; and we begin to see daylight in geology.

Disappointment speedily gives way to curiosity. New questions suggest themselves. How old are the said flags and shales, and how much older than the clays and gravels of London? Having grown geologically wiser since our speculation in the Llanffandidl coal-mines, we are now in a condition to afford some information on these points, and to speak not without authority upon geological questions generally.

The 'flags' and 'shales,' called Llandeilos and Wenlocks, are Silurian rocks; the former part of the Lower, the latter of the Upper Silurians. Between the newest of the Silurian strata and the London clay there is a prodigious geological interval and a vast thickness of rock formations of various kinds. Were we to bore through the clay in London, we should in all probability have to sink through many thousand feet of ancient consolidated sediments before arriving at the Silurians. Let those of our readers to whom geology seems a mystery go down to some place upon the sea-coast, where the various beds of clay and rock are seen resting upon each other in succession, and in consequence of violent movements that have agitated the earth's crust, are so inclined or set on end that their order is as manifest as in a drawing or plan. There are many such places. On the shores of the Isle of Wight, for example, the London clay itself, with its peculiar fossils, may be seen upheaved and resting on the chalk, under which are various sands and clays, some of marine, some of fresh-water origin, as may be inferred from the organic remains they contain, all belonging to what is termed the cretaceous system. In none of these strata are found fragments of animals or plants identical with any now living in the world. All they contain, moreover, are different from those entombed in the great series of oolitic rocks that lies below the cretaceous; and these again, in turn, from the contents of the far more ancient Upper Palæozoic strata, to which group of great formations belong, among others, the coal-bearing beds of our country. Between these last and the Silurians are, in Britain, several thousand feet of distinct rock-formations, called Devonian, and to which the well-known old red sandstone belongs. The lowest of the Devonians rests on the uppermost of the Silurians.

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This order of succession, thus briefly indicated, is found to be constant all over the globe wherever the hammer of geologists has been wielded by competent observers. Not that all the members of the complete roll of formations are universally diffused and invariably present; on the contrary, it is not likely, or indeed possible, that in any one place there can be met with the whole series of strata. But when one locality is compared with another, and section tested by section, the order of relative sequence proves fixed and invariable. Occasionally, though rarely, the explorer may be momentarily deceived by some convulsive overturn or excessive crumpling and rolling of the beds; but a brief search and tracing out of the rocks soon brings the exception within compass of the rule. The scale or index of order of sedimentary formations varies only in its wording in different geological treatises: on the actual sequence all are agreed.

The entire assemblage of rock-formations just alluded to contain organic remains; so do the Silurians that lie below them. But not very many years ago the strata beneath the old red sandstone were regarded as presenting little better than a geological chaos. They were mentioned as 'grauwacke,' a good old vague German word that served to conceal ignorance. The ablest geologists regarded them with a sort of respectful despair, and treated them as antiquities of whose history no clue could be obtained. No one surmised that they contained as excellent and abundant proofs of life and order as any of the superincumbent strata. To make this discovery, to work it out in all its details, to establish a classification of these primeval strata which should enable geologists throughout the world to interpret their equivalents, were the worthy and admirable tasks reserved for and performed by the author of the Silurian system, who now, twenty-three years since he commenced his work on the banks of the Wye, directed thither by the sagacity of Dean Buckland, gives to the world with just pride a retrospect of his researches and a record of the results to which they have given origin, and the proofs those results have afforded of the truth of his generalizations. More remarkable or more important service has not been rendered to practical geology since the organization of the science than that which it owes to Sir Roderick Murchison. In itself this result would be a full claim for fame. The author of '*Siluria*' has, however, gathered other and equally honourable scientific laurels, and his geological researches have extended, with equal success, over almost the whole range of the greater rock formations.

Thirty thousand feet of strata, or more, including in the reckoning beds of contemporaneous igneous rocks, have been ascertained to belong to the great Silurian series in Wales alone, or on the



the borders of that province. This enormous accumulation may give some notion of the importance of Silurian rocks. A large, probably the larger, part of this mass seems to have been formed in the depths of primæval oceans. The vast duration of time required for the aggregation of so much sedimentary matter as goes to its constitution must be estimated not merely by the amount of these series, but chiefly by the changes that were taking place in the population of the Silurian seas. The four chief subdivisions of the Silurians, in the original classification of their explorer, viz. Ludlow, Wenlock, Caradoc, and Llandeilo—the two former constituting his ‘Upper,’ and the two latter his ‘Lower Silurians’—are all and severally characterised by peculiar assemblages of organic remains. Yet are they all linked together by these very fossils, either by the general aspect of the fauna originating in the peculiarities of its generic elements, or by the presence of species that are common to several subdivisions. Excluding the fossils of the Upper Caradoc, about which there is a difference of opinion as to whether it should be classed with the Upper or the Lower Silurian, there are known to be nearly one hundred species of organic remains common to the two great sections of the Silurian system as presented in the British Islands. On data such as these Sir Roderick Murchison founds his opinion that the Silurian is an unique system; and since no comparable assemblage of ancient beings can be discovered in the rocks that lie at its base, he maintains that the Silurian fauna was not merely primæval, but protozoic, and that in the centres of the Silurian rocks we have presented to us the evidences of the earliest forms of life which inhabited the surface of our planet. An interest, *sui generis*, consequently belongs to the Silurian system and to the investigation of the arrangement and structure of the world’s foundation stones to which it claims to belong. Yet the oldest fossiliferous Silurians rest on unfossiliferous rocks of sedimentary origin, and consequently, through their pre-eminent antiquity, are deserving of searching inquiry, for in them, if anywhere, we may hope to find evidences of the world’s beginning.

The geological map of England exhibits, on the Welsh border, a small patch of peculiar strata in the neighbourhood of Shrewsbury, to be matched only by a similar and somewhat larger district at the north end of Cardigan Bay, the country where Harlech and Barmouth are situated. There are few spots more interesting on earth to the geologist than those sterile and inconspicuous tracts. To the first we would especially call attention. It constitutes the hilly region of the Longmynd of Shropshire, and is the oldest morsel of Old England. The Longmynd scarcely

deserves the name of a mountain: the conglomeration of hilly moors of which it is composed never exceeding an elevation of 1600 feet above the level of the sea. Deep furrows, narrow valleys or ravines, with steep grassy sloping sides, and almost angular profundities occupied by insignificant streams, score these primæval ramparts and penetrate this ancient citadel. Although presenting no imposing features, no attractions for the tourist or for the artist, there is a peculiar look about the Longmynd that cannot fail to strike an intelligent traveller, and is sure to awaken the curiosity of a geologist. Nobody else, indeed, who has neither acres nor business to call him to these parts, would think of going there. Yet is the Longmynd well worthy of a visit, claiming, as it does, to be the most antiquated of our antiquities. We have said that it is the oldest morsel of England; we might say that it was England's precursor and foreshadowing. The earliest life-peopled waves that have left their furrows on a rock dashed against the shores of the Longmynd. They were good solid land ere any of the assemblages of living beings, whose remains we find preserved to us in a petrified state, had been called into existence. To rest upon these old moors, and think how marvellously old they are; to call to mind how much of the world we may have travelled over, how we might go from England to China, and from the Icy Sea to Tierra del Fuego, and yet tread every step of the way on land that was not made in the time of those venerable Shropshire hills—these are no ordinary meditations. What the Wandering Jew would be among men the Longmynd is among mountains. When all other mountains were making we know that there was life in the world, and the shapes under which that life was manifested. But when the Longmynd and the few tracts like it were making, who can say what was the condition of vitality, and under what stages it was presented? Were the land and the sea deserts, with no moving beings to animate them—no vegetation to clothe their surfaces and beds? Was there no eye, however rudimentary, to perceive light? no ear, though but an otolitic vesicle, to recognise sound? Who can say? That life was not altogether absent, one little fossil, a humble zoophytic form, called *Oldhamia*, hitherto found only in some patches of purple slates to the south of Dublin, proved by the geological surveyors to be of equivalent age with the Longmynd, unmistakeably shows. From the presence of one we are almost warranted to infer the presence of more, and, from the difference between two sorts of that one genus, the probability of the existence of many kinds belonging to many genera. So strongly is this impressed on our minds—such is  
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the force of analogy suggested by existing things—that we look forward confidently to the progress of future discovery, and to the finding of a varied fauna belonging to these most ancient epochs. In this we differ from Sir Roderick Murchison, who is not so hopeful. Whether the assemblage, when found, will prove to be distinct from the characteristic Silurian groups is another question. If we might hazard a suggestion, we would hint the possibility of a relationship between this undiscovered primæval fauna and the 'primordial fauna' of M. Barrande, whose admirable researches among the Silurians of Bohemia have called forth the applause of geologists all over the world.

Yet, old as the Longmynd hills are, there was a world before them. The great-grandfathers of our earth had their own fathers. In these most ancient sedimentary strata are fragments of rocks still older, and the history of geology, far as it recedes, has its pre-historic annals. Antiquarians describe monoliths and rude structures which cannot be referred to the work of any known people, and were erected before the building of any monuments whose date has been ascertained. So geologists can show conglomerates containing rolled pebbles derived from sedimentary formations that cannot be assigned to any stratified rocks now seen *in situ*, and must, since they contribute to the materials of the most ancient known strata, have been derived from pre-existing beds that have left no larger traces behind them. Each of those rounded pebbles is a silent witness of the physical phenomena of the impenetrable past—of mountains and shores, torrents and seas, that seem mythical even to the geologist. They are memorials of Time, as it were, beyond Time. Beyond the farthest star yet discerned by the telescope of astronomer are indistinct yet certain traces of farther stars, manifestations of the space beyond explored space. In the same way do these chips of perished and powdered mountains, whose mother-rock is nowhere to be found, dimly yet surely indicate a succession of events during ages of the world's history that never can be chronicled. The leaves of the stone book upon which their records were engraven have been torn up by Time himself, jealous of memorials of his infancy, and ambitious of rivalling Eternity. We gather together the morsels and try to fit them to each other, as children endeavour to combine the segments of a dissected puzzle. We would question these disjointed members, and force them to be witnesses against Time. We ask them to tell us of the beginnings of things. Their geological catechists have elicited discordant replies. As with spirit-rappings and table-turnings, the questioner is most likely to get his own answer, and unwittingly to reply to his own query. Yet there

are no questions in geology of more deep and general interest than those which demand the evidence of a commencement of organized nature, and of a previous epoch when there was no life upon our globe. The author of '*Siluria*' has designated his work '*The History of the oldest known Rocks containing Organic Remains.*' Among those rocks only can we find the elements of the information which we seek. The book in which they are described supplies abundant materials for enabling us to arrive at an approximate conclusion.

How does the matter stand at present? Thanks to the researches of Silurian geologists we know a great deal more about it now than we did twenty years ago—so much, indeed, that many able philosophers are ready with decided answers. The last chapter of Sir Roderick Murchison's book is full of interest in its bearing on this momentous question, and it is but fair to one who has done so much towards its solution to state summarily the conclusions at which he has arrived, whilst at the same time we claim the privilege of freely commenting upon them.

Sir Roderick regards the lowest sedimentary rocks, the thickness of which is very great, and the evidences of the length of time requisite for their deposition unmistakeable, as azoic, or nearly so, and accepts as probable the supposition that the heat of the surface of our planet during the period of their deposition was adverse to life. The fact of an exception to the azoic character, insignificant although the exception be, must make us exceedingly cautious in drawing our conclusions to the effect that life was scarcely manifested in the waters of our globe during those most primæval of epochs. Nor, as yet, have we clear evidence, derived from organic remains, of a higher temperature during the earlier epochs than afterwards prevailed. That there was a time when the heat of this planet was such as to debar the presence of living creatures is rendered probable on account of astronomical and physical considerations; but many geologists will question whether we find traces of that truly azoic time furnished by any of the sedimentary formations at present remaining.

The first traces of life yet discovered do not present aspects exceedingly, if at all, dissimilar from those of organisms still living. The oldest of known fossils, the *Oldhamia*, might be a coralline, a common zoophyte, or might be a polyzoon, one of the lowest of mollusks. In either case it is neither the most rudimentary of animals, nor a member of an extinct class. It is simply different from any after-created type, but not strangely different. A naturalist of our own times would utter no exclamation of surprise should he find one of these *Oldhamias* on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. In the more distinct and varied  
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forms of the earliest zone, properly so called, of life yet discovered—that of the *Lingula* flags of Wales, the primordial zone of Barrande—the palæozoic facies becomes manifest, and is evinced by the trilobites therein found. As to the *Lingula*, a bivalve shellfish of no extraordinary conformation, it must have looked, when alive, exceedingly like one of its existing congeners. The fauna of the primordial zone is a small one, so far as yet discovered, but there is no feature exhibited by its members that should induce us to connect the paucity of known species derived from it with the notion of a general scantiness of animal life all over the globe during the epoch of its flourishing. The deficiencies of the succeeding Silurian faunas are thus stated by our author:—

‘Proceeding upwards from this protozoic zone, wherein organic remains are comparatively rare, we then ascend to other sediments, in which, throughout nearly all latitudes, we recognise a copious distribution of submarine creatures, resembling each other very nearly, though imbedded in rocks now separated by wide seas, and often raised up to the summits of high mountains. Examining all the strata exposed to view that were formed during the first long natural epoch of similar life termed Silurian, we found that the successive deposits were charged with a great variety of forms—of the trilobite, a peculiar crustacean; of the orthoceratite, the earliest chambered shell; as well as with numerous exquisitely-formed mollusks, crinoids, and zoophytes; the genus graptolite of the latter class being exclusively found in these Silurian rocks. In short, my contemporaries have assembled, from those ancient and now desiccated marine sediments or repositories of primæval creatures, examples of every group of purely aquatic animals save fishes. The multiplied researches of the last twenty years have failed to detect the trace of a fish amid the multitudes of all other marine beings in the various sediments which constitute the chief mass of the Silurian rocks. Of these, though they are the lowest in the scale of the great division *vertebrata*, we are unable to perceive a vestige until we reach the highest zone of the Upper Silurian, and are about to enter upon the Devonian, period. Even on that horizon the minute fossil fishes, long ago noticed by myself, are exceedingly scarce, and none have since been found in strata of higher antiquity. In fact, the few fragments of cartilaginous ichthyolites of the highest band of Silurian rock still remain the most ancient known beings of their class. (See Pl. 35.)

‘Looking, therefore, at the Silurian system as a whole, and judging from the collection of facts gathered from all quarters of the globe, we know that its chief deposits (certainly all the lower and most extensive) were formed during a long period, in which, while the sea abounded with countless invertebrate animals, no marine *vertebrata* had been called into existence. The Silurian (except at its close) was, therefore, a series in which there appeared no example of that bony framework of completed *vertebræ* from which, as approaching to the *vertebrate* archetype,

archetype, the comparative anatomist traces the rise of creative power up to the formation of man. Whether, therefore, the term of "progressive," or that of "successive," be applied to such acts of creation, my object is simply to show, upon clear and general evidence, that there was a long period in the history of the world wherein no vertebrated animal lived. In this sense, the appearance of the first recognisable fossil fishes is as decisive a proof of a new and distinct creation as that of the placing of man upon the terrestrial surface, at the end of the long series of animals which characterize the younger geological periods.

'Nor have we been able to disinter from the older strata of this long period of invertebrate life any distinct fragments of land plants. But just in the same stratum wherein the few earliest small fishes have been detected, there also have we observed the first appearances of a diminutive, yet highly organised, tree vegetation.'

In these paragraphs Sir Roderick Murchison boldly maintains a position very difficult to combat, since it is founded mainly on negative facts, and yet as difficult to grant. The progress of geological research has furnished so many warnings against trusting overmuch in negative data, that we incline to side with the cautious, and to withhold our assent, for the present, to the doctrine of the absence of vertebrata from the primæval and protozoic fauna, and of terrestrial plants from the first flora. So much of the fossiliferous Silurians presents unmistakeable indications of having been deep-sea deposits, either far from land or around barren and rocky islets, that we can understand the deficiency in the traces of land vegetables, without having recourse to the supposition of their entire absence. And so rarely are remains of fishes at the present time, when these denizens of the waters are both numerous and prolific, brought up from the depths of ocean, either by trawl or dredge, that we can easily understand how, in the limited exposures of sea-beds, usually mere vertical sections of them, which are open to the inspection of geologists, few or no remains of these aquatic vertebrata have been detected. The chances of finding the remains of marine invertebrata in the ancient sediments in or on which they lived and died are very great indeed, as compared with those of detecting fishes, and still less is the chance of finding the remains of land animals or land plants. There is abundance of positive peculiarities to distinguish by means of organic characters the Silurians and all the chief groups of palæozoic deposits from the great series of neozoic formations that succeeded them, and which finally interlace with rocks now forming. There is no necessity for adding to these, negative characters of the kind above cited. That the warm-blooded orders of vertebrata were replaced during the palæozoic epochs  
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by the cold-blooded, and the angiospermous by the gymnospermous trees, is not only possible, but probable. The considerations which would lead a geological naturalist to maintain this probability are, however, of a very different kind from those which would induce him to assent even to the probability of the total absence of vertebrata and flowering plants during primæval periods.

The author of 'Siluria' argues for the indication of a progress in creation during a course of epochs. The evidences adduced by him would rather go to prove a substitution than a progress. The palæozoic fauna is in contrast with the faunas that succeed, but we have few grounds for asserting its inferiority or its rudimentary character. In some groups of animals, indeed, the higher types hold a greater predominance during the palæozoic than during the mesozoic or tertiary epochs. The great fact of true progress, the advent of man, is not an instance of one event of a regular series, but one of exceptional and, we might say, miraculous value, standing in contrast to the sum of the creations that had gone before, grand beyond measure in its moral unity, and not to be referred to any palæontological standard of progression. At the same time this wondrous and completing effort of creation was effected in harmony with the order of the world, and man, in his character of animal, took possession of his mundane territory, not at any time indifferently, but at the right moment, within the limits of one great geological epoch. Man, the animal, is a member of a definite fauna, namely, of that which belongs to the section of geological time which we designate Later Tertiary. It is not because no human remains are found in palæozoic, or oolitic, or cretaceous, or eocene deposits, that we can assert, so confidently as geologists do, the non-existence of man during the epochs of these formations. There is the strongest probability that, if man had existed during any of the primæval, still more during the palæozoic epochs, the chances against finding any fragments of his frame would be small indeed. Of numbers of known extinct species, only one, two, or three specimens have as yet been found; and these often of moderate-sized, easily preserved, naturally prolific types, creatures that lived in the waters whose sediment constitutes the rocks in which they are now preserved. Let us not then put trust in the absence of human remains; were that all our proof of the non-existence of man, we might finally speculate on the probability of Silurian or carboniferous people turning up sooner or later. The true foundation of a naturalist's disbelief in palæozoic, or secondary, or older tertiary men is, we repeat, based on the fact that *homo sapiens*, as Linnæus dubbed him, is a newer tertiary

tertiary animal, and a member of the fauna of a post-cocene epoch. If there were secondary or primary men, they must have been different species from ourselves in the fullest sense of the expression. We hold that the evidence of science, and, we might add, that of philology, proclaims the unity of the human race. In that sense we speak of man as one species. We know of no other, and there is something in our moral nature instinctively repugnant to the idea of another; so much so that it has never yet entered into the morbid brain of the vainest of speculators to suppose the existence of a distinct sort of man during the more ancient geological periods. This vagary has been reserved for poetical astronomers and pugnacious *savans*, whose right to people the planets and stars with intellectual animals of like nature but different species from ourselves, geologists, content to base their own theories on well-founded analogies or ascertained facts, will not be inclined to dispute.

But whilst we exclude man from the Palæozoic world, and recognise in the ancestors of Caractacus and his followers the first possible predecessors of Sir Roderick in his realm of Siluria, we are not inclined to agree altogether with our authority in giving to the creatures that did live in Palæozoic lands and seas so wide a spread over the world as he would assign to them. It is maintained by many geologists, besides our author, that during the more ancient epochs the species of animals and plants were more generally, almost universally, diffused over the earth's surface. It is argued that this diffusion of identical types indicates a general equable climate from polar to intertropical regions; 'a phenomenon,' as is truly observed, 'wholly at variance with the present distribution of animal or vegetable life over the surface of the planet.' Not a few geologists regard this general dispersion of the individuals of the Palæozoic species as indicative of an universal warmer temperature due to the influence during these early times of the internal heat of our globe. The earth's surface, they would have it, had not yet cooled sufficiently to admit of the variable influences of atmospheric causes. The warm temper of this early world extended to its inhabitants, and the little shell-fishes, and fishes too, when their time came, prolific though they be in these days, in those made much larger families. Certainly the notion of a general distribution of organic types, and more simple mapping out of the assemblages of living beings, during the fervid juvenescence of our worthy world-mother, has a fascination about it which wins the fancy of geologists. Yet, in a great measure, it is founded on fancy and not on fact—the appearance of things, as Henry More would have said, and not on the reality. How stands the truth? Every day is adding

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to our knowledge of the distribution of ancient creatures, and the result is to show that during all epochs, not excepting the Silurian, different parts of the world were inhabited by different animals and plants. Some few are very widely diffused; the number of these, according to circumstances chiefly dependent on the disposition of land and sea, doubtless varied at different times. But there never was a time when anything like the majority of species enjoyed an universal diffusion. Even in the Silurian ages there were instances of a greater amount of difference between the animals of some neighbouring regions than there is actually between the creatures of the same areas now. Take the Silurian fossils of the Polar regions, those of the British area, and those from the rocks of the Peninsula, and compare the proportions of species common to those three centres during the older Palæozoic epoch and the same regions now, and the balance of uniformity will rather weigh in favour of the present than the past. To get at a test we must confine our comparison to marine deposits and maritime provinces of life, for only in these can we obtain sufficient evidence of the extent and variety of the ancient fauna. Of the value of the evidence from fossil floras, in too many cases, the less we say the better. Now the great Indo-Pacific region, extending from the shores of Mosambique to the Gallapagos Isles, and from the coasts of Japan to midway on the eastern and western margins of Australia, is the area of a fauna to a very great degree uniform; quite as much so as the geological expansion to which that epithet has been applied. Moreover it is as large. The tendency of closet-naturalists, and sometimes of travelled ones, who ought to have grown wiser, is to split species to an extreme, and to multiply names until all is confusion. Through them we get exaggerated differences. But even let any naturalist not given to hairsplitting inquire into and pronounce upon the point in question, and we are satisfied that his verdict will be adverse to the notion of an universal spread of identical species during the Palæozoic period. At the same time we admit that there is much to be explained, and that there is an universal *facies* or similarity of aspect presented by all the members of some of the more ancient faunas, the cause of which can only be suggested as dependent on a very wide diffusion of uniform climatal conditions. This is, however, a very distinct matter from the general diffusion of the individuals of species, a supposition contrary to all we know with certainty concerning the laws that regulate the origin and spread of species. Much may be explained by peculiarities in the distribution of the masses of land and water, and it would not be uninformative to construct the model of a globe representing a possible and even probable

probable condition of the earth's surface, which should in a great measure render difficult if not impossible the existence of the higher animals and an arborescent vegetation, and limit materially the number and variety of the population of the sea. Be this as it may, there can be no question as to the value and importance of the light thrown upon primæval life by the investigation of the fossils found in the Palæozoic rocks of our country.

It must not be supposed that the arguments respecting primæval life are wholly drawn from the limited area of our British Islands, where the parent land of Siluria has its place. Although the type of the Silurian system was there first defined and established, there are Silurian regions of great extent and inestimable scientific importance widely dispersed over the earth's surface. The determination of the true geological age and relations of these tracts, by whomsoever accomplished, is mainly due to the originator of the system, and every newly discovered Silurian land contributes a fresh wreath to Sir Roderick's crown, as glorious as if it had been the record of one of the military triumphs which he might have gained had the last war persisted and our philosopher had continued to pursue his original vocation of soldier. The clasps of victory which he proudly wears for presence in the field of mortal combat are doubtless honours to be respected; but far more lasting are the less glittering rewards conferred upon him in the shape of grateful acknowledgment and dedications by the able investigators who have hammered their way to discovery and fame by following closely and faithfully the paths opened out by their genial leader. The head-combat, the struggle for truth, is, after all, the nobler fight, and the best generals of antiquity would scarcely hesitate to exchange their war-born fame for the lasting glories of philosophers and bards.

The Silurian empire, for such it may fairly now be styled, has a wide stretch in the world. In the North of Europe well-marked Silurian rocks play a prominent part, and it is not improbable that many masses of strata, consisting of gneiss and crystalline schists and quartzites, are beds of the same age metamorphosed, in which all traces of organic remains have been obliterated in consequence of transformation or alteration of structure. All ancient crystalline rocks in these regions are, however, not to be so regarded, for some are distinctly older than the most ancient Silurians, these latter reposing upon the former. It is only by the evidence of relative position that the age of a metamorphic formation can be judged, and many of the so-called primary rocks of the older geologists have proved, in the course of research, to belong to secondary and even tertiary strata. Vicomte D'Archiac, in the last and recently published volume of his



his excellent '*Histoire de la Géologie*,' has put forth some brief but highly interesting remarks on the phenomena presented by such changes, and has especially called attention to the great fact that the same beds which, where they are nearly horizontal and undisturbed, are in a state of comparative softness and slight consolidation, become, when squeezed and crumpled into mountain masses, altogether changed in their texture, hardened, rendered crystalline, and so altered that no evidence of imbedded fossils can be discovered in their substance.

True Silurian strata, containing numerous characteristic fossils, occur in Sweden and Norway, and exhibit representatives of both the Lower and the Upper divisions. On the borders of the beautiful island-studded fiord of Christiania are Silurian rocks corresponding to those of our own country, but not nearly so developed in thickness.

'The whole of the Lower Silurian of Scandinavia,' remarks Sir Roderick, 'never exceeds in vertical thickness 1000 feet! And yet this mass is nearly as complete in the development of life as the 30,000 feet of strata of the same age in Britain! Nay, the general succession is essentially the same as in our islands. For, the Lower Silurian of Sweden and Norway is overlaid by shale and limestone, which completely represents the Wenlock of England, whilst M. de Verneuil and myself have endeavoured to show that in the south of Gothland still higher rocks are exhibited, which, though of feeble dimensions, are on the parallel of the Ludlow formation of Britain.'

There is a frequent mistake made by popular writers on geological subjects concerning the inferences drawn by geologists from the thickness of formations, and the stress laid by them on mere vertical accumulations as evidence of lapse of time. The thickness of a stratum is seldom, if ever, a true measure of its geological importance, and is in many instances due to a rapid accumulation of sediment under peculiarly favourable circumstances, such as subsidence of sea-bed and absence of denuding forces. But a very thin band of rock, even a few inches or an inch only in thickness, may afford a sure indication of a considerable lapse of time during its accumulation. Such evidence may be derived from mineral characters alone, as in the case of a conglomerate composed of rolled pebbles of hard rocks, the process of whose attrition must, under any circumstances with which we are acquainted, have occupied many years; or more frequently and more surely from the features presented by the contained fossils, whether dependent on the changes and substitutions exhibited by the species, or the wear and tear, and often repair, indicated by the state of the individuals. Through a careful observation of these indications, always bearing in mind the affinities and analogies

analogies of the subject of our inquiry with the creatures and conditions of the world as it is, the geologist cannot fail but come to the conclusion that the amount of time required for the fulfilment of the phenomena presented by any well-marked section of a formation is in the great majority of instances so vast that the epithets used to designate the subdivisions of historical time become wholly inapplicable, although adopted for want of better and truer terms. The better a geologist becomes acquainted with the facts of his science, the vaster become the epochs into which his knowledge would lead him to subdivide the pre-Adamite past.

In Russia the Silurian rocks are seen under a new aspect. Unconsolidated shales, so soft as to be used by sculptors for modelling, are found to constitute the lowest formations of the group, and actually to be the equivalents of the lower crystalline and hard slates of North Wales. Both Upper and Lower Silurians occur in Russia, and nowhere in that huge empire are they found unconformable to each other, a fact of considerable significance in its bearing upon the views and nomenclature advocated by Sir Roderick Murchison. Traces of Silurian strata are met with in the Austrian Alps. Metamorphosed rocks, probably of the same age, occur in the Riesen-Gebirge, to the south of Breslau, but they are so changed that certain evidence, such as might be derived from organic remains, cannot be obtained. Possible Silurians are said to be present in Moravia. But in Bohemia we have a great Silurian centre, and, thanks to the labours of M. Barrande, we are now made acquainted most fully with the varied primæval fauna contained in the Bohemian rocks. In the country around Prague there is, indeed, one of the richest Silurian districts in the world; a region wherein the whole series of members of the Silurian system is represented in the clearest order of succession, and characterised by a vast abundance of beautifully-preserved organic remains.

For the last twenty years M. Barrande has been occupied with the investigation of this prolific locality, and has spared neither time nor money upon his laborious task. His earnestness and steady perseverance have overcome all difficulties, of which, being a foreigner in the country, he had not a few to master. M. Barrande is a Frenchman, and was a tutor of the Count de Chambord, who, we have reason to believe, has taken a warm interest in his old preceptor's researches, and contributed to the production of the beautiful and costly work in which the account of them is contained. One instance of the strong resolution which possessed M. Barrande is remarkable and almost unparalleled. This spirited geologist, finding that the fossils he de-

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sired did not turn up readily at the word of command in French, or even German, applied himself to the study of the Czeck language, a tongue reputed to be exceedingly knotty, in order that he might the more readily and successfully direct his workmen.

Sir Roderick Murchison has done full and generous justice to the sound work of his eminent French disciple. Once for all we may say that this rendering of honour for good service, wherever it is due, is loyally and heartily performed throughout Sir Roderick's volume. He loves to cite and bring before his readers in salient relief the praiseworthy doings of his scientific brethren, and is thoroughly free from the petty and mistaken, but common vanity, that leads to the suppression of a name or a reference, in the vain fancy of magnifying the writer's own glory. The quantity of new research that results from an originator's suggestions and pioneering is a sure test of the excellence of the source from which it has sprung. Ye men of science, see that you leave not the world without philosophically-born offspring! The fame of a true disciple is a greater and sweeter honour than hereditary titles.

M. Barrande has shown that all the stages of the Silurian system are represented in Bohemia, locally different it is true, yet in the main corresponding with the greater sections as we have them in Britain. On a base of metamorphic and unfossiliferous rocks lies a series of strata abounding with organic remains, all of true Silurian types. No fewer than 1200 kinds of fossil animals have been distinguished and carefully defined by their indefatigable investigator, who seems to dig up well-conditioned new species with as unerring an aim as a sportsman brings down grouse in the Highlands. The fossiliferous Silurians present three chief horizons or zones of life, the lowermost constituting what its discoverer calls the 'Primordial Fauna,' and containing no species and but few genera of animals common to it and the zones above that represent our Lower and Upper Silurians. The distinction of this primordial zone, and the just stress laid upon its existence by M. Barrande, who has recognised its presence at the same time in Wales, Norway, and Sweden, is a point well worthy of the serious consideration of palæozoic geologists. Although not everywhere so isolated as its designator believed—for in Wales it may be said to pass into the typical Lower Silurians—it is not wholly impossible that it may prove hereafter to be deserving of recognition as part of a system distinct from the Silurian, and associated with the rocks to which the geological surveyors in this country, and many eminent geologists abroad, would restrict the name 'Cambrian,' a word that has of late years been a fruitful and unfortunate hot-bed

bed of controversy. In the present state of our knowledge, however, we are not warranted in doing otherwise than M. Barrande has done. He holds that all three divisions in Bohemia are essentially sections of one great system, viz. the Silurian, even though the two uppermost possess fossils common to both, whilst none are common to them and the lowermost. His views (and every opinion now expressed by M. Barrande, stamped as it must be by experience and ability, is deserving of the highest respect and consideration) are essentially identical with those of Sir Roderick Murchison, and all tend to maintain the unity of the great Lower Palæozoic system.

Among the Thuringian mountains there is another Silurian region, one which of late has yielded many interesting and characteristic fossils that enable the geologist distinctly to recognise true Lower Silurian strata. Peculiar complications and local disturbances, arising from the interference of eruptive rocks, render the interpretation of this district a work of no ordinary difficulty. Fifteen years ago Professor Sedgwick and Sir Roderick Murchison jointly commenced the work, and indicated the true general succession of the constituent formations. In the mean time German geologists have worked the ground in detail, discovered important evidences derived from organic remains, and constructed geological maps founded on good trigonometrical surveys. Last year Sir Roderick hied back to the ground, accompanied by Professor Morris, and brought all his rich experience to bear upon its exploration. He can now speak definitely of the age of the Silurians of the Thuringer-wald, and assign them without question to the Lower division. No Upper Silurians have been recognised there, the sedimentary rocks next in succession being Devonian. A significant suggestion is thrown out by the author in the volume before us, well deserving of attention and inquiry at the school of Freiberg.

‘We have yet to learn,’ writes Sir Roderick, ‘how much of the primary clayslate or “thonscheifer” (mapped by Naumann and his associates) is to be abstracted from unfossiliferous rocks, and grouped with the lower members of the series (Silurian) we have been considering. Other inquirers may seek to ascertain to what extent many of these ancient schists and slates, evidently of sedimentary origin, have been converted into mica schists, and even into the metalliferous so-called “gneiss,” amid which the illustrious Werner himself taught his lessons in Freiberg. It would seem presumptuous that a passing geologist should hazard any opinion on such a point. Still I venture to state that much of the so-called gneiss in the plateaux around Freiberg is a rock very different in age from the antique and crystalline gneiss of Scotland and Scandinavia. I would, indeed, suggest that those portions of it which are separated by wayboards, and exhibit several of  
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the features of bedding and jointing of aqueous deposits, may prove to be of no higher antiquity than the lower members of the sedimentary formations under review.'

If we are not greatly mistaken, the hint conveyed in this passage will, before very long, prove pregnant of geological discovery, not only in the district immediately referred to, but in other German localities.

In France Silurian rocks appear in Brittany, where, like the people who live upon them, they seem to hold a close analogy and relationship with the foundation stones of our own Cornwall. They consist of bluish fossiliferous schists—those of Angers are well known—furnishing roofing-slates, resting upon conglomerates and siliceous sandstones, which rest in their turn on unfossiliferous glossy schists of great antiquity, and possibly comparable with our own Longmynd rocks. The number and distinctness of the organic remains in the French Silurians afford many facilities for assigning these rocks their places as equivalents of British types. The result is that we must regard them as entirely belonging to the Lower division, and as constituting representatives of our Llandeilo and Caradoc divisions.

M. de Verneuil has established beyond question the Silurian age and relations of ancient stratified rocks in Spain. In that country they present features very similar to those exhibited by the corresponding formations in Brittany, and must be regarded in the main, if not entirely, as of Lower Silurian age. In the Sierra Morena and other localities well-marked fossils occur, many of them French and some Bohemian species. The famous quicksilver-mines of Almaden, and some of the richest lead and silver mines near Carthagera and in the Sierra Almagrera, are worked in Lower Silurian rocks; and it would seem probable that those of the Sierra di Gador and Sierra Nevada are located in highly metamorphosed strata of the same age.

Most of what is accurately known of the rocks of Portugal is due to an able English geologist, Mr. Daniel Sharpe, who during moments of leisure and occasional visits to that country has worked wonders in the way of making out its structure. Among other results he has demonstrated the presence and investigated the order of succession of older Palæozoic strata in the neighbourhood of Oporto. A rising native observer, M. Carlos Ribeiro, following in the steps of Mr. Sharpe, and assisted by that gentleman in the determination of the fossils he has collected, has traced an axis of Silurian rocks from north-north-west to south-south-east far beyond the Douro. They form, in fact, the crest of the famous Serra de Busaco, a locality that will hereafter share its military fame with the interest it now derives from scientific considerations.

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The greater part of the Mediterranean region is bounded by rocks of much more recent origin than the Silurians. In the island of Sardinia, however, the eminent topographer, General della Marmora, has proved the presence of Silurian rocks, and it is probable that both Upper and Lower Silurians are there to be found. But around this famous sea and among its archipelagos there are not many certain traces of Palæozoic strata. Devonian rocks, with their characteristic fossils, are met with in Turkey and in Asia Minor, and the coal of Eregli, with which the Turks have been feeding their steam-engines whilst we were calling for supplies from home for our fleet, is of true carboniferous age, and as nearly as possible the equivalent of our Newcastle or Lancashire coal-measures. Captain Spratt, R.N., of the *Spitfire*, an excellent geologist, has recently visited and examined these coal-mines, and has set the question of their age at rest by an examination of their fossils, specimens of which, sent by him to England, fully confirm the conclusions which he came to on the spot.

Although vast expansions of Palæozoic strata, especially rocks of Devonian age, are known to constitute a considerable portion of Asia, veritable Silurians have not been detected there except in a few localities. What is known of their appearance is sufficient, however, to warrant the inference that they are present, although hidden beneath the Devonians that rest upon them, and it is extremely probable that before many years are over considerable superficial Silurian tracts will be discovered in Asiatic regions. China may especially be looked to as a grand field for future geological research. Thanks to the eccentricities of the Celestials, we are acquainted with their fossils through the contents of their druggists' shops. The most old-fashioned of mortals are true to their antiquated notions even in their medicines, and grind up Palæozoic organic remains in order to set their stomachs right. Our Welsh friends, with all their love of antiquity, never thought of powdering Snowdon for an alterative, or converting Bala limestone into an effervescing draught. Had the Chinese been better geologists, they would have imported their fossil physic from the Himalaya, where Capt. R. Strachey has made known the existence of true Silurian strata.

In New South Wales Silurian rocks have been discovered by the Rev. W. B. Clark, and, almost as we are writing, we hear of the well-conducted labours of a highly promising young geologist, Mr. Alfred Selwyn, who directs the geological survey of Victoria, having been rewarded by the discovery of fossiliferous strata of like age. He had previously shown the existence and structure of a mass of ancient metamorphosed slates and sandstones,



stones, not less than 35,000 feet in thickness, and suggested their parallelism with the Cambrian or Lower Silurian strata of Great Britain. Independent of the numerous questions of interest connected with the distribution of gold in Australia, that vast country promises to be a grand field of fresh information for the geologist. Every day shows more and more variety of structure, and develops new evidence, both palæontological and mineralogical. Geological knowledge is there a valuable qualification to the emigrant and settler; one that may enable him to choose ground with comparative certainty, and regulate his explorations with better prospects of success; whilst, in a country where mines of all kinds and of wonderful richness are turning up from time to time, an acquaintance with what is known respecting the phenomena and distribution as well of metalliferous veins as of coal and iron beds can scarcely fail to confer on its possessor a superiority over ignorance and empiricism, and open out to him the pathway to profit.

Sir Roderick Murchison may reasonably indulge some sentiments of pride when he wheels round his globe and looks upon the new world as coloured by the geologist. Almost from end to end of the far-extending American continent, he will see the influence of his researches manifested in the determination and nomenclature of Transatlantic rocks. From Chili northwards to the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada, the backbone of the western continent would appear to be in part constructed of Silurian strata, or rather to be bounded, like the human spine, by long strips of Silurian muscles. Much of the richness of the new world, its store of gold and silver, appears to be connected with these ancient bands. In several localities among the Andes well-marked fossils have been found, unquestionably Silurian, as we know from the collections first made by Mr. Pentland, and from the work of M. Alcide d'Orbigny. North America might almost be said to be the head-quarters of Silurianism. A glance at the excellent map appended to Sir Charles Lyell's Travels will show how vast are the regions there occupied even superficially by Silurian deposits. Exceedingly prolific in organic remains and varied in mineral character, these beds have furnished the subjects of some of the most excellent geological treatises that have appeared during the last ten years. They are too numerous to be cited. It certainly is one of the most striking features of the science of the United States, that geology has taken root there deeply, and has flourished perhaps beyond any of the sister-sciences. The American geologists have gained a world-wide fame, and deservedly. Their works are text-books in Europe and standard members of our scientific libraries. A

considerable number of these excellent monographs have been published at the cost of different States of the Union, whose local governments have thus shown an advanced and enlightened spirit, and a just appreciation of the advantages that must accrue to their citizens through the timely development of the resources of the land. The bold and adventurous kind of work necessarily characteristic of any geological survey conducted in great part over thinly inhabited and partially explored regions, seems to have suited the somewhat nomadic spirit of an American philosopher, better than the learning of the closet or the science of the schools. We have much yet to hope from the onward-striding pace of American geology.

In the mean time our own Transatlantic governments have not been neglectful of the good work of science. In Canada especially there has been proceeding for some years one of the most extensive and important geological surveys now going on in the world. The enthusiasm and disinterestedness of a thoroughly qualified and judicious observer, Mr. Logan, whose name will ever stand high in the roll of the votaries of his favourite science, have conferred upon this great work a wide-spread fame. The Silurian rocks play a prominent part in the structure of the Canadas, and the analogy of many of the subdivisions with European strata is exceedingly striking. Around the inhospitable shores of the Icy Sea, our famous arctic explorer Sir John Richardson has collected Silurian fossils, and proved the presence of Silurian strata; and amid the intricacies of the polar fiords and archipelagos our daring navigators have collected rock specimens filled with well-marked Silurian shells, not a few of them identical with the fossils of Dudley and Gothland.

The series of American Silurians is most complete, and includes representatives of all the European stages, with possibly additional and intervening formations. The attempt to parallel stage with stage on either side of the Atlantic has perhaps sometimes been carried too far; nevertheless there is unquestionably a striking series of analogies presented by these ancient deposits in Europe and America, and any candid man of science who will sit down unprejudiced and sift the evidence must rise from his inquiry with strong feelings of admiration at the extent of the labour and the carefulness of research that have led to these results.

The preceding summary enumeration may serve to illustrate the geographical distribution of Silurian formations as at present known. Now, when it is recollected that the 'Silurian System,' that great work in which its author fully stated and co-ordinated the



the results of his researches on the Welsh border, was given to the world only fifteen years ago, and that the very epithet 'Silurian' was itself assigned to these formations no longer ago than in the year 1835, the influence of Sir Roderick Murchison's labours and generalizations in stimulating discovery, and leading to a clear understanding of the earlier sedimentary rocks, must be regarded as great indeed. And, be it observed, in this short sketch of foreign primæval geology, we have used the word *Silurian* constantly, not of our own choice, or to do honour to its inventor, but because it is the term applied to the rocks in question by their explorers in all countries. The geologists of the Continent, of Australia, and of America, have identified the older palæozoic formations, whose structure and fossil contents they have so admirably described, with the 'Silurian' system of our own country, and with the types of its greater sections as defined by its first investigator. In fact, they have adopted as a standard that system which, being definite in its details, enabled them to obtain a distinct scale for the purposes of comparison. They have not chosen their nomenclature on account of its author, but because the model he had set before them is perspicuous and intelligible.

We question whether any practical geologist now living would doubt for a moment that one of the greatest advances ever made in the descriptive section of his science was the establishment of the Silurian system. It matters not whether we hold, with its author, that the earliest manifestations of life and the commencement and inauguration of animated nature are included within it, or, with Sir Charles Lyell, more cautiously interpret the relics of primæval beings, and regard the Silurian fauna as the earliest yet demonstrated, though not necessarily the first. Whichever view we take, the importance of the discovery and definition of the Silurian system cannot be called in question. It was a grand reward of sagacity, perseverance, and well-directed skill—no lucky chance, but a discovery deliberately sought, which threw a flood of daylight around a realm of geological darkness, and made the obscurest of rock-assemblages one of the clearest and most instructive. A single man did this great and worthy task. The definition of the Silurian system, and the several members or sections of which it is composed, the invention of a nomenclature for the subdivisions, which, though essentially local, has become of universal application, the determination of a scheme of organic types upon which comparisons and identifications could be conveniently based—all these good works were done by one investigator, the illustrious author of the volume now before us.

It is necessary to state this broadly and strongly, for the ungeological public, whether scientific or unscientific, is in danger of misinterpreting a controversy that has lately agitated the geological world, and of taking away a share of the merit justly due to Sir Roderick Murchison. Burke has said that all men are as the ignorant in matters which they do not understand, and the truth of the opinion might well be illustrated by the nonsense written about geology, even by philosophers who are not geologists. With reluctance we feel compelled to advert to the discussion, mainly concerning nomenclature, that has recently filled many pages of geological publications, the disputants being no less eminent and able men than Professor Sedgwick on the one, and the author of the 'Silurian System' upon the other side.

Twenty years ago, when there was no Prince of Wales to dispute the invasion, the Woodwardian professor and the scientific soldier agreed to partition the principality between them. To the former was allotted all the country north of Meifod. Each worked his own region well, and elicited facts and generalizations which have been of precious service to their science. The establishment of the Silurian system and its constituent groups, and the clear discrimination of their succession and definition of their palæontological features, was the great result of Sir Roderick Murchison's labours. The investigation of the complicated and difficult North Welsh country, a most laborious task, was effected by Professor Sedgwick. Under the belief that the vast mass of strata to which his attention was chiefly directed lay below the Silurians of his friend and colleague, a belief shared by all geologists at the time, Professor Sedgwick gave the name of Cambrian to a group of rocks of great thickness and extent, which subsequently proved, mainly through the researches of that ill-paid enthusiastic band of peripatetic savans, the Government Geological Surveyors, to be synchronic, in great part, with the Lower Silurians of Sir Roderick Murchison. The questions really at issue are, Shall the mass of the Lower Silurians cease to be so called and in future be termed Cambrian? and, Would geological science gain by this proceeding? The disputes about priority of right of naming these rocks, and how far each geologist knew what the other was doing, except so far as they are questions of justice, are of little interest to the world in general. The facts, as stated in the preface to 'Siluria,' are sufficiently clearly and fairly presented, nor does a reperusal of the papers written upon the other side induce us to contradict the claims put forward in the former document. Still, if science were plainly to be the gainer by the adoption of the terms advocated by Professor Sedgwick, the sooner they are brought



brought into use the better. However long ago the term 'Cambrian' was put forth, it is quite evident that it was not understood, as we shall presently see, in the sense now given to it by its author. Yet all who used it—and it has been extensively employed at home and abroad—believed that they understood what Professor Sedgwick meant when he invented the word. It is now maintained that the use of it in an extended sense, so as to include the 'Lower Silurians,' would be justified by the palæontological value of the series so constructed. But if there be any true synonym of the term 'Silurian,' it is the expression 'Lower Palæozoic'; the Devonian, Carboniferous, and Permian rocks constituting in their assemblage the Upper Palæozoic section. 'Cambrian' can be no equivalent for 'Silurian,' although it may be for Upper Silurian, or for Devonian, or for Carboniferous, or Permian. We are strongly under the impression that the series of rocks included by Professor Sedgwick under the name of Cambrian may prove eventually not to constitute even so natural a division as any one of them, but may link together two divisions of Silurians, the one being the primordial zone of Burrande and the other the Llandeilo and Bala series. At best the term Cambrian, in the sense applied to it by Professor Sedgwick, is inconvenient in the present state of palæozoic geology.

The author of the 'Silurian System' would certainly be the most unlucky of men were the nomenclature advocated by Professor Sedgwick to be adopted. To rule over Ludlows and Wenlocks, with a quasi-sovereignty over part of the Caradocs, and to abandon all regal authority amid the Llandeilo flags and their equivalents, would be much as if Queen Victoria's kingdom were to be restricted to the Channel Isles, with a disputable right to the Isle of Wight as an appendage, Great Britain and Ireland being handed over to some other potentate. Upper Silurian makes but a small figure on the map of the world, or even on the map of Europe, as compared with Lower Silurian, however important it may be so far as its fossil contents are concerned. To make matters still worse, M. Alcide D'Orbigny, a palæontological warrior without fear, but not quite without reproach, proposes to separate these very fossils, and the beds containing them, from what he considers as properly Silurian, and goes so far as to give them a new name, calling them Murchisonien! Thus between two stools, the one upsetting him by a blundering compliment, and the other by an intentional overturn, Sir Roderick goes to the ground; or, rather, would suffer that sad fate, were not the great majority of geologists agreed in supporting the knight in his good old well-ridden Silurian saddle.

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The nomenclature of the Lower Palæozoic rocks, invented by Sir Roderick Murchison, is generally used by British geologists, and likely to continue in use among them, since it is that adopted by the great national Geological Survey of the British Islands. The beautiful maps, originally produced by the Ordnance Survey, and afterwards converted, with minute and conscientious labour, into geological maps by the Government Surveyors, directed by Sir Henry de la Beche, are coloured accordingly. This eminent observer, and his corps of able assistants, have, after long-continued and hard work in the field, proved beyond question that the Lower Silurians of Shropshire and Montgomeryshire are equivalents of North Welsh rocks, which latter are Cambrians in the nomenclature of Professor Sedgwick. They have deliberately, and without bias, adopted the former term, not however ignoring altogether the latter appellation, reserving it for the Longmynd beds and their equivalents. The beautiful and instructive suite of Silurian organic remains displayed in the galleries of the Museum of Practical Geology have been arranged and ticketed in accordance with their views. The retention and permanency of scientific terms are practically dependent on considerations of convenience, and, so long as in the principal geological documents, produced at home and abroad, the groups of the Silurian system, as originally named, are adopted, the leading one of all is not likely to be abandoned.

It should be clearly understood that by none of these proposed or advocated changes is the main geology of the question in the least affected. Respecting the order of succession of the strata which are Silurian for Sir Roderick Murchison, and partly Silurian, partly (and mainly) Cambrian for Professor Sedgwick, the scientific importance of these beds, and the vast duration of time required for their production, all geologists, including both the illustrious members of the corps just mentioned, are firmly agreed. In every point, touching this discussion, that concerns the great truths of the science, they are as one man. The dispute relates to priority of observation and right of nomenclature, questions of law and custom, as it were, to be submitted by the litigants to their scientific peers, and not to be judged by the uninitiated. The prominence that it has assumed at the meetings of scientific societies and annual re-unions has produced a somewhat contrary impression, and we have met with not a few persons, well informed on most subjects, who had contracted a belief to the effect that between Cambrian and Silurian all geology had come to a hitch, that the succession of epochs was suddenly found to be a myth, and that the late much-abused Dean Cockburn was about to be justified after all.

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That this difference of opinion on a question which really does not seriously affect the progress of geology should ever have been brought so prominently before the public, scientific and unscientific, is a matter of sincere regret to all working geologists. There was no occasion for any controversy in the matter. Few disputes on paper are worth the intellectual powder and shot spent over them, and, when we look back upon the annals of science and literature, how often are we forced to lament and deprecate the waste of great intellects in collisions arising from mere discussions about priority of discovery. The wisest of men is after all but an instrument and machine, acting at the right time and place, for the promotion of knowledge through the development of new thoughts or the discovery and application of new facts. When a sound capacity turns aside to battle about its work, instead of steadily pursuing its task and mission, the world is a loser, and, though sometimes amused by the wordy warfare, eventually condemns and finally forgets the dispute. There is at present an alarming deficiency in the supply of paper. The rag-bags are empty and the rag-merchants in despair. The brains of the ingenious are swarming with devices for substitutes. Publishers and printers tremble for their craft. It is feared, not without reason, that when all parliamentary records, dull sermons, trashy novels, publications of teetotal societies, and much more of the same description, are resolved into immaculate pulp, the inky rubbish expunged, and the clear essence of rag retained in pristine purity, the insatiable paper-makers will still call for more. Where can there be found a better supply than in the controversial writings of philosophers and men of letters? Let us expunge the memorials of all squabbles and jealousies. Let Milton, and Pope, and Bishop Warburton, and Isaac Newton, and all the long array of noble-minded combatants, be purified of the memory of their quarrels. We should lose something, but gain more. And let all philosophers, poets, historians, and critics, if it be possible, avoid controversy in future, were it for no other reason than to save paper, since paper is scarce.

The controversies of naturalists are seldom creditable to the popular reputation of science. The majority of these disputes are essentially personal, and deal with differences that are of little interest to those who are not concerned. Who first started this, or named that hare, is, in nine instances out of ten, the gist of the debate. The scientific public is content to catch and eat the hare, without caring who started or named it. Occasionally an act of nefarious poaching, deserving of public reprobation and condign punishment, is committed; but public opinion soon rectifies the grievance and consigns the offender to Coventry.

Far

Far oftener, however, there is no delinquency on either side, both disputants having done their work honestly and well. One has, perhaps, been more fortunate than the other, and, in the run of events, has the losing game, although no blame can be attributed either to him or his rival.

In the course of the Cambro-Silurian discussions, a great deal has been said and written about a 'natural system' of rock-formations. The expression is one familiar to zoologists and botanists, and conveys to them a distinct meaning, and has been used by geologists in what they apparently believe an analogous sense. We question the propriety of adopting this phrase into geological language, and doubt the correctness of the supposed analogy. Animals or plants are said to belong to the same natural group when they are constructed on the same plan or ideal type, and are related to each other through homology, or, in other words, identity of conformation. A natural system in zoology and botany is one that is supposed to co-ordinate in more general relations of affinity the groups or families constituted upon these considerations. Now it is plain that there can be no true analogy between the 'natural systems' of biologists and those which have lately been so designated by geologists, for the latter can mean no more than assemblages of a certain number of organised species within an arbitrarily-assumed portion of geological time. The species so grouped need have no mutual affinities; their tie is one dependent only on the accident of their synchronic creation and their endurance of identical physical conditions. As these conditions are in the main local and limited in their geographical extension, each time-assemblage of species is necessarily local also. When we speak of cretaceous, oolitic, carboniferous, &c., epochs, we refer to divisions of time during each of which certain sedimentary rock-formations were deposited, and we distinguish between these and give them different names, on account of the more or less distinct set of animals and plants which existed between the commencement and conclusion of each of those geological epochs. Experience has shown that biological differences of this nature furnish the only certain basis for the construction of a geological time-scale. All attempts to found one on purely mineralogical considerations have invariably failed, and indeed are now never proposed except by very inexperienced or very antiquated geologists. But whilst laying the strongest stress upon Palæontological facts as foundations of a true classification of geological epochs, we must not overrate them, or forget that all such facts are local, in a greater or less degree according to circumstances. The whole of our geological systems or formations, or whatsoever else we may please

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to term them, are therefore in their essence limited and topographical, and consequently, until we discover great laws regulating the succession of life-appearances in time, provisional and empirical.

But are there no laws looming in the distance? Have none been indicated—none discovered? Are geologists to be the gipsies of science, picturesque denizens of the fields and wilds, lighting their fires and boiling their pots each according to his own fancy, and without regard to rule or authority? We know that not a few of our sober mathematicians and severe astronomers, nay, even thrifty chemists, look upon them as philosophical irregulars and British-Association Bashi-Bazouks. But the Arabs of the Desert had their prophets, and so has geology. Surely Leopold von Buch, so lately taken from amongst us, was one. That illustrious man, whose name is one of the glories of Germany, originated an idea which probably contains the germ of a great geological law. He endeavoured to show that each section of geological time might be marked not only by the peculiar set of organic remains belonging to it, the value of whose differences after all must depend upon local arrangements, but by a general and peculiar *facies* or aspect presented by the whole assemblage of organized beings created within its limits, as if the mighty Maker of all things, delighting in infinite variety and never repeating the same thought or mode of thought, had stamped each age of life with a seal that would distinguish it whilst the fragment of one of its organisms remained. And, practically, at the present moment, whatever be his opinion, whether inclined or adverse to the generalization foreshadowed by Von Buch, the geological observer sets to work almost instinctively to identify formations through that very law. A stranger in a far land that has never been explored brings home a heap of rocks and fossils, and submits them to a geologist with questions about their age. The man of science turns them over one by one, and, although each and every species may be new to him, with little hesitation pronounces on the epoch of the formation from which they were taken. Whether he choose to admit or deny the validity of the doctrine of *facies of epochs*, he, in this instance, which is an everyday occurrence, acts as if he had implicit faith in the belief. We remember once sitting in an Eastern court of justice, and watching, with much curiosity, the proceedings of the Cadi who was judge. One man accused another of stealing his artichokes and selling them in the market. There was hard swearing on both sides, and it was very difficult to guess which was the liar. Witnesses were balanced, and to all appearance equally respectable. The Cadi looked grave, pondered, and called for the artichokes.

artichokes. One by one he counted them out from the basket, and then unhesitatingly gave his verdict for the plaintiff, and hurried away the accused to be severely bastinadoed. We were curious to know the reason for this prompt decision, and through an influential friend put the question to the Cadi. His answer was simple and plain: 'When men,' he said, 'bring their own artichokes to our market, they cut their heads and do not break them off; these artichokes were all broken.' The story has not much to do with geology, yet may serve to illustrate the process by which the geologist comes to his decision about the age of rocks. As the Cadi judged of the history of the artichokes by their aspect, so does the Palæontologist pronounce upon the fossils set before him.

The name by which any formation characterised by the presence of peculiar fossil contents is to be called must, in a great measure, depend on the views of the geologist who has to speak or write about it. Its acceptance will depend on its usefulness. A mere number would do as well as a word, were our knowledge of the series of formations complete, but, not being so, a word has to be employed. At present the nomenclature of geological formations is oddly miscellaneous, and derived from the most heterogeneous combinations and sources. A tribe of ancient Britons have supplied the epithet *Silurian*; regions where the beds so designated are especially fossiliferous, or rock-strewn, furnish the terms *Devonian* and *Permian*. The abundance of coal in strata of middle palæozoic age suggests the name of *Carboniferous*, although any coal-bearing sedimentary formation would furnish the same character. Because our British clod-poles could not talk of 'layers' of clay and marl without contorting the word into 'liars,' a series of strata, widely diffused through the world, has received the name of *Lias*. The euphony of the word seems to have suggested to the Germans the term '*Trias*' given by them to the formation that follows: not, however, wholly without a meaning, for the term is ingeniously contrived to suggest at the same time the triple division of the Teutonic *Trias* into '*keuper*,' '*muschelkalk*,' and '*bunter sandstein*.' This same *Trias* has been also designated '*poikilitic*,' because certain of the marls composing it are often conspicuously parti-coloured,—a feature, however, frequently presented by marls of all ages having a similar mineral character. It rejoices, besides, in two more names, viz. '*Saliferous*,' because rock-salt is found abundantly in it in several localities, and '*Upper New Red Sandstone*,' to distinguish it from the '*Lower New Red Sandstone*,' which is the *Permian*. There are numerous red sandstones greatly newer than either. The '*oolites*' are



are so called because some well-known building-stones belonging to the series are made up of minute pea-like particles; but a similar structure is met with in both older and new rocks. Such terms as Cornbrash, Oxford and Kimmeridge clay, Portland and Purbeck stones, betray at once their local and provincial origin, but sound oddly enough when converted into Oxfordien, Kimmeridgien, Portlandien, and Purbeckien. 'Lower Green Sands' and 'Upper Green Sands' need neither be sandy nor green; it suffices for the geologist that they are deposits of a certain age. 'White chalk' may be yellow, or green, or black, and is actually of these colours in some places, but, notwithstanding these stains upon its character, is still called 'white' by courtesy. 'Eocene' seemed a happy thought when first employed, but the dawn of new things had before very long to be referred to an earlier time of the geological day. 'Pliocene' was scarcely christened before a 'newer pliocene' and a 'pleistocene' sprang up. Geologists who repudiate the Noachian deluge continue to write about 'diluvium.' In fact, each term, whether constant to its original meaning or contradictory of it, becomes an independent word or sign, the literal signification of which is rapidly set aside, and a new conventional sense given to it. It serves its purpose in the mean time, and what more can we desire? All growing sciences are prolific in discussions about nomenclature, and generate debates that wax warm through the very earnestness of the disputing philosophers. Geologists are reputed to be especially disputatious, and to make war on each other with a verbal ferocity alarming to their unlearned hearers and readers. It is said that a brave old soldier, a visitor for the first time at a geological meeting, left the room during the heat of disputation rather than be present at a scene that must lead to a challenge. 'The art of war,' writes the usually unintelligible Oken, 'is the highest, most exalted art—the principle of Peace;' and certainly the end of geological wars is hearty good fellowship and co-operation. The old Scandinavian gods amused themselves all day in their Valhalla hacking each other to small pieces, but, when the time of feasting came, sat down together entire and harmonious, all their wounds healed and forgotten. Our modern Thors, the hammer-wielders of science, enjoy similar rough sport with like pleasant ending. Men whose work, both of head and hand, is done mainly under the broad sky and along the craggy sides of mountains, heedless of weather and toil, are not likely to use mincing forms of speech, or mollify their sentiments when engaged in discussions, though all the time mildness and mercy are at the foundations of their thoughts. Better men and truer, whether in  
field

field or council, there are not living than the two famous geologists, the nature of whose difference we have endeavoured to expound. They have worked long and well in co-operation, heart and hand united; and though the fortune of scientific war has led in the end to the crossing of their pens, the names of Sedgwick and Murchison will go down to posterity side by side, and bracketed together in the glorious list of benefactors of mankind through the advancement of science.

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ART. V.—1. *The Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith.* By John Forster, of the Inner Temple, Barrister-at-Law. Second edition. 2 vols. 8vo. London, 1854.

2. *The Works of Oliver Goldsmith.* Edited by Peter Cunningham. 4 vols. 8vo. London, 1854.

MR. CUNNINGHAM, whose scrupulous exactness is generally known, has furnished the first complete and accurate reprint of the miscellaneous writings of Oliver Goldsmith. Numerous errors which had crept into previous editions are corrected, omitted passages are restored, and entire pieces have been added.\* By a fortunate coincidence Mr. Forster at the same moment has reproduced, with great additions, his well-known 'Life of Goldsmith,' in which he has collected, from an infinity of sources, every particular which could illustrate the career of his hero, and by his acute and genial comments has assigned to the mass of disjointed facts their true significance. Much as has been written upon the man, and often as his works have been republished, we have now a better opportunity for forming a thorough acquaintance with both than has been afforded us before.

There was an anomaly in Goldsmith's character which has existed in no other celebrated personage in an equal degree. An Irishman by birth, he had most of the virtues and not a few of the failings which distinguish many of his nation—their love of low festivities, their blundering, their gullibility, their boastfulness, their vanity, their improvidence, and, above all, their hospitality and benevolence. But with this Hibernian disposition he was an author after the purest and soberest models—chaste in his style and language, and calm and rational in his opinions. Those who lived with him found it hard to believe that one so

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\* The new edition of the works of Goldsmith forms part of a series of the British Classics, which is undoubtedly the best selected and edited, the cheapest, and the handsomest that has ever issued from the press.



weak in his conduct and conversation could display much power in his writings, and, as we learn from Dr. Johnson, 'it was with difficulty that his friends could give him a hearing.' Posterity, on the other hand, who reverse the process and judge him from his books, have been reluctant to acknowledge that the man 'who wrote like an angel could have talked like poor Poll;' and there has been a tendency of late years to accuse his contemporaries of combining to exaggerate his absurdities. But whatever be the explanation of the contradiction, there is abundant evidence that it was real. His works remain to speak for themselves; and the account of his foibles comes to us from such a variety of quarters, that to deny the likeness would be to undermine the foundations of biography itself. Even if traits originally ludicrous were made broader in the repetition, the general temptation to indulge in a caricature of his weaknesses is itself a proof that the qualities existed in excess. This distinct recognition by Mr. Forster of the blended nature of Goldsmith, of the Irish temperament which he derived from his parents, his training, and his early associates, and of the taste in composition which he derived from the study of books, has dissipated the doubts and difficulties which recent discussions were beginning to raise about one of the most strongly marked and transparent characters that ever existed in the world.

On the appearance in 1837 of Mr. Prior's *Life of Goldsmith*, we related in detail the earlier, and at that time the least known, part of his career.\* The son of a poor clergyman, he was sent at 17 to Dublin University, and for cheapness was compelled to enter as a sizar. If poverty is the stimulus to industry, industry is equally the solace of poverty. Study furnishes the mind with occupation, and removes the necessity for costlier and less worthy entertainment; but idleness aggravates penury, and is the parent of low diversions, lassitude, and debt. Such, from the indications which remain to us, appears to have been the college existence of Goldsmith. Any chance of his being drawn into the studies of the place was destroyed by the brutality of a tutor, who ridiculed his awkwardness and his ignorance, and who once knocked him down for giving a humble dance at his rooms to celebrate the small but solitary honour of having gained an exhibition worth thirty shillings. After nearly four years passed at Dublin without pleasure, profit, or distinction, he took his degree of bachelor of arts the 27th of February 1749.

His father died while he was at college, and his mother lived in reduced circumstances at a cottage in Ballymahon. He was

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\* 'Quarterly Review,' vol. lvii. p. 273.

urged by his family to take orders, but, wanting two years of the canonical age, he spent the interval at his new home. When he at last presented himself before the Bishop of Elphin he was refused ordination. According to a tradition which rests upon indifferent authority, and which is contradicted by other accounts, he was rejected for appearing in scarlet breeches. The story was probably a jocose invention suggested by his love of gaudy clothes, and the only intelligible explanation of the transaction, as Mr. Forster remarks, is that his knowledge was found deficient. Instead of preparing for his examination he had employed his two years in country rambles, in playing whist and the flute, and in telling stories and singing songs at a club which met at the Ballymahon public-house. His own predilections had never been in favour of the clerical profession, and he made no further efforts to enter the church. Mr. Contarine, a clergyman who had married the sister of Oliver's father, now procured him the situation of tutor in the house of a Mr. Flinn. Here he remained a twelvemonth, when he taxed one of the family with cheating at cards and lost his office. He went back to Ballymahon with thirty pounds and a horse, started afresh in a few days, and re-appeared at the end of six weeks with a worse horse and no money. His mother being very angry, he wrote a letter to pacify her, in which he professed to have gone to Cork, to have paid his passage in a ship which was bound to America, and to have been left behind by an unscrupulous captain who 'never inquired after me, but set sail with as much indifference as if I had been on board.' A train of adventures followed, the whole of which bear evident marks of invention, and show how early he began to display the talents which produced the 'Vicar of Wakefield.' The Church and emigration had failed. It was resolved to try law. With fifty pounds, furnished by Mr. Contarine, he set out for London to keep his terms, gambled away his little fund with an acquaintance at Dublin, and was once more thrown back penniless upon his friends. The law was given up; but after a short interval they were hopeful enough to think that medicine might be attended with better luck. The money was again supplied by Mr. Contarine, and this time the reckless Oliver contrived to reach his destination, though it was no less distant than Edinburgh. He arrived there in the autumn of 1752, when he was 24 years of age.

It may be inferred from the previous and subsequent proceedings of Oliver, that he was neither very diligent nor very prudent at Edinburgh, but little is known with certainty. He remained there till the spring of 1754, when, led more by his love of roving than by his devotion to science, he resolved to visit the  
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continental schools. 'I shall carry,' he wrote to Mr. Contarine in announcing that he had drawn upon him for twenty pounds, 'just 33*l.* to France, with good store of clothes, shirts, &c., and that with economy will serve.' Economy he never practised. Whatever pittance he possessed was usually squandered, and when he lived frugally it was because he had exhausted his means. A letter from Leyden to Mr. Contarine, which describes the mishaps that attended his voyage to Holland, whither he went instead of to France, is tinged, like the apologetical epistle to his mother, with palpable romance; and Mr. Forster suggests, we have no doubt truly, that it may perhaps have been dictated by the same motive—a desire to explain away heedless expenditure which might soon compel him to tax anew the purse and patience of his friends. His generous uncle, however, seems shortly afterwards to have sunk into childishness, and his other relatives in Ireland were deaf to his appeals. At Leyden he managed to exist by borrowing and giving lessons in English. He frequented the gaming-table, and once brought away a considerable sum, which was lost almost as soon as won. When he took his departure in February 1755, he was obliged to a fellow-student for the loan which was to carry him on his way. Immediately afterwards he passed the shop of a florist, saw some costly tulip-roots, which were things prized by Mr. Contarine, and, solely intent upon gratifying his uncle, bought them at once with the borrowed money. It is these benevolent but ill-regulated impulses which have endeared the memory of Goldsmith to the world. In him the extravagance which ministers to gratitude and relieves wretchedness was still stronger than the improvidence which grew from self-indulgence. 'He left Leyden next day,' says Mr. Forster, 'with a guinea in his pocket, one shirt to his back, and a flute in his hand.'

He took the course which he afterwards described in 'The Traveller,' and trudged on foot through parts of Flanders, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy. In later days he used to tell his friends of the distresses he underwent—of his sleeping in barns, of his dependence at one time upon the charity of convents, and of his turning itinerant flute-player\* at another to get bed

\* He was an indifferent performer, and, if we were to credit the story related by Sir John Hawkins, he was ignorant of his notes. Roubiliac, so runs the tale, pretending to be charmed with one of Oliver's airs, begged to have it repeated that he might take it down. The sculptor jotted some random dots upon the paper, and showed it to Goldsmith, who, after looking it over with seeming attention, pronounced it to be correct, adding, 'that if he had not seen him do it he never could have believed his friend capable of writing music after him.' In contradiction to this, the author of an address to the 'Philological Society of London,' published in May, 1787, and quoted by Mr. Forster, asserts that a gentleman

bed and board. As no Englishman of his time could have seen so much of the interior life of the lower classes abroad, and been so intimately versed in their manners and feelings, it is surprising that among all his literary taskwork he should never have given a narrative of his continental adventures. It is stated by Mr. Forster, that after he grew into reputation the booksellers for whom he worked were unwilling to have it known that the famous Dr. Goldsmith had been a mendicant wanderer. If this was the cause of his silence, they judged very ill for their own interests and very falsely of public opinion, and the world has lost a more charming book of travels than has ever perhaps been penned.

The pedestrian tour of Goldsmith lasted exactly a year, and in February 1756 he landed at Dover. He had increased his knowledge of men, manners, and countries, but he had brought back little which could aid him in his profession, except a medical degree that was supposed to have been procured at either Padua or Louvain, where the principal qualification was the payment of the fees. He made his way to London, and his first employment is believed to have been that of an usher in a provincial school. He soon returned to the metropolis, and offered himself to apothecaries to dispense their medicines. He had no other introduction than his mien and address, and it is not surprising that his ungainly figure, plain face, awkward manners, and shabby clothes should have failed to recommend him. Such was the poverty of his appearance that when he called shortly afterwards in his *best* suit upon Dr. Sleigh, who had been his fellow-student at Edinburgh, his former associate was unable to recognise him in his pitiful garb. His Irish birth increased the mistrust and stood much in his way. One Jacob, a chemist, who lived near the Monument, at last ventured to try him, and it was while in his service that Oliver renewed his intercourse with Dr. Sleigh. 'When he did recollect me,' says Goldsmith, 'I found his heart as warm as ever, and he shared his purse and friendship with me during his continuance in London.' Through the agency of Sleigh and Jacob he commenced practising in Southwark, and, in the language of Mr. Forster, became 'poor physician to the poor.' Yet even in this lowly sphere he was mindful of dress, and while with one hand he felt the pulse of his patient, with the other he held his hat upon his breast to conceal a patch in his coat. Either he failed to get practice, or those who employed him were too needy to pay, and he abandoned physic to become

man of his acquaintance had often laid pieces of music before Goldsmith, who played them at sight. The anecdote of Hawkins is not in itself very probable, and may now be dismissed as apocryphal.

corrector



corrector of the press to the famous Samuel Richardson. A printer whom he attended, and who worked for Richardson, is said to have suggested the notion and introduced him to the novelist. This contact with literature did not assist to make apparent the latent qualities of his genius. The author of 'Clarissa' was too much taken up with his own importance to have a chance of detecting in his humble assistant the powers which were to produce the 'Vicar of Wakefield.'

In these several occupations the year was passed. The early part of 1757 found him usher at the Academy of Dr. Milner of Peckham, whose son was another of the fellow-students of Goldsmith at Edinburgh. He was now secure from want; but to judge from the descriptions he has left of the calling in his writings, it was of all his shifts the most painful and degrading. 'The usher,' he wrote in the *Bee*, 'is generally the laughing-stock of the school. Every trick is played upon him; the oddity of his manners, his dress, or his language, is a fund of eternal ridicule; the master himself now and then cannot avoid joining in the laugh, and the poor wretch, eternally resenting this ill-usage, lives in a state of war with all the family.' Mr. Forster, who quotes this passage, also quotes from the reminiscences of Mr. Cooke, a barrister, who was intimate with Goldsmith during the latter part of his life, the still more significant fact that, though he was accustomed to relate the hardships of his obscure days, he never alluded to the Peckham Academy. The neglects and insults shown to his poverty were due to his circumstances, but the taunts of his pupils were a deeper wound to his sensitive nature, because they were directed against the man. The sketch of the usher he has drawn in the 'Bee' is a palpable self-portrait, and it is a mark of his simplicity that he has generalised traits which were peculiar to himself. The office was doubtless often treated with disrespect, but the laugh which went round the juvenile circle, and extended itself to the solemn central figure of the group, was especially provoked by the diverting originalities which distinguished Goldsmith from the rest of mankind. The oddity of language to which he alludes in the *Bee* was his Hibernian dialect, and it was remarked by his friend Mr. Cooke that to the close of his life he was careful to retain it in all its original force. A curious instance of his ignorance of English pronunciation occurs in one of his early reviews, in which he takes a poet to task for making *key* rhyme with *be*. He had then no idea that it had any other sound than his native Irish *kay*.

The tricks which the pupils played off upon Oliver he retaliated on the footman, who was weak in intellect and ludi-

crously vain. As he prided himself upon his eating and drinking feats, Goldsmith rolled some white cheese into the shape of a candle-end, and inserting a bit of blackened paper for a wick he placed it by the remnant of a true tallow dip. 'You eat that piece of candle,' he said to the footman, 'and I will eat this.' Goldsmith set the example, and with a wry face ate up his cheese by mouthfuls. When he had nearly done, the footman swallowed his own piece of candle at a single desperate gulp, and began to triumph over the protracted nausea of his antagonist. 'Why truly, William,' replied Goldsmith, 'my bit of candle was no other than a bit of very nice Cheshire cheese, and therefore, William, I was unwilling to lose the relish of it.' After practical jokes like these from a man of 29, it was an inevitable consequence that usher Oliver and footman William should be treated by the boys with about equal respect. But the old halo of benevolence which surrounds him everywhere shines out here, and his salary was usually spent, the very day it was paid, in charity to beggars and gifts to the smaller boys. 'You had better, Mr. Goldsmith,' said Mrs. Milner at last, 'let me keep your money for you, as I do for some of the young gentlemen.' 'In truth, Madam,' he replied, 'there is equal need.'

It was while he was at Peckham that the circumstance occurred which brought him into connexion with his real vocation. Dr. Milner was a contributor to the 'Monthly Review,' and Griffiths, the proprietor, when dining at his table, was so far impressed by the conversation of Goldsmith, that he asked him to furnish a few specimens of criticism. The result was his removal from the establishment of Dr. Milner to that of Mr. Griffiths. He was to lodge and board with the bookseller, to receive a small salary, and to labour every day from nine till two upon the 'Monthly Review.' He entered upon his new functions at the end of April 1757, having engaged himself for a twelve-month, and we are inclined to adopt a more cheering view of the contract than has been taken by Mr. Forster. Goldsmith declared that it was not till a year or two later that he discovered his talents for literature. He had, indeed, sent his brother Henry, in a letter from abroad, the first brief draught of 'The Traveller,' but it drew forth no praise from the family circle, and did not add to their hopes of the scapegrace Oliver. He had again in the January of the present year, according to the statement of Dr. Farr, called upon him to read the commencement of a tragedy, upon which he had previously taken the opinion of Richardson, but he appears to have received no encouragement to proceed, nor is there the slightest trace, since he sold ballads when at college for five shillings apiece to the street-singers of Dublin, that in any of his  
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distresses he ever dreamt of eking out his subsistence by his pen. To exchange the mechanical drudgery of hearing the Delectus and correcting the nonsense verses of little boys for the more intellectual drudgery of writing for the press was, we suspect, considered by himself an elevation at the moment. It was not Goldsmith conscious of his genius that had let himself out to Griffiths by the year, but Goldsmith the butt of acquaintances and the laughing-stock of schoolboys. In consequence, however, of the coarse, ungenerous nature of the particular publisher who had secured his services, the engagement proved unpropitious, and at the end of six months was dissolved in anger by mutual consent. The bookseller taxed his scribe with idleness and independence, and Goldsmith complained of the authoritative airs of Griffiths, of the domestic parsimony of his wife, and of the unwarrantable liberties of both in re-touching the articles he composed for the review. These early productions have the graces of his style, though not in the highest degree. The substance is below the form. The criticisms and observations are often commonplace, never novel or profound, and his happiest ideas can scarcely challenge any prouder designation than good common sense. With exquisite taste in his own compositions he never, strange to say, attained to much insight into the merits and defects of the writings of others. When his judgments are not false, they show neither nicety of discrimination nor keenness of relish.

In the autumn of 1757 he was once more thrown upon the town, sleeping in a garret and dating his letters from the Temple Exchange coffee-house, near Temple Bar. He was tracked to his lodgings by his brother Charles, who, hearing a rumour that Oliver was up in the world, had decamped secretly from Ireland to partake of this unwonted Goldsmith prosperity. The poor author made light of his situation, and said that the *Campaign* of Addison was written in a garret higher than his own; but Charles saw that he must seek for another patron, and was soon on his way to Jamaica. In a letter which Goldsmith wrote in December to his brother-in-law, Mr. Hodson, he speaks of himself as making shift to live by very little practice as a physician, and very little reputation as a poet. None of the poetry has been recovered, if indeed it ever existed, for his accounts of himself are not to be trusted. The only literary work which has been traced to him at this period is a short article in the 'Critical Review' for November 1757, and a translation from the French, entitled 'The Memoirs of a Protestant condemned to the Gallies of France for his Religion,' which was published in February 1758. Even existence in a garret could not be supported upon

the miserable proceeds of authorship, and he was fain to return to the Peckham Academy. He reappeared in the school under what we should have supposed to have been happier auspices. The health of Dr. Milner was failing, and the head-mastership devolved in great part upon the usher. To the increased authority he derived from this circumstance was added the consideration, which in the worst days of literature must always have been something, of having been thought competent to instruct the public through the press. Yet his situation was still uneasy, and the hope which brightened his prospects was the promise of Dr. Milner to procure him a medical appointment in India. He bid a final adieu to the Peckham seminary in August 1758, and shortly afterwards received the warrant which nominated him physician and surgeon to one of the factories on the coast of Coromandel. The salary was only a hundred a-year, but the private practice of the place, which followed the official station, was an extra thousand. To raise money for the outfit, which he calculated would require 130*l.*, he had for some time been preparing in his leisure hours '*An Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe.*' He wrote to his relatives and old companions in Ireland to ask them to obtain subscriptions for the work. Two or three of those from whom he expected most took no notice of his application, and verified the playful prediction in one of his letters of this date, which distinctly prefigures Mr. Forster and Mr. Cunningham. 'There will come a day, no doubt it will, when the Scaligers and Daciers will vindicate my character, give learned editions of my labours, and bless the times with copious comments on the text. You shall see how they will fish up the heavy scoundrels who disregard me now. How will they bewail the times that suffered so much genius to be neglected!' It is true that the experience which these 'heavy scoundrels' had had of the use to which Oliver put pecuniary assistance was by no means encouraging, true that any rumours which reached them of his proceedings abroad could only have exhibited him as a thoughtless idler or a mendicant vagrant, true that any tidings of his London vicissitudes must have surrounded him with the suspicion which always attends upon a man who is everything by turns and nothing long; but they also knew that he was as generous as he was improvident; that, if the situations had been reversed, they would not in vain have asked for themselves what they denied to him; that he had supported himself now for four years 'without one word of encouragement, or one act of assistance;' and, what was most of all to the purpose, to invite subscriptions to a book was to give a practical proof that he was turning his talents to account.

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While Goldsmith was anxiously waiting for his Irish supplies he had to disburse ten pounds for the warrant of his appointment by the East India Company. To raise the money, he wrote articles for the 'Critical Review,' which was superintended by the genius of Dr. Smollett. Two papers from Oliver's pen appeared in the number for January 1759, but before they saw the light the warrant which was to make his fortune was withdrawn. The motive of this proceeding never transpired. That it arose from some cause which was mortifying to his vanity may be inferred from his always avoiding the subject, and from his assuring his brother Henry, in order to evade inconvenient explanations, that he had met with no disappointment in the business, though it was then three months since the warrant had been revoked. It was in November 1758, that he was thus summarily set aside, and, lowering his ambition to his circumstances, the ex-physician to the Coromandel Factory presented himself on the 21st of December before the examiners at Surgeons' Hall, to qualify for the office of an hospital mate. A single unlucky candidate of all who applied that day was too ignorant of the rudiments of surgical science to pass, and that one was Oliver Goldsmith, Bachelor of Medicine, and late practitioner of physic in Bank-side, Southwark. Who is to tell, after this, what rare qualities of mind may coexist with stammering ignorance and a plebeian exterior?

His examination at Surgeons' Hall soon involved him in an additional misery. He had no clothes in which he could venture to appear before a tribunal composed of the grandees of the profession. He opened a negotiation with his old master, Griffiths, who, in return for four articles contributed to the 'Monthly Review' of December, became security to a tailor for the requisite suit, which was to be paid for, or returned, on a stated day. The stated day came, and found the clothes in pawn, and the four books which Griffiths had sent him to review in pledge to a friend. The occasion which reduced him to this breach of his word was the arrest of the landlord of his wretched lodging, to whom he was in arrear. The bookseller sent to demand the goods or their value, and, as Goldsmith could return neither, Griffiths wrote him word that he was 'a sharper and a villain.' In an answer full of woe the miserable debtor begs to be consigned to a gaol. 'I have seen it,' he says, 'inevitable these three or four weeks, and, by heavens! request it as a favour,—as a favour that may prevent somewhat more fatal.' He denies the villany, but owns that he has been guilty of imprudence, and of 'the meannesses which poverty unavoidably brings with it.' The wrath of Griffiths was appeased by Goldsmith undertaking  
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to furnish a 'Life of Voltaire' for twenty pounds, from which the debt was to be subtracted. The memoir, which was finished in a month, he himself called 'a catchpenny,' and it is certainly unworthy both of the author and the subject. Here closed for ever his ill-starred alliance with the bookseller, who was the first to start him in his literary career, and the first to make him feel the bitter bondage of the calling. Griffiths, Mr. Forster relates, retired from his business three or four years later, and ended by keeping two carriages, and attending regularly at the meeting-house. So prosperous and pious a gentleman little dreamt that he was to be known to posterity by his griping insolence to his pauper scribe.

Goldsmith said of himself that he had 'a knack of hoping,' but the multiplied disasters which followed close upon one another had nearly reduced him to despair. 'I have been for some years,' he said, in the affecting letter to Griffiths, of January 1759, 'struggling with a wretched being, with all that contempt which indigence brings with it, and with all those strong passions which make contempt insupportable. What then has a gaol that is formidable? I shall at least have the society of wretches, and such is to me true society.' 'You scarcely can conceive,' he wrote to his brother in the February following, 'how much eight years of disappointment, anguish, and study have worn me down. I can now neither partake of the pleasure of a revel, nor contribute to raise its jollity. I can neither laugh nor drink; have contracted a hesitating, disagreeable manner of speaking, and a visage that looks ill-nature itself. In short, I have thought myself into a settled melancholy, and an utter disgust of all that life brings with it.' It was through the very excess of the darkness which had gathered around him that he worked his way into day. He ceased to indulge in the tantalising expectations which had balked him so often, and, without further distractions, sullenly resigned himself to the only business for which he was fitted. If he had succeeded in entering the Church, he would soon have sunk in the eyes of his parishioners to the level of his clerk. If he had satisfied the examiners at Surgeons' Hall that he could set a bone, he would still, we may be sure, have been a bungling operator, and the tormentor of his patients. He once threatened, when a Mrs. Sidebotham rejected his advice, and adopted that of her apothecary, to leave off prescribing for his friends. 'Do so, my dear Doctor,' replied Beauclerk; 'whenever you undertake to kill, let it only be your enemies.' This was one of the true words which are spoken in jest. Johnson summed up the case when he said that his genius was great, but his knowledge was small. 'No man,' he remarked again, 'was  
wiser



wiser when he had a pen in his hand, or more foolish when he had not.' He had never been a student, and he had not that aptitude for facts, and that tenacity of memory, which enables many desultory readers to furnish their minds without steady toil. The materials for his charming compilations were hastily gathered for the occasion, and, being merely transplanted, as Johnson said, from one place to another without settling in his mind, he was ignorant of the contents of his own books. Thus in common things he was below mediocrity, and he was driven to be either a literary genius or nothing. He was never any judge of his own qualifications. He volunteered to take a journey to copy the inscriptions on the *Written Mountains*, which had baffled every traveller, though he was not acquainted with a single letter of any oriental language living or dead; and he memorialised Lord Bute to send him out to investigate the arts and sciences of the East, for the purpose of importing improvements into England, though Dr. Johnson exclaimed that he was utterly ignorant of the subject, and would have brought home 'a grinding barrow that was to be seen in all the streets of London, and fancy he had furnished a wonderful improvement.'

Just before his discomfiture in Surgeons' Hall he had removed to a lodging in a pent-up little square, now levelled with the ground, which, embosomed in a mass of buildings between Fleet Street and the Old Bailey, seemed named in mockery 'Green Arbour Court,' and which was approached by a steep flight of stone stairs called 'Break-neck Steps.' The houses were tall and tumbling, the inhabitants poor and filthy, the children over-many and over-noisy—in Mr. Forster's phrase, 'a squalid and squalling colony.' In this retreat he was visited by Percy, the well-known editor of the 'Reliques,' and afterwards Bishop of Dromore. Goldsmith had been introduced to him at the Temple Exchange Coffee-house, by Dr. Grainger, the author of the 'Sugar-cane,' and one of the contributors to Mr. Griffiths' 'Monthly Review,' and Percy had detected sufficient merit beneath the unpromising appearance of his new-made acquaintance to think him worth a call. He found him, at the beginning of March 1759, engaged upon his 'Enquiry,' in a dirty room, with only a single chair, which he gave up to his visitor, while he sat himself in the window. As the conversation was proceeding, a ragged little girl appeared at the door, and, dropping a curtsy to Goldsmith, said, 'My mamma sends her compliments, and begs the favour of you to lend her a chamber-pot full of coals.' A volume of description would not convey a more vivid impression of the society of 'Green Arbour Court' than this single trait; and ludicrous as is the incident, the respectful address of the messenger

senger is yet a pleasing proof of the homage which was paid him by the ordinary inhabitants of the square. The most complete picture which, perhaps, we possess of Grub-street life has come down to us in connection with Goldsmith. The majority of distressed authors were too obscure to find a biographer. Those of greater pretensions had either started from a respectable position, or had quickly reached a higher eminence. A single unwieldy figure, in the person of Johnson, was seen moving for years among the crowd of ill-dressed, ill-fed, badly-lodged, and insulted tribe who provided the ephemeral literature and party pamphlets of the day, but maintaining in the midst of his poverty such unshaken fortitude, such lofty principles, and such rugged independence, that the characteristics of the class were very imperfectly shadowed forth in him. The portrait drawn by Mr. Forster of the moral heroism and robust benevolence of this illustrious man is one of the most attractive episodes in his book. Goldsmith, on the contrary, had the habits and tastes of the class. After he had acquired celebrity, and was admitted to the society of men like Burke, Fox, Reynolds, and Beauclerk, he looked back with regret upon his former haunts. 'In truth,' he said to Mr. Cooke, 'one sacrifices something for the sake of good company, for here I'm shut out of several places where I used to play the fool very agreeably.' He did not persevere long in resisting his inclinations out of regard to appearances, nor did he ever get clear of the shifts and expedients which attended his earlier struggles. He was merely destined to exhibit in his single person, as he rose, all the gradations in the lot of a bookseller's dependant, from the poorest to the best-esteemed.

At the commencement of April appeared the 'Enquiry into the Present State of Polite Learning in Europe,' upon which Percy had found him engaged in the preceding month. If the work were to be judged by the promise held out in the title, a more superficial and unsatisfactory production has seldom issued from the press. Though he had travelled through Italy, Germany, and Holland, his account of the literature of these countries, to which he devoted distinct chapters, was so extremely meagre that it really conveyed no information at all. He enlarged but a very little more on the books and authors of England and France. He took up the paradox that the decay of learning had in every age been produced by criticism, and stated that the chief design of his Essay was to persuade people to write what they thought, regardless of reviewers. Yet the bulk of his treatise has no relation to this position, which he has not supported by any plausible argument. The fact is, that he put his private life into his books beyond any other genius whom we can call



call to mind, and he had not derived his doctrines from a survey of Europe, but from his personal experience of Mr. Griffiths' establishment. It is this, in conjunction with the pleasing style, and some scattered observations of a lively truth, which gives an interest to the work, in spite of its imperfections as a critical and philosophic disquisition. He had seen that the praise and blame of the 'Monthly Review' were dispensed in accordance with the mercantile interests and vindictive passions of Griffiths. He had become acquainted with the ignorance of the starving scribes who hung about the shop, eager, for the sake of a job, to do the bidding of their master, and who, when left to their own discretion, mistook railing for wit. He had witnessed the pain which their censures inflicted, and the injury done to books by their oracular abuse. No man, nevertheless, was ever written down except by himself, and the worst that the ablest and most wrongheaded critic can effect is to retard for a little space a reputation which is not fully formed, or to shorten the existence of some flimsy publication which if left to itself would die a natural death. He dwelt with equal emphasis upon the wrongs of authors,—complained of the contempt which was shown to them,—pointed out the evils of their bondage to booksellers,—and asked the great to renew the patronage of the preceding generation, when a dinner with Lord Somers procured invitations to Young the poet for the rest of the week. These opinions were natural to one who judged of booksellers from Griffiths,—of the respect paid to authors from the treatment experienced by the ragged tenant in 'Green Arbour Court,'—and of the advantage to be derived from the countenance of the nobility by the number of feasts which he hoped would accrue to men who were suffering, like himself, from hunger and neglect. But it is not now, nor, probably, was it then, in the power of any Mr. Griffiths to keep an author from fame who had the talent to deserve it; and as for a system of patronising dinners, it has two fatal objections,—that it is not the needy, the obscure, and the struggling who would receive the invitations; and that any companionship of the kind which does not come about naturally from personal likings or sympathy of tastes, is a degradation instead of an honour.

'The Enquiry' attracted little attention. None of his other productions in the first nine months of 1759 have been identified, except a few contributions to the 'Critical Review;' but in October he is found exerting himself with unwonted diligence, furnishing essays to 'The Busy-Body' and 'The Ladies' Magazine,' and writing the whole of a weekly paper called 'The Bee,' which alone consisted of thirty-two pages.

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'The Bee' expired after a brief existence of eight weeks. Though he had aimed at variety in his subjects, there was a uniformity in the treatment, and the objection made in 'The Monthly Review,' that 'the observations were frequently trite and common,' is not unfounded. The best portions of the work appear to us to be the remarks upon acting, and on the habits of the spider. Quantity and quality both considered, it is very creditable to the fertility of his mind, the readiness of his pen, and the elegance of his style. He must have had much ado to keep up with the press, and we are not surprised to learn that a visitor one evening entered the lodging in Green Arbour Court, turned the key of the door, commenced upbraidings, which were followed by a three hours' silence, at the close of which he came forth in good humour, and ordered in a supper from a neighbouring tavern, to reward the poor author, who had just completed his arrears under the surveillance of his employer. In later days he was a rapid composer, and whole quires of his Histories and 'Animated Nature' flowed from his pen with such facility, that, according to Bishop Percy, he had seldom occasion to correct a single word. 'Ah,' said he to Mr. Cradock, who was anxiously weighing phrases, 'think of me who must write a volume a month.' But at this earlier period he had an inconvenient propensity to linger over his work. 'I could not suppress my lurking passion for applause,' he makes George Primrose (who is the *alias* of Oliver Goldsmith) say, 'but usually consumed that time in efforts after excellence when it should have been more advantageously employed in the diffusive productions of fruitful mediocrity. The public were more importantly employed than to observe the easy simplicity of my style or the harmony of my periods. Sheet after sheet was thrown off to oblivion. All wrote better, because they wrote faster than I.' It was to this very pains, which seemed at the outset to curtail his profits without advancing his reputation, that he owed much of his subsequent fame. The power to glean knowledge is a common accomplishment which is shared by the dull; the power to clothe it in felicitous language is an exceptional gift, and as justly prized as it is rare. The fault, or rather the misfortune of Goldsmith, is, that his necessities seldom allowed him to take care enough—that incongruous words, careless phrases, and weak and slovenly sentences, blot his beautiful prose.

On the 1st of January, 1760, appeared the opening number of the 'British Magazine,' a monthly publication edited by Dr. Smollett; and on the 12th the 'Public Ledger,' a daily newspaper, which was started by Mr. Newberry the bookseller.

Goldsmith



Goldsmith was invited to contribute to both. He furnished about twenty essays to the magazine, and for the newspaper he wrote his well-known 'Citizen of the World.' He usually provided two letters a week, and for these he was paid a guinea apiece. They soon attracted a certain degree of attention; but we infer from his own later language on the little notice which his essays obtained, that their popularity was not great. 'Whenever I write anything,' he ludicrously said to Johnson at some period which preceded the publication of 'The Traveller,' 'the public *make a point* to know nothing about it.' The plan which Goldsmith adopted in 'The Citizen of the World' of introducing an Oriental commenting upon manners so different from his own had been frequently tried, and in the case of Montesquieu with distinguished success. The absurdity of usages which only appear rational because they are familiar becomes strikingly apparent when they are described by a stranger with the wonder of novelty. This happy artifice comes to nothing in the hands of Goldsmith. His Chinese is to all intents and purposes an Englishman; and whenever he attempts to make him speak in character, the failure is complete. It is simply as a collection of light papers upon the vices and follies of the day that the work must be regarded. As in all his speculations, there is much that is commonplace; but he skims pleasantly over the surface of things, gives picturesque sketches of the men he met and the haunts he frequented, and intermingles observations which, whether grave or gay, bear the stamp of his kindly nature. The series, consisting of one hundred and twenty-three letters, was brought to a conclusion about the middle of 1761, and was republished in two small volumes at the beginning of 1762.

In the gracefully told story of the 'Man in Black,' which derives additional interest from its being in the main an epitome of the life of the essayist himself, he talks of his improvident generosity, and his discovery that the way to assist the needy was first to secure independence. 'My immediate care, therefore,' he says, 'was to leave my present habitation, and make an entire reformation in my conduct and behaviour.' He removed, accordingly, towards the close of 1760, into better lodgings in Wine Office Court, Fleet Street, but the reformation in his conduct did not ensue. In everything which he wrote at this period he dwells upon the superiority of economy and justice over the misplaced liberality which puts the donor into the indigent circumstances of the person he relieves, for he had been smarting from the effects of discharging the debts of others with the money which should have gone to defray his own. In furtherance of his design

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he boasted that he had exchanged his free and open manner for a close suspicious air, and that he was now on his guard against the needy sharpers who, instead of picking his pockets, prevailed on him to empty them of his own accord into their hands. But he rightly called himself a mere machine of pity, incapable of withstanding the slightest exhibition of real or fictitious distress, and, however knowing his looks, his power to see through the clumsiest fraud was on a par with his firmness. He seems to have smiled at his own impotent resolutions in the moment of forming them. 'One of the most heroic actions I ever performed,' says the Man in Black, 'and for which I shall praise myself as long as I live, was the refusing half-a-crown to an old acquaintance at the time when he wanted it and I had it to spare.' This does not promise much constancy in the course, and no indication ever appeared that he had left his improvidence or his simplicity in his Green Arbour Court lodging. Among other good deeds, he remembered the landlady to the day of his death, supplied her from time to time with food from his table, and frequently returned to the scene of his old one-chaired apartment to cheer and assist her.

In evidence of his progress in detecting imposition we are told that one Pilkington, who had long preyed upon the easiness of his nature, and had exasperated him by his conduct, burst into his room in extasies of joy. He apologised for the liberty, but his fortune was made, and he could not resist hurrying to impart the glad tidings to his best and earliest benefactor. The Duchess of Manchester had a mania for white mice. She possessed a pair, and for years had been offering enormous sums for a second. Pilkington had commissioned a friend in India to send him two from the East; they were now in the river on board the good ship 'Earl of Chatham,' and in proof of his story he pulled out the letter advising him of their despatch. Nothing stood between him and independence except the want of a suitable cage in which to present them, and he could no more raise the two guineas for the purpose than pay off the national debt. Goldsmith protested that a single half-guinea was all he had in the world. 'Ay,' says Pilkington, 'but you have a watch: if you could let me have that I could pawn it across the way for two guineas, and be able to repay you with heartfelt gratitude in a few days.' Pilkington must have resolved to have his jest as well as his guineas when he made poor Oliver the dupe of so gross a hoax. Two years elapsed, when he suddenly reappeared in a state of semi-intoxication at Goldsmith's chambers, and greeted him in the language of familiar friendship, at the unlucky moment when Topham Beauclerk and General Oglethorpe were honouring



honouring him with their company, and he was ashamed to seem intimate with the vulgar and disreputable importer of white mice. Pilkington had come to pay, not the guineas, but the 'heartfelt gratitude.' 'Here, my dear friend,' he suddenly exclaimed, as he pulled a couple of little parcels out of his pocket, 'is a quarter of a pound of tea and half a pound of sugar, for though it is not in my power at present to return you the two guineas, you nor any man else shall ever have it to say that I want gratitude.' Oliver, roused to anger, bid him begone, and he departed carrying his tea and sugar with him. They never met again; but when Pilkington was dying, a messenger took, says Mr. Forster, 'to the poor starving creature's deathbed a guinea from Mr. Goldsmith.'

Mr. Cooke, who relates the anecdote of the white mice, has coupled with it another illustration of the extreme credulity of his friend. He appeared late and hungry at a club, and, having eaten no dinner, ordered a dish of mutton chops for supper. His companions, to balk his eager appetite, drew their chairs from the table on the appearance of the dish, and gave sundry symptoms of disgust. Goldsmith asked anxiously if anything was the matter with the chops; but they evaded the question, and it was only with much pressing that they were brought to tell him that the smell was offensive. He rang the bell, covered the waiter, who quickly caught up the jest, with abuse, and, for a punishment, insisted, at the suggestion of the company, that the man should eat the horrible viands himself. A fresh supper was prepared for Oliver, who, soon regretting the vengeance he had taken, ordered 'a dram for the poor waiter, who might otherwise get sick from so nauseating a meal.' What wild tales of things beyond his immediate cognizance would not a man believe who smelt the dish beneath his nose by the assertions of his friends!

In the lodging in Wine Office Court, Goldsmith, on the 31st of May, 1761, received for the first time to supper the great Samuel Johnson. Percy, who brought about the meeting, called for the sage, and found him in a trim unlike what he had ever witnessed before,—his clothes new and his wig nicely powdered. Marvelling why the negligent Johnson should dress himself with such courtly care to visit an indigent author in his humble apartment, Percy ventured to inquire the cause, and received for reply,—'Why, sir, I hear that Goldsmith, who is a very great sloven, justifies his disregard of cleanliness and decency by quoting my practice, and I am desirous this night to show him a better example.' An addiction to foppery had been the former as it was the subsequent weakness of Oliver. In Ireland he got the

the reputation of attempting to dazzle his bishop by a pair of scarlet breeches; in Edinburgh, as we learn from a tailor's bill which Mr. Forster has recovered, he wore 'rich sky-blue satin,' 'fine sky-blue shalloon,' and 'silver hat-lace;' on settling in London, he was met by an old schoolfellow in a tarnished suit of green and gold; when his reputation was established, a waiting-woman at a house where he visited remembered him chiefly by the ludicrous ostentation with which he showed off his cloak and cane; and when he was with a party of celebrities, such as Johnson, Reynolds, Garrick, and Murphy, 'he strutted about bragging of his bloom-coloured coat,' and announcing that his tailor, Mr. Filby, had begged to be recommended when admiring spectators asked who made his clothes. From the retort of Johnson that Mr. Filby was thinking of the crowd which would be attracted by the strange hue of the cloth, and of the credit he should get for producing a reputable garment out of so absurd a colour, it may be presumed that even for those gayer-dressing days it was ridiculously gaudy. It was, therefore, from no indifference to appearances that for a brief interval he resigned himself to a sordid style of dress. His pockets were empty, his credit nothing, and, making a virtue of necessity, he was glad to justify the meanness of his attire by the example of Johnson.

The year 1762 found him still working upon a variety of compilations for Mr. Newberry, of whom he said that 'he was the patron of more distressed authors than any man of his time,' and a distressed author now and ever after was Oliver Goldsmith. On one occasion this patron paid him twenty guineas—'a sum,' he said, 'I was so little used to receive in a lump, that I felt myself under the embarrassment of Captain Brazen in the play, whether I should build a privateer or a playhouse with the money.' The embarrassment which quickly followed was of an opposite kind, and he had constant recourse to Mr. Newberry for loans. 'These paltry advances,' Mr. Forster admirably remarks, in language which ought to sink into the mind of every man who makes literature his profession, 'are a hopeless entanglement. They bar freedom of judgment on anything proposed, and escape is felt to be impossible. Some days—some weeks, perhaps—have been lost in idleness or illness; the future becomes a mortgage to the past, every hour has its want forestalled upon the labour of the succeeding hour, and Gulliver lies bound in Lilliput.'

This was the period of the famous Cock-lane ghost. A clerk in a public office, prohibited by the law from marrying the sister of his deceased wife, lived with her in concubinage. She died of the smallpox in the early part of 1760, bequeathing her property,



property, which was about a hundred pounds, to her lover. They had previously lodged in Cock-lane with one Parsons, a parish clerk, who borrowed money of his tenant, and, being unable or unwilling to defray the debt, he was sued by his creditor. The grudge which rankled in the mind of Parsons found vent upon the death of the woman, and he set his daughter, a girl of twelve, to assert that she had seen her ghost, and to counterfeit noises which were supposed to come from the 'perturbed spirit.' The final result to which the device tended was, that the ghost was to knock, in answer to questions, twice for a negative and once for an affirmative, and by this means to indicate that she had been poisoned by her paramour, and wished him hanged. The sensation excited by the farce at the commencement of 1762 was immense. The Duke of York, Lord Hertford, Lady Northumberland, Lady Mary Coke, and Horace Walpole, went together in a hackney-coach, and, though it rained torrents, found the lane full of people, and the house so crammed that it was impossible to get in till somebody recognised the Duke. While the frenzy was proceeding, Dr. Johnson, in conjunction with other persons of eminence, investigated the story. The ghost had never made a sign except when the girl was present and in bed, and, the Doctor obliging her to place her hands above the clothes, the noises ceased. The spirit having very incautiously promised to strike her own coffin, which was in the church of St. John, Clerkenwell, the company adjourned to the vault, and called upon her in vain to keep her word. The exposure was complete, and Johnson drew up a statement of the particulars, and published it in the newspapers. The Doctor himself always spoke of his share in detecting the cheat with much satisfaction, but many, with Churchill at their head, laughed at him for thinking it worth a serious refutation. Parsons, for his infamous attempt to procure the death of his former lodger by a judicial murder, was three times set in the pillory at the end of Cock-lane, and imprisoned for a year. The mob, who were more ready 'to take the ghost's word' than to listen to Johnson's reasoning, sympathised with Parsons, and collected a subscription for him. An incident which for weeks was the talk of the town promised to prove a popular topic, and, by an extant receipt for three guineas paid by Newberry, Goldsmith was known to have produced a pamphlet on the subject. The supposed piece, under the title of 'The Mystery Revealed,' has been lately discovered, and is republished by Mr. Cunningham in Goldsmith's works.

Shortly after Johnson had laid, and Goldsmith chronicled, the Cock-lane ghost, the worn-out author visited Tunbridge and Bath

Bath for his health. The king of the latter place, the notorious Beau Nash, had died the year before, and Goldsmith took advantage of the event to write his *Life*. He speaks in many passages of his personal acquaintance with him; and though it does not appear when or where the meeting occurred, it is either a fact, or he must have received considerable assistance from the friends of the Beau. The literal report of his conversation, than which nothing can be more dramatic, and of itself conveys a perfect picture of the man, together with the details of his habits and manners, could only have proceeded from a familiar associate. The merit of the biography is less as a piece of composition, a particular in which it is very unequal, than as a vivid portrait of the vanities, the follies, the vices, and, what was a redeeming trait, the charities of this poor slave and arbiter of fashion. He has neither exalted nor caricatured him. He describes him as what he was—'a weak man governing weaker subjects,' frivolous, insipid, petulant, and boastful, without steady principles or the lighter talents. People bore with his dominion because he was a useful manager of their amusements, and because they were conscious that they paid him but a mock respect. Goldsmith received for this biography, which is of considerable length, only fourteen guineas.

At the end of 1762, Goldsmith, urged, we suppose, by the necessity for fresher air and more active exercise, hired, in addition to his London lodging, country apartments in Islington from a friend of Newberry, Mrs. Elizabeth Fleming. To secure the landlady her dues, and to protect Goldsmith from the effects of his own prodigality, it was agreed that the bookseller should pay the board and lodging quarterly, and deduct it from the literary earnings of his author. What little money Oliver fingered was doled out to him in small sums of from one to two guineas at a time. No better arrangement could be made for a man who, in his own words, was careless of the future, and intent upon enjoying the present; but even this precaution, after a short trial, proved insufficient to ward off the old distresses. In the mean while, besides writing sundry miscellanies, he was busy upon a '*History of England*' for the young, in a series of letters. His mode of compiling was to spend his morning in reading such a portion of Hume, Rapin, and sometimes Kennet, as would furnish matter for a single chapter. He passed the remainder of his day with his friends, and when he went up to bed wrote off his forenoon preparations with the same facility as a common letter. With such a system there could be no deep research, comprehensive views, or profound thought. Nor does he pretend to anything of the kind. His aim was to produce a pleasing  
transparent



transparent narrative, and in this he succeeded. The 'Letters' appeared in 1764 as from a 'Nobleman to his Son,' and were generally attributed to the first Lord Lyttleton, whose stiff and heavy composition had no resemblance whatever to the easy and often careless style of Goldsmith. The sale of the book was rapid, and, though superficial and inaccurate, it has never ceased to be a favourite.

Newberry's payments exceeding Goldsmith's earnings, the advances came to an end, and the landlady's bills were left undischarged. She was a woman in whom resolution was unmingled with tenderness, and, notwithstanding that the arrears were of short continuance, she arrested him at the close of 1764 for her rent. When Boswell expressed his wonder that he who had obtained the title of the 'great moralist' should be kind to a man of very bad character, Goldsmith replied—'He is now become miserable, and that insures the protection of Johnson.' It was to this steady friend of the miserable that he had recourse in his present dilemma, and when the messenger returned he brought with him a guinea and the assurance that the moralist would speedily follow. Johnson found him in a violent passion, the guinea changed, and a bottle of Madeira and a glass before him. As they talked of the means of extricating him from his difficulties, Goldsmith produced a novel he had composed in his snatches of leisure, and Johnson, after glancing his eye through its pages, sallied out and sold it for sixty pounds to James Newberry, the nephew of the bookseller with whom we are already familiar. Oliver paid his rent, rated the landlady, and left her lodgings. Johnson thought himself that the novel would meet with but moderate success, and Newberry's opinion of it was not sufficiently high to induce him to print it. A manuscript which was among the most precious ever penned was thrown aside for the present, and half of Goldsmith's immortality lay exposed to the accidents which grow out of negligence.

But the day was now come when he was to emerge from obscurity, and gain that station among the eminent men of his time for which he had pined so long. 'The Traveller,' which he had commenced nine years before when he was abroad, and which he had brooded over at intervals with fond solicitude, was at last ready for the press. In 1758, when he was young in authorship, he told his brother Henry that poetry was easier to produce than prose, which can only be taken as an indication that he was not then the ready writer of prose which he quickly became, for to the last he composed poetry with singular slowness. He used to say that he had been four or five years in gathering the incidents of his 'Deserted Village,' and two years were spent in the

process of versifying what he had gleaned. Nobody would have guessed, when 'The Traveller' appeared on the 19th of December, 1764, what months of toil lay hid in that little pamphlet of verse, which seemed as if it had flowed from the author's mind with the same facility that it fell from the reader's tongue. But the labour had not been greater than the reward. In a few weeks it crept into reputation, and was equally admired by the many and the discriminating few. Johnson declared that there had been no such piece since the time of Pope, and Fox said later that it was one of the finest poems in the English language. There is perhaps no other which combines an equal amount of ease and polish—which preserves a juster medium between negligence and constraint. The sentiments and language are of the same mild and equable cast. There are no bold flights of fancy, no daring metaphors, no sublime ideas or penetrating maxims. The charm is in the happy selection of the particulars which compose his pictures of men and nature in the different countries of Europe, and in the almost unvarying elegance, and often the exquisite felicity, of the language in which these particulars are embodied. Many single lines are unsurpassed for gentle beauty of expression, and for the distinctness of the image which they place before the mind. He excels, too, in those artifices of style by which the repetition of words and phrases adds melody and force. His verse is pitched in the key which suits with the general spirit of his poetry. It is less resounding than that of Johnson, but it has sufficient fulness of tone, and is all but uniformly musical.\* For this delightful production, which he had been nine years in bringing to

\* 'There is not,' said Langton, 'a bad line in that poem of the Traveller: not one of Dryden's careless verses.' He must have forgotten the last line of the following couplet, which ought to have been intolerable to the fine ear of Goldsmith:—

'As different good, by Art or Nature given,  
To different nations, makes their blessings even.'

The passage cost him considerable trouble, for he expunged the version which stands in the first edition, and the couplet we have quoted makes part of the second attempt. The few additions he owed to Johnson are excellent, and one line especially, which he introduced into Goldsmith's description of the wanderer lost in the forest, and dreading destruction from Indians or wild beasts, is admirable for its terseness, its melody, and the vivid picture which it presents of a man struggling between terror and fatigue.

'There, while above the giddy tempest flies,  
And all around distressful yells arise,  
The pensive exile, bending with his woe,  
Too stop too fearful, and too faint to go,  
Casts a long look where England's glories shine,  
And bids his bosom sympathise with mine.'

The expression in the last of these lines is affected, and a few more exceptions could be found to Langton's remark.

maturity,



maturity, and which passed through nine editions during his life, he received of Mr. Newberry twenty guineas. Whether he reserved to himself any future share of the profits is uncertain; but we question if an obscure author, which he then was, would obtain a larger equivalent in the present day for the copyright of a poem of the same length and merit. It is the success of the publication which makes the sum appear small, while Newberry had to consider the risk of loss as well as the chance of gain. Johnson got but ten guineas for his 'London,' and only five more for his 'Vanity of Human Wishes.'

'The Traveller' was inscribed to the brother to whom the first sketch was sent from Switzerland, and who is addressed in the opening lines of the poem in as magical language as was ever dictated by genius and affection combined. Henry Goldsmith was seven years older than Oliver, and something of the respect which would be paid to a parent seems to have mingled with the fraternal love of the younger; for not only in his public dedication, but in a private letter, he calls him 'Dear Sir.' He soon afterwards gave a proof of his attachment. The Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland—the Earl of Northumberland—hearing that the author of 'The Traveller' was a native of that country, sent for him, and offered to promote his advancement, to which Goldsmith replied that he had a brother, a clergyman, who stood in need of help. 'As for myself,' said Oliver to Sir John Hawkins, who was waiting in the outer room, 'I look to the booksellers for support; they are my best friends, and I am not inclined to forsake them for others.' He was feeling then the first flush of satisfaction from the increased estimation in which he was held by the trade, and the more liberal offers which came thick upon him; but the power of his name only served in the end to increase his embarrassments. He employed it to raise larger sums and contract more numerous obligations, while the money was quickly spent and the obligations remained. In the compassion which is excited by the distresses of Goldsmith, it must never be forgotten that many of them were the result of his own misconduct; and we fear, if a debtor and creditor account were struck, it would be found at the close that in money dealings he had been guilty of greater injustice to others than had ever been committed against himself.

In 1763 was established what many years later received the title of the 'Literary Club,' but which at first was called the 'Turk's Head Club,' from the name of the tavern where it met.\* It was settled by its founders, Johnson and Reynolds, that it

\* The most accurate and complete account of the early history of the Literary Club which has yet appeared will be found in the volumes of Mr. Forster.

should consist of such men that, if only two of them attended, they should have the ability to entertain one another. Goldsmith was among the nine original members, and owed this honour to the influence and recommendation of Johnson, who in the same year said of him to Boswell, 'He is one of the first men we now have as an author, and he is a very worthy man too. He has been loose in his principles, but he is coming right.' But this opinion of his literary attainments was that of Johnson himself, and not of the world. What he had hitherto written had been published anonymously, and, if Hawkins is to be believed, when he was mentioned for the club the notion prevailed that he was a mere bookseller's drudge, incapable of anything higher than translating or compiling. Admitted at first upon sufferance, he was now become, by the publication of his poem, among the ornaments of the society. The attention he began to receive is shown in his amusing and characteristic speech when Kelly introduced himself to him at the Temple Exchange Coffeehouse, and asked him to dinner. 'I would with pleasure,' said Goldsmith, 'accept your kind invitation, but, to tell you the truth, my dear boy, my "Traveller" has found me a home in so many places, that I am engaged, I believe, three days. Let me see—to-day I dine with Edmund Burke, to-morrow with Dr. Nugent, and the next day with Topham Beauclerk; but I'll tell you *what I'll do for you*, I'll dine with you Saturday.' About the same time Lloyd, the friend of Churchill, accosted him in a tavern, and, claiming his acquaintance as a brother poet, invited him to a supper-party in the evening. Long after midnight Goldsmith heard the voice of his host in altercation with a man in the passage, and, hastening to the support of his new friend, found that the landlord of the house, to whom Lloyd was already in debt, was refusing to trust him for the reckoning. 'Pho, pho, my dear boy!' exclaimed Goldsmith, 'let's have no more words about the matter;' and turning to the landlord asked him if he would take his pledge for the amount. 'Most certainly, Doctor,' said the man, 'and for as much more as you like.' 'Why, then,' rejoined Lloyd, 'send in another cast of wine, and add it to the bill.' With this bill the landlord presented himself in due course at Goldsmith's door, and he discovered too late that the evening's entertainment had in every sense of the word been at his expense.

Among other effects of his growing fame, it was now that he resolved his dress should be worthy of his reputation, and he appeared in purple silk smallclothes, a scarlet great-coat, and a physician's wig. He carried a gold-headed cane, the badge of his calling, in his hand, and a sword, which was never combined with



with this professional symbol, hung at his side. The weapon was so disproportioned to his diminutive stature that a coxcomb who passed him in the Strand called to his companion 'to look at that fly with a long pin stuck through it.' Goldsmith not only descended to a retort, and cautioned the passengers against that 'brace of pickpockets,' but stepped from the footpath into the roadway, half-drew his sword, and invited the jester to a mortal combat. The fops slunk away amid the hootings of the spectators; and the story has been told as an instance of the manly valour of Goldsmith. Such a vapouring challenge in a crowded street where a duel was impossible seems to us to be only a proof of his extreme indiscretion.

Goldsmith, in the early part of 1764, left his town lodging in Wine-Office Court, for Garden Court, in the Temple, where he shared his rooms with the butler of the society. Ashamed of their mean appearance, he observed apologetically to Johnson, 'I shall soon be in better chambers, Sir, than these.' 'Nay, Sir,' said Johnson, 'never mind that. *Nil te quæsiveris extra.*' When the sudden success of the 'Traveller' changed his position in the world, he removed to more decent apartments in the same court. His country quarters were, first in a room of Canonbury Tower, Islington, and next in a small house in the Edgware Road, which he shared with one Bott, a barrister, described by Cooke as 'an intimate literary friend.' His labours during 1765, and a large portion of 1766, have left little trace, and, unless we had known that he was compelled to write to live, we should have inferred that he had resigned himself to the indolent enjoyment of his fame. It is conjectured, from a memorandum by Newberry, that he drew up at this time the rough draught of the work entitled 'A Survey of Experimental Philosophy,' which was not published till after his death, and which, small as is now its scientific value, may still be read with pleasure, for that translucent style and felicity of expression which throw a literary charm over even the rigid facts of natural philosophy. He made a selection of 'Poems for Young Ladies,' in 1766, for which he had ten guineas, and for another compilation of the same kind, in 1767, he was paid fifty. For the latter he told Mr. Cooke he got two hundred pounds, just as three years before he assured Boswell that he had received four hundred for the 'Vicar of Wakefield.' He must often have paid dearly for these false pretences. The mention of such large sums would invite applications from needy friends, which, with his easy disposition, and his anxiety to make good his boast, he would be unable to resist. Though the two hundred pounds was a fable, he assigned an excellent reason why so slight a task should be so liberally rewarded.

rewarded. 'A man,' he said, 'shows his judgment in these selections, and he may often be twenty years of his life cultivating that judgment.'

On the 27th of March, 1766, the 'Vicar of Wakefield' appeared, and ran through three editions in the year. Its excellence, therefore, was recognised at once, but it was not at first what it has since become, one of the most popular books in the English language. Garrick said there was nothing to be learned from it; Johnson called it 'a mere fanciful performance;' and Burke, in praising it, seems to have specified its pathos as its distinguishing merit. When Johnson said it was fanciful, he alluded, we presume, to the construction of the story, which is full of improbabilities. The accumulated miseries which befall the vicar and his family, and their strange and rapid return to prosperity, have often been mentioned as passing the bounds of ordinary experience. The majority, indeed, of the principal incidents arise from a series of chances, which, separately, were not unlikely to happen, but which in conjunction cease to be natural. When the vicar is supping with the servants at the fine mansion, and the master and mistress unexpectedly return, it saves him from discomfiture that they enter accompanied by the object of his son's attachment, Miss Arabella Wilmot. When the whole party go to witness the performance of the strolling players, this son stands before him as one of the actors. When he continues his journey, and stops at night at a little public-house, he hears the landlady abuse a poor lodger in the garret, and recognises his lost daughter in the supplicant's voice. Such wonderful meetings are set thick in the tale. The characters themselves in several particulars are overdone. The simplicity of the vicar is delightful, but when he mistakes such a servant as Goldsmith has drawn for the owner of the house, and such women of the town for London fine ladies, the credulity of Dr. Primrose is much too great for that of the reader. Sir William Thornhill is represented as a good and sensible man, but he shows himself to be neither when he abandons his estate to a monster like his nephew, and permits the vicar to be crushed by miseries he could have averted or relieved. Yet in spite of these and numerous other blemishes of the same description, the story, from first to last, leaves a pervading sense of beauty upon the mind. This is in a large degree due to the running commentary of wise and gentle sentiments which gives the tone to the narrative, and to the charm of the serene and finished style, of what is by far the finest specimen of Goldsmith's prose. If an objection is to be made, it is that the neatness is so uniform that it grows monotonous. But its highest excellence is as  
a representation



a representation of domestic life, painted with the smoothness and minute fidelity of a Dutch picture. It is a phase of humanity which lies within the experience, and carries with it the sympathy, of nearly all the world, and is not the less relished that the family, with more than an ordinary amount of the amiability, have their full share of the petty weaknesses of their class. The vicar is the most perfect character in the book, but while we love him for his benevolence, his resignation, and his cheerfulness, we smile at the contrast between the sense of his conversation and the simplicity of his conduct, at the wise maxims which he utters on every occasion, and which on every occasion are overruled by the pertinacity of his wife and daughters. Nothing else in the tale equals the skill and humour with which Goldsmith has depicted the vanities and stratagems of the female part of the establishment, and especially of poor Mrs. Primrose herself, whom he barely manages to redeem from contempt. The nature, however, which he describes, is what lies chiefly upon the surface. He did not attempt to sound the depths of the heart, which is the faculty that Johnson valued most in a novelist, and the want of it in Goldsmith was a principal cause of his low estimation of the 'Vicar of Wakefield.' Much as Oliver had seen of life, he had no great power of seizing character. He never was able to travel far beyond the circle of his early home. The vicar was his father, and out of his not very complex self he has contrived to furnish two characters—George Primrose and Sir William Thornhill. Even these materials were not employed for the first time. He had drawn extensively upon them before, in the story of the 'Man in Black,' and in other portions of his miscellaneous writings. If the male characters were family portraits, there can be little question that Mrs. Primrose had a strong resemblance to his mother, and Olivia and Sophia to his sisters; for since he left Ireland he had never sat at a domestic hearth, and had had no later experience of the female life he describes.\*

\* One indication of the extreme popularity of this delightful story is the number of subjects it has furnished for pictures, some of which are as beautiful as the book which inspired them. No one who has ever seen it can forget the exquisite work of Mulready, 'The Choosing the Wedding Gown,' or the masterly painting by Maclise of 'Moses and the gross of Green Spectacles,' which was in the Academy Exhibition of 1850. Nothing could be more faithful to the spirit of Goldsmith's characters than the expression depicted in each of the countenances in the latter picture, the emotion varying with every member of the group, and as true as it was powerful in all. No pictures are more popular than those which illustrate some literary masterpiece, and none will have a more enduring interest. The beautiful paintings of Mr. Leslie owe their reputation to their intrinsic excellence, but it certainly adds to the delight they afford that they give form and colour to our shadowy ideas of the creations of Cervantes, Goldsmith, and Sterne.

The pecuniary obligations of Goldsmith continued to increase with his years, and he was recommended to write for the stage,—a successful play at that period producing far larger profits to the author than any other species of literary composition. He acted on the advice, and, having completed in 1767 his comedy of the ‘Good-natured Man,’ offered it to Garrick. Davies informs us that Johnson took pleasure in introducing Goldsmith to his eminent acquaintances, but he had not brought him into contact with his old pupil, for a bad feeling had long existed between the actor and the poet. It was the latter that laid the foundation of the ill-will by commenting with severity upon the treatment which dramatists received from managers in a passage of his ‘Essay upon Polite Learning’ that was aimed at Garrick. Shortly afterwards the office of secretary to the ‘Society of Arts and Sciences’ became vacant, and Goldsmith, not very delicately, called upon the subject of his censure, who was a perfect stranger to him, and requested his vote. The manager replied that he had deprived himself of all claim to his support by an unprovoked attack. ‘In truth,’ Goldsmith said, ‘he had spoken his mind, and he believed he was very right.’ They parted with outward civility and mutual irritation, and met no more until they were put into communication by Reynolds, with a view to get the ‘Good-natured Man’ upon the stage. Garrick, according to Davies, expected to be courted, and Goldsmith was determined not to fawn. Differences soon broke out between them. Garrick demanded alterations, Goldsmith was pertinacious in refusing to make them, and gave only a modified consent in the end; Garrick proposed that Whitehead the laureate—we cannot say the poet—should arbitrate between them, and Goldsmith rejected the suggestion as an insult. It at last came to an open rupture, and Oliver, after telling the actor that he suspected his conduct to be dictated by revenge for the old offence, withdrew his comedy, and sent it to Colman, the new manager of Covent-Garden theatre, who immediately accepted it. ‘I cannot help feeling a secret satisfaction,’ he wrote to his new ally, ‘that poets for the future are likely to have a protector who declines taking advantage of their dependent situation, and scorns that importance which may be acquired by trifling with their anxieties.’ A little further experience of the protector of poets changed his opinion. The words with which Garrick concluded his part of the correspondence breathed a kindly spirit. ‘It has been the business,’ he said, ‘and ever will be, of my life to live on the best terms with men of genius, and I know that Dr. Goldsmith will have no reason to change his previous friendly disposition towards me, as I shall be glad of every future opportunity



opportunity to convince him how much I am his well-wisher.'

At Covent-Garden the play appeared on the 29th of January, 1768, and was opened by a prologue from the pen of Johnson, in which Goldsmith was designated 'our little bard.' The epithet was as distasteful to his dignity as Pope's 'low-born Allen' was to the wealthy proprietor of Prior Park, and Johnson, to humour him, changed it to 'anxious.' Anxious enough he had reason to be, for the play long hung trembling in the balance, and at the scene of the bailiffs there burst forth a cry of '*Low! vulgar!*' which had nearly proved fatal to it. The irresistible comicality with which Shuter, who performed the part of Croaker, read the incendiary letter in the fourth act, coupled with the strenuous exertions of the poet's friends, who had assembled in great strength, saved the piece. But though not actually damned, it had only just struggled through; and the experiment was felt on the whole to be a failure. Goldsmith retired with his colleagues of the 'Literary Club' to sup at the 'Turk's Head,' joined gaily in the conversation, and, as he afterwards related, when he and Johnson were the guests of Dr. Percy at the chaplain's table at St. James's, 'to impress them more forcibly with an idea of his magnanimity,' sang his favourite song about '*an old woman tossed in a blanket seventeen times as high as the moon.*' 'All this while,' he continued, 'I was suffering horrid tortures, and verily believe that if I had put a bit into my mouth it would have strangled me on the spot, I was so excessively ill; but I made more noise than usual to cover all that; and so they never perceived my not eating, nor I believe at all imaged to themselves the anguish of my heart. When all were gone except Johnson here I burst out a-crying, and even swore that I would never write again.' 'All which,' remarked Johnson, taking up the conversation, 'I thought had been a secret between you and me; and I am sure I would not have said anything about it for the world.' When his own 'Irene' met with just such a dubious reception, and he was asked how he felt, he replied, 'Like the Monument;' and he might well wonder at the voluntary exposure of a weakness to which his sturdier mind would have scorned to give way. The fortune of Johnson's tragedy and Goldsmith's comedy on their first appearance was nearly identical. As the introduction of the bailiffs had almost cut short the performance of the one, so the attempt to strangle the heroine of the other upon the stage called forth shouts of 'Murder! murder!' which were with difficulty quelled. 'Irene,' by the friendship of Garrick, lingered nine nights; the 'Good-natured Man,' as Mr. Cooke relates, '*dragged through*' ten; and both dramatists received

ceived one hundred pounds, in addition to their theatrical profits, for the copyright of their plays. The sum derived by Goldsmith from the performances on his 'third nights,' which was then the mode of remunerating the author, was four hundred pounds. Without the direct testimony of Mr. Cooke 'that the success of the comedy fell infinitely short of what either Goldsmith or his friends had anticipated,' we should have augured from the result that it had done by no means ill.

The indifferent reception of the 'Good-natured Man' was not the only mortification connected with it. When Goldsmith commenced his literary career, sentimental comedy had possession of the stage. To be solemn was as much the fashion then as is the dreary attempt to be vivacious now. He waged war from the outset with the prevailing taste, and in his 'Essay on Polite Learning' vindicated the humorous exposure of absurdities from the imputation of being low. The 'Good-natured Man' was a practical attempt to give effect to his theory. At the same period the Hugh Kelly with whom he had promised to dine by way of 'doing something for him,' a man destitute of acquired knowledge but with fair natural talent, commenced a play in the approved sentimental style. Though by this time they had advanced to considerable intimacy, Goldsmith was filled with jealousy and alarm at what he considered a rival scheme, and, being questioned by somebody as to Kelly's project, he replied, 'he knew nothing at all about it. He had *heard* there was a *man of that name about town* who wrote in newspapers, but of his talents for comedy, or even for the work he was engaged in, he could not judge.' Kelly's piece, under the title of 'False Delicacy,' was brought out by Garrick at Drury-lane theatre on the 23rd of January, six nights before the performance of the 'Good-natured Man.' 'All kinds of composition,' said Grimm, 'are good except the tiresome,' and to this kind the sentimental comedy belonged. Great, nevertheless, was the success of 'False Delicacy.' It was played twenty nights in the season to crowded houses; the sale of it when printed was ten thousand copies; and the bookseller who purchased it, to evince his gratitude, gave the author a public breakfast and a piece of plate. The entire gains of Kelly amounted to more than seven hundred pounds. The fame of the piece was not limited to England. It was translated into German, Portuguese, and French, and was played in Lisbon and Paris with marked applause. These continental honours were perplexing to Goldsmith. He denied at first that any translation had been made, and when the fact was demonstrated beyond dispute he gravely asserted that 'it must be done for the purpose of exhibiting



biting it at the booth of foreign fairs, for which it was well enough calculated.' He vented his spleen at coffee-houses as well as among his friends, and vowed 'he would write no more for the stage whilst the dramatic chair was occupied by such blockheads.' In the midst of these pangs of envy he accidentally met Kelly, who was no stranger to the abuse he had lavished upon him, in the Green-room of Covent-Garden theatre, and congratulated him faintly on the success of his comedy. 'I cannot thank you,' said Kelly, 'for I cannot believe you.' They never spoke again, but, when Goldsmith was buried, Kelly of his own accord joined the funeral procession, and wept bitterly over the grave.

'False Delicacy,' like its author, has passed away, and the 'Good-natured Man' survives. 'It is the best comedy,' said Johnson, 'that has appeared since the Provoked Husband. There has not of late been any such character exhibited upon the stage as that of Croaker.' It was with reason that Johnson was partial to Croaker, for Goldsmith acknowledged that he had borrowed the conception from the *Suspensus* of the 'Rambler.' Of the two other prominent personages Honeywood was a repetition of the many portraits from himself, and we cannot but suspect that he also found the germ of Lofty in his own addiction to unfounded boasting. The rest are agents to conduct the plot, and have little that is distinguishing. 'To delineate character,' he said in his preface, 'had been his principal aim,' and Mrs. Inchbald was of opinion that the design had been attended with conspicuous success. Croaker, Honeywood, and Lofty deserved, she said, the highest praise which could be bestowed upon the creations of the mind. 'In fiction they are perfectly original, yet are seen every day in real life.' To us, on the contrary, they seem to want nature; a large alloy of the peculiarities of each is common enough in the world, but they never exist in solitary extravagance. Honeywood, Croaker, and Lofty are rather the personifications of qualities than men. The first is all childish benevolence, the second all groundless alarm, and the third a mere mouthpiece for ostentatious lies. The same objection, however, may be urged against several of the masterpieces of Molière. 'To exaggerate the features of folly, to render it more thoroughly ridiculous,' was the just principle of comic satire laid down by Goldsmith in his 'Essay on Learning.' His mistake is to have carried the principle too far, till comedy descends to the lower level of farce. The humour is excellent of its kind. Lofty is entertaining, and the apprehensions of Croaker are ludicrous in the extreme. The misunderstandings, though not always probable, are well contrived for producing mirth,

mirth, and the piece must have had a triumphant run if the insipid Honeywood had been replaced by a character of more sterling worth or more comic effect. As it is he provokes less laughter than contempt, and is too complete an illustration of the proverb that 'every man's friend is every man's fool' for the serious hero of a play.

Shuter selected the piece for his benefit, and the author, says Mr. Forster, 'in a fit of extravagant good nature sent him ten guineas for a box ticket.' In this instance we think that the gratuity of Goldsmith was the discharge of a debt, for, by saving his comedy from being damned, Shuter had brought him fifty times the sum. On the first night of the play he told the actor that he had exceeded his own idea of the character, and that the fine comic richness of the colouring made it appear almost as new to him as to the audience. The bulk of the proceeds from the 'Good-natured Man' was spent in purchasing, and furnishing with elegance, a set of chambers in Brick Court, in the Temple, for which he gave four hundred pounds. Having emptied out his pockets the instant they were filled, he had still his daily bread to earn, and for this he trusted to a 'History of Rome' in two volumes which he was compiling for Davies. It was commenced in 1767, and published in May 1769. The price paid for the copyright was two hundred and fifty guineas. This was the work which Johnson very erroneously contended placed Goldsmith above Robertson as a writer of history. Goldsmith, he said, had put into his book as much as it would hold—had told briefly, plainly, and agreeably all that the reader wanted to know; while Robertson was fanciful, cumbrous, and diffuse. 'Goldsmith's abridgment,' he went on, 'is better than that of Lucius Florus or Eutropius; and I will venture to say that, if you compare him with Vertot in the same places of the Roman History, you will find that he excels Vertot. Sir, he has the art of compiling, and of saying everything he has to say in a pleasing manner.' Though there is broad truth in the commendation of Johnson, it conveys an exaggerated notion of the merit of the book, which is not only destitute of exact scholarship, but bears in the style innumerable marks of the careless haste with which it was composed.

The credit he derived from his English and Roman Histories, coupled with his general fame, procured him, in December 1769, the distinction of being nominated Professor of History in the newly created Royal Academy of Painting, at the same time that Johnson was appointed Professor of Ancient Literature. There was neither salary nor duties attached to the office, and Goldsmith, in a stray letter to his brother Maurice in the January following, says, 'I took it rather as a compliment to the institution



tion than any benefit to myself. Honours to one in my situation are something like ruffles to one that wants a shirt.' A less vain and simple man would have reversed the phrase and represented the appointment as a compliment from the institution to himself. To obtain the requisite shirt, he had entered into an engagement in February 1769, with a bookseller, Mr. Griffin, to compile a *Natural History* in eight volumes, at the rate of a hundred guineas a volume, and in June, encouraged by the success of his '*Rome*,' he contracted with Davies to finish in two years a '*History of England*' in four volumes for five hundred pounds. He was to be paid for each volume of the *Natural History* as the manuscript was delivered; but he was to receive nothing on the '*History of England*' till the whole was complete. Before the year had run out he persuaded Griffin to advance him five hundred guineas on a work he had barely begun, and, having anticipated and squandered his supplies from this source, he devoted nearly all his time to the compilation for Davies, which would bring a return. He had never been very sensitive in pecuniary matters, and his obtuseness increased with his difficulties. The breach of his engagements produced expostulations from the booksellers, which roused more ire than repentance. In one altercation of the kind with Davies, they agreed to refer the difference to Johnson; and Goldsmith 'was enraged to find that one author should have so little feeling for another as to determine a dispute to his disadvantage in favour of a tradesman.'

Mr. Robert Day, then a law student at the Middle Temple, and afterwards an Irish judge, became acquainted with him in 1769, and often visited him in conjunction with another of his countrymen, the young and at that time unknown Henry Grattan. The habit of Goldsmith, according to this unexceptionable witness, was to lay aside his labours when his purse was replenished, and give himself up, while he had a sixpence left, to convivial enjoyments, and attendance at the theatres, Ranelagh, and Vauxhall. His funds dissipated, he recommenced his drudgery, and paid for his brief excesses by protracted toil. All are agreed, notwithstanding the *Man in Black*, Sir William Thornhill and Honeywood, that much of his money continued to be bestowed upon artful impostors, or upon persons whose circumstances were not so bad as his own. Once, as Mr. Forster relates, when he had recently performed a piece of literary task-work for the sake of two guineas, he made over seven and a half to a vagabond Frenchman as a subscription to a pretended *History of England* in fifteen volumes. Two or three poor authors and several widows and housekeepers were his constant pensioners.

pensioners. 'He was so humane in his disposition,' says Mr. Cooke, 'that his last guinea was the general boundary of his beneficence.' Nay, he carried it further still, for, when he had no money to bestow upon his regular dependants, he would give them clothes, and sometimes his food. 'Now, let me only suppose,' he would say with a smile of satisfaction after sweeping the meal on his table into their laps, 'that I have eaten a heartier breakfast than usual, and I am nothing out of pocket.'

Observers remarked that his benevolence, real as it was, was stimulated by ostentation, and, from his imputing the motive to the characters which he drew from himself, he was evidently conscious of the weakness. The odd simplicity which pervaded his proceedings was especially conspicuous in relation to money. He borrowed a guinea when he was destitute himself to lend it to Mr. Cooke, and endeavoured in his absence to thrust it under his door. His friend, in thanking him, remarked that somebody else might have been first at the chambers, and picked it up. 'In truth, my dear fellow,' he replied, 'I did not think of that.' Another acquaintance remonstrated with him for leaving money in an unlocked drawer, from which an occasional servant took what he pleased for the casual expenses of his master. 'What, my dear friend,' exclaimed Goldsmith, 'do you take Dennis for a thief?'

With all his recklessness of expenditure no man had a store of cheaper tastes, or was more easily entertained. His favourite festivity, his holiday of holidays, was to have three or four intimate friends to breakfast with him at ten o'clock, to start at eleven for a walk through the fields to Highbury Barn, where they dined at an ordinary, frequented by authors, Templars, and retired citizens, for 10*d.* a head, to return at six and drink tea at White Conduit House, and to end the evening with a supper at the Grecian or Temple Exchange Coffeehouse. 'The whole expense,' says Mr. Cooke, 'of the day's fête never exceeded a crown, and oftener from three and sixpence to four shillings, for which the party obtained good air, good living, and good conversation.' He had got weary of the hopeless attempt to keep up his dignity, and was again willing to be happy in the secondary society where he was alone at his ease. Mr. Forster has tracked him in particular to a club of good fellows at the Globe Tavern, called the Wednesday Club from its day of meeting, and where a principal part of the pleasure was to sing songs after supper. The sort of company he met there, and the terms on which he stood with them, are amusingly exhibited in the fact that a pig-butcher was one of the members, and, piquing himself on his familiarity with the celebrated Goldsmith, always said in drinking  
to



to him, 'Come, Noll, here's my service to you, old boy.' Glover, an Irish adventurer, and who had been, in succession, physician, actor, and author, maliciously whispered to Noll, after one of these salutations, that he wondered he permitted such liberties from a pig-butcher. 'Let him alone,' said Goldsmith, 'and you'll see how civilly I'll let him down.' With this design he called out, at the first pause in the conversation, 'Mr. B., I have the honour of drinking your good health;' to which the pig-butcher answered briskly, 'Thankee, thankee, Noll.' 'Well, where now,' inquired Glover, 'is the advantage of your reproof?' and the baffled Noll had nothing to reply, except that 'he ought to have known before that there was no putting a pig in the right way.' Trivial as are these anecdotes, they are worth repeating, because they throw light upon the character of the man, and explain why he was 'the jest and riddle,' as well as the 'glory,' of his friends.

His enjoyment in all societies where he could freely give way to his natural impulses was immense. 'He was always cheerful and animated,' says Mr. Day, 'often indeed boisterous in his mirth.' He went to a dance at Macklin's, and was brought to such a pitch of ecstasy by this 'frisking light in frolic measures,' that he threw up his wig to the ceiling, exclaiming that 'men were never so much like men as when they looked like boys.' He prided himself on his dancing, which was not so graceful as it was hearty, and an Irish family of the name of Seguin, who were intimate with him at this period, were thrown into uncontrollable fits of laughter by seeing him go through a minuet. He loved to romp with children and join in their games. He would put the front of his wig behind to excite their merriment, play forfeits and blind man's buff, and show them tricks upon cards. The younger Colman remembered that when he was five years old he had given Oliver a smart slap upon the face for taking him on his knee. The little vixen was locked up by his father in a dark room, whither Goldsmith soon followed with a candle and wheedled Master Colman back to good humour by placing a shilling under each of three hats, and then conjuring them all under the same crown. It was a gambol with his dog that suggested to him the pretty couplet in 'The Traveller':

'By sports like these are all their cares beguiled,  
The sports of children satisfy the child.'

But from sports like these he was summoned back to his desk, and, in addition to the bulky compilations he had undertaken, he was preparing 'The Deserted Village' for the press. Mr. Cooke calling upon him the day after it was commenced, Goldsmith

read

read him a fragment of ten lines, adding, when he had done, 'Come, let me tell you this is no bad morning's work.' From the time he took to complete the poem he could rarely have accomplished so much at a sitting. His habit was first to set down his ideas in prose, and, when he had turned them carefully into rhyme, to continue retouching the lines with infinite pains to give point to the sentiment and polish to the verse. Mr. Forster dwells with great force upon the loss to literature from the want of this care in the generality of authors. The bulky ore, he truly says, can seldom obtain currency, however rich the vein. Those who extract and collect the gold, no matter how thinly it may have been originally spread, will ever be the writers most prized by the world. It was owing to this care that 'The Deserted Village,' being published on the 26th of May 1770, went through four editions before the end of June. His brother Henry died in 1768, and the honour which Goldsmith allotted him on the appearance of the 'Traveller,' he now conferred upon Sir Joshua Reynolds. 'The only dedication I ever made,' he gracefully says, 'was to my brother, because I loved him better than most men. He is since dead. Permit me to inscribe this poem to you.' Sir Joshua Reynolds returned the compliment by painting a picture of Resignation, in allusion to the line—

'While Resignation gently slopes the way,'

and inscribing the print which was engraved from it to Goldsmith. An anecdote was told of his having returned a part of the hundred pounds which Griffin had paid him for the copyright, in consequence of his having discovered that it amounted to 'near five shillings a couplet, which was more than any bookseller could afford, or indeed more than any modern poetry was worth.' Mr. Forster rejects the tale on the ground that it was a very improbable act in a man who, a little before, had taken five hundred guineas from the same publisher on the faith of a book he had hardly begun. Mr. Cooke, however, a very trustworthy authority, and who was certainly in a situation to be privy to the transaction, says that the story was 'strictly true,'—a phrase which implies both that it had been called in question, and that he knew it to be a fact. Testimony so distinct must weigh, we think, against speculative improbabilities, which amount to very little in the case of Goldsmith, who was a creature of impulse, and who in money matters especially would meanly borrow one minute what he generously gave the next. The rapid sale of the poem, it is added, removed his scruples, and he ultimately accepted payment in full. Even at this price he was only remunerated in fame for the lengthened labour



labour he had bestowed upon the work, and he replied to Lord Lisburne, who urged him at an Academy dinner to persevere in writing verse, 'I cannot afford to court the muses; they would let me starve; but by my other labours I can make shift to eat and drink, and have good clothes.'

'What true and pretty pastoral images has Goldsmith in his *Deserted Village*,' says Burke in a letter quoted by Mr. Forster. 'They beat all: Pope and Phillips, and Spenser too, in my opinion—that is in the pastoral, for I go no farther.' In no other rural piece is there so much poetry and reality combined. The pictures of Auburn—its pastor, its schoolmaster, and all its other accessories—are as exact as anything in Crabbe, but they are painted under their best and softest aspect; and while 'The Parish Register' pains and depresses, Goldsmith throws a hue of enchantment in the '*Deserted Village*' over all he describes. The very titles of the poems are characteristic of their contents, and seem one to promise the prose, the other the poetry of life. 'The *Deserted Village*' has the advantage over the '*Traveller*,' of treating upon topics which lie closer to our doors, and touch our sympathies more nearly. The verse is a continuous succession of felicities without a single forced conceit. The vividness of the descriptive passages, the skill with which the details are selected, the magical language in which they are expressed, the pensive sweetness which pervades the piece, unite to make it one of the most perfect little poems in the world.

In the midst of the blaze of reputation which attended the publication of '*The Deserted Village*,' Goldsmith started in July for France, attended by Mrs. Horneck and her two pretty daughters—a Devonshire family whose acquaintance he had made in the house of Reynolds. To travel had once been his supreme delight. The love for every place, except that in which they resided, is mentioned by himself as a Goldsmith characteristic. 'But travelling at twenty and at forty are,' he said, 'very different things. I set out with all my confirmed habits about me, and can find nothing on the continent so good as when I left it.' Not meeting with the pleasure he anticipated, and his literary undertakings weighing upon his mind, he was glad to get back to his old quarters, after an absence of two months. He was no sooner home than he added to his already oppressive engagements by agreeing for a payment of fifty guineas to abridge his *Roman History*. A slight sketch of Parnell, which contained two or three graceful paragraphs, was published in the summer with some success; and a '*Life of Bolingbroke*,' to be prefixed to his '*Dissertation on Parties*,' which it was calculated might obtain a fresh lease of popularity in the political heats of that fiery time, was now to be provided

without delay. It was the first completed of his pending projects, and is one of the flimsiest tracts which ever proceeded from his pen—flat and feeble in style, as well as destitute of thought and knowledge. In August 1771 came forth the ‘History of England,’ in four volumes, which has all the characteristics of his former compilations of the same kind. He avowedly took his information at secondhand, and only engaged to furnish what he more than accomplished—‘a plain, unaffected narrative of facts, with just ornament enough to keep attention awake, and with reflection barely sufficient to set the reader upon thinking.’ He was accused, by men who were themselves overflowing with party-spirit, of being the tool of the ministry, and of making history subservient to political passions. ‘I have been a good deal abused,’ he remarked, writing to Langton, ‘for betraying the liberties of the people. God knows I had no thought for or against liberty in my head; my whole aim being to make up a book of decent size, that, as Squire Richard says, would do harm to nobody. However, they set me down as an arrant Tory, and consequently an honest man. When you come to look at any part of it, you’ll say that I am a sour Whig.’ Goldsmith’s political creed was of so extreme a kind that he was even opposed to the Hanoverian succession, and affirmed that it never would be well with our constitution until another ‘happy revolution’ should rectify the injury done by the settlement of 1688. He had once gone with Johnson to visit Westminster Abbey, and, while they were surveying Poet’s corner, his friend exclaimed—

‘*Forsitan et nostrum nomen miscebitur istis.*’

When they reached Temple Bar Goldsmith pointed to the bony remains of the rebels’ heads, and slily whispered, in allusion to their mutual Jacobite predilections—

‘*Forsitan et nostrum nomen miscebitur istis.*’

But notwithstanding his indulgence in these obsolete theories, his practical interest in passing politics, during the hottest ebullitions of factious rage, appears to have been extremely slight, and there were few subjects, we imagine, upon which he read, thought, or understood less. A year or two before, Dr. Scott, the chaplain of Lord Sandwich, endeavoured to engage him to devote his pen to the support of the administration, and informed him that he was empowered to pay him liberally for his services; but poor as Goldsmith was, he was not to be tempted by the offer. ‘I can earn,’ he said, ‘as much as will supply my wants without writing for any party; the assistance you offer is therefore unnecessary to me.’

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The fame of 'The Traveller' brought Goldsmith into contact with his countryman Mr. Nugent, who had now become Lord Clare. He was much with him at the close of 1770 at his seat of Gosfield Park, and in the spring of 1771 accompanied him to Bath. Oliver is said by Mr. Cooke to have been liable to fits of absence, and an instance occurred during the present visit when he strayed into the house of the Duke of Northumberland, who lived next door to Lord Clare, and threw himself down on the sofa just as the Duke and Duchess, who were acquainted with him, were sitting down to breakfast. Conjecturing that he had made a mistake, they endeavoured to put him at his ease and inquired the news of the day; but it was not until they invited him to join them at the table that he awoke from his reverie, and explained, with many apologies and much confusion, that he was unconscious of the intrusion. After seeing on his return to London his 'History of England' through the press, he hired a room in a farm-house on the Edgeware Road, and commenced 'She Stoops to Conquer.' 'I have been trying these three months,' he wrote to Bennet Langton, September 7th, 1771, 'to do something to make people laugh. There have I been strolling about the hedges, studying jests with a most tragical countenance. The comedy is now finished, but when or how it will be acted, or whether it will be acted at all, are questions I cannot resolve.' He met with more difficulties in his attempt to get it brought upon the stage than he probably anticipated when these words were penned. He told his friends that, notwithstanding the partiality of the public for graver pieces, he would persevere in his former course, and, at the risk of being thought low, 'would hunt after nature and humour in whatever walks of life they were most conspicuous.' The cold reception of the 'Good-natured Man' had nevertheless abated much of his confidence in the result, and he was easily discouraged. A friend to whom he told the plot in a chop-house, shook his head and expressed a fear that the audience would think it too broad and farcical for comedy. Goldsmith looked serious, and, taking him by the hand after a pause, said in piteous tones, 'I am much obliged to you, my dear friend, for the candour of your opinion, but it is all I can do; for, alas! I find that my genius, if ever I had any, has of late totally deserted me.' The manager of Covent Garden Theatre shook his head, like this friend. He kept the author long without an answer, started objections to the conduct of the piece, and on a pressing appeal from Goldsmith, in January 1773, to be relieved from suspense, coupled with an entreaty that the comedy might at least be allowed a hearing in consideration of the large sum of money he had shortly to make up,

he replied by sending back the manuscript, with several unwelcome criticisms endorsed upon the pages. Though he added an assurance that the play should be acted, Oliver was irritated and applied to Garrick. He had no sooner taken the step than he revoked the request at the advice of Dr. Johnson, who went to Colman, and in his own words 'prevailed on him at last by much solicitation, nay a kind of force, to bring it on.' The manager still believed that it would never reach a second representation, and refused to expend a shilling in decoration. Several of the performers mutinied and threw up their parts. Other petty vexations followed, and, with the exception of a favourable opinion from Dr. Johnson and one or two more, everything conspired to frown upon the venture. There was some difficulty in finding a suitable title for the piece, and on Davies repeating that the great oracle had said, 'We are all in labour for a name to *Goldy's* play,' Oliver, in one of those capricious fits of assumption, which oddly intermingled with undignified familiarity, exclaimed, 'I have often desired him not to call me Goldy.'

On the evening of the first performance (March 15th, 1773) a few of the principal literary friends of the author assembled at dinner; but Goldsmith was too agitated to swallow a mouthful, and too nervous to accompany the party to the theatre. He was found sauntering in St. James's Park by an acquaintance, who told him his presence might be necessary to make some alteration demanded by the temper of the audience, which induced him to go. Entering the stage-door as a faint hiss broke out at the improbability of Mrs. Hardcastle believing herself to be forty miles from home when she was within a few yards of her own house, he exclaimed with alarm 'What's that?' 'Pshaw! Doctor,' said Colman, who was standing behind the scenes, 'don't be fearful of squibs, when we have been sitting almost these two hours upon a barrel of gunpowder.' Goldsmith never forgave the speech. In reality the piece had not been in jeopardy for an instant, and from beginning to end all was mirth and applause. Johnson, who presided over the dinner, was present to justify his favourable verdict, and, as often as he broke forth into a roar of laughter, the rest of the house followed the lead and laughed in chorus. 'I know of no comedy,' he said, 'for many years that has so much exhilarated an audience,—that has answered so much the great end of comedy, making an audience merry.' 'The play,' Goldsmith wrote himself to Mr. Cradock, 'has met with a success much beyond your expectations or mine. I cannot help saying that I am very sick of the stage, and, though I believe I shall get three tolerable benefits, yet I shall on the whole be a loser even in a pecuniary light; my ease  
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and comfort I certainly lost while it was in agitation.' The comedy was repeated all the available nights, which amounted only to twelve, up to the end of the season, and if what Mr. Cooke says be true, that Goldsmith cleared eight hundred pounds, he could not have been the loser he anticipated through the time subtracted from his ordinary task-work. In the next season '*She Stoops to Conquer*' continued a favourite, and Goldsmith grew in love with dramatic writing and the stage. Mr. Cooke believes that, had he lived, he would have increasingly devoted himself to this department of literature. The general approbation of the comedy was accompanied by a general abuse of Colman for his jealousy or want of judgment, and he was at last humbled to the point of asking Goldsmith to make some statement which should 'take him off the rack of the newspapers.'

No better description can be given of '*She Stoops to Conquer*' than that which was written by Johnson to Boswell, after reading it in manuscript. 'The chief diversion arises from a stratagem by which a lover is made to mistake his future father-in-law's house for an inn. This, you see, borders upon farce. The dialogue is quick and gay, and the incidents are so prepared as not to seem improbable.' With a general resemblance of manner to his former comedy, there is this prominent distinction, that in the '*Good-Natured Man*' he has concentrated his strength upon the humour which grows out of character, and in '*She Stoops to Conquer*' upon the mirth which is provoked by misadventures. Even Marlow, forward with his inferiors and bashful with his equals, seems a commonplace conception. The interest and comicality of the piece are in the succession of deceptions and misunderstandings, and the lively dialogue which accompanies them. As he indulged before in extravagance of character, so he did now in extravagance of incident, and nothing except his admirable management of his materials kept his piece within the limits of comedy. Horace Walpole pronounced it the 'lowest of all possible farces.' He might at least have said the highest, nor does it much matter by what name it is called, when it is allowed by everybody to be one of the most ingenious, original, and laughable plays in the language. The '*Good-Natured Man*' is tame by comparison.

Every stage of Goldsmith's existence was coupled with some disaster or jest, and a few days after the appearance of '*She Stoops to Conquer*' he brought himself into a new description of trouble. A letter appeared in the '*London Packet*' abusing his comedy, and asserting that he had a hopeless admiration of Miss Horneck. He had the folly to call upon Evans, the publisher of the paper, and strike him with a cane at the moment when

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he was disclaiming his knowledge of the libel, and promised to speak to the editor. Evans returned the blow, a scuffle ensued, Goldsmith's hand was much bruised in the fray, a lamp above his head was broken to pieces and covered him with oil, and, to complete his humiliation, there issued at this instant from a back room his old detractor Dr. Kenrick, the author of the attack, who led him away to a hackney coach. He was prosecuted by Evans for the assault, and compromised the action by paying fifty pounds to a Welsh charity. His friends laughed, the journals railed at him, and he wrote a letter in his defence, called by Johnson 'a foolish thing well done,' in which, avoiding all the details of the transaction, he confined himself to half-a-dozen well-turned sentences upon the licentiousness of the press. It was this time a comedy in which 'he had stooped to be conquered.'

Neither the eight hundred pounds, nor his other earnings, sufficed to satisfy his past debts and present extravagance. 'When he exchanged his simple habits,' says Mr. Cooke, 'for those of the great, he contracted their follies without their fortunes or qualifications. Hence, when he eat or drank with them he was habituated to extravagances which he could not afford; when he squandered his time with them he squandered part of his income; and when he lost his money at play with them he had not their talents to recover it at another opportunity.' He had all his life been fond of cards, played ill, and, when the run of luck was against him, would fling his hand upon the floor, and exclaim with mock concern, 'Bye—fore George, I ought for ever to renounce thee, fickle, faithless Fortune!' But in his latter years he played for deeper stakes. He contracted what Cooke calls 'a passion for gaming,' which is one of the ingredients in the motley character that was drawn of him by Garrick, and Mr. Cradock, who was on familiar terms with him at this period, specifies it as his greatest fault, that if he had thirty pounds in his pocket he would lose it all by an attempt to double it. An abstemious man himself, he was ostentatious in his entertainments, and in the last year of his life Johnson and Reynolds rebuked his profusion by refusing to partake of the second course of a too sumptuous dinner. He often repented his folly, but as often renewed it. Reynolds found him one morning kicking a bundle round his room. The poet said in explanation, that it was a masquerade suit, and, being too poor to have anything useless about him, he was taking out the value in exercise, or in other words he was venting his vexation for his thoughtless conduct upon the dress. His accumulating debts made him melancholy and wayward. He would frequently quit abruptly  
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the social circle and creep to his own cheerless chamber to brood over his embarrassments. His happiest periods, as he acknowledged, were when, driven by sheer necessity from the round of dissipation, he retired into the country to labour with unremitting toil upon his projects.

In the intervals between his other engagements Goldsmith had for some time been continuing in his farm-house retreat the 'History of Animated Nature.' 'It is about half finished,' he said to Langton in the letter of September 1771, 'and I will shortly finish the rest. God knows, I am tired of this kind of finishing, which is but bungling work.' Boswell, in company with Mickle, the translator of the *Lusiad*, went to see him at his country lodging in April 1772. He was not at home, but they entered his apartment and found curious scraps of descriptions of animals scrawled upon the wall with a black-lead pencil. Buffon was his principal store-house for facts, and much of the work is an avowed translation from the eloquent Frenchman. 'Goldsmith, Sir,' said Johnson, 'will give us a very fine book on the subject, but, if he can distinguish a cow from a horse, that I believe may be the extent of his knowledge of Natural History.' To observe for himself, and to recapitulate the observations of others, were such distinct operations, that, in spite of his want of a practical acquaintance with the science, he might easily be equal to a view of the popular parts of the study. He was a little credulous of marvels, and if his guides had gone astray he of necessity copied their errors, but the volumes teem with delightful information, and of the literary merits of the narrative it is enough to say that it was written by Goldsmith.

The purchase-money of the 'History of Animated Nature' was spent before it was earned. The work was not finished till Goldsmith was within a foot of the grave, nor published till after his death, and throughout the interval which elapsed from its commencement to its conclusion it continued to be one of his worst embarrassments. He had still to provide for the wants of the passing hour, and numerous were the schemes he attempted or proposed. He was in arrear to the younger Newberry, to whom he made over the copyright of 'She Stoops to Conquer,' in partial satisfaction of a debt which he had previously promised to discharge by another such tale as the 'Vicar of Wakefield.' The specimen which he furnished proved to be a narrative version of the 'Good-natured Man,' and was declined by the publisher. He undertook, as a companion to his 'History of Rome,' to compile for two hundred and fifty pounds a 'History of Greece,' which was unfinished when he died. But his favourite project was a 'Popular Dictionary of Arts and Sciences,' to which  
Johnson,

Johnson, Burke, and Reynolds had promised to contribute, and the loss of the disquisitions of these famous men renders the abandonment of the work a subject for great regret, though in the aggregate it would probably have been a very imperfect performance. Goldsmith wrote the Introduction to the Dictionary, which was read in the manuscript by Mr. Cradock, who thought it excellent, and which may possibly be the same with the Prospectus he printed and circulated among his friends, but which has hitherto escaped the researches of his editors. Davies tells us that his expectations from any new scheme were generally sanguine, but for this he prognosticated an unusual success, and never recovered the disappointment of its rejection by the booksellers, who had little confidence in the prosperity of 'an undertaking, the fate of which was to depend upon a man with whose indolence of temper and habits of procrastination they had long been acquainted.' In some emergency in 1773 he borrowed forty pounds of Garrick, and not long afterwards he sent him a note, which bears manifest marks of having been written in agitation and distress, in which he requests him to make the debt an hundred. To propitiate his creditor he offered to remodel the 'Good-natured Man' in accordance with the original proposal of the manager when they quarrelled upon the subject. 'I will give you a new character,' Goldsmith said, 'and knock out Lofty, which does not do, and will make such other alterations as you suggest.' Garrick promised the money, but gave no encouragement to the scheme for recasting the play. The thanks of Goldsmith were warm, and to show his gratitude he added, 'I shall have a comedy for you in a season or two, at farthest, that I believe will be worth your acceptance, for I fancy I will make it a fine thing.' Both these notes are endorsed by Garrick 'Goldsmith's parlayer;' and it is likely enough that his distresses enticed him into promises and professions which, though meant at the moment, were quickly forgotten.

In the midst of these shifts and sorrows a trivial incident occurred which produced one of the happiest effusions of Goldsmith's pen, and afforded a fresh proof of the versatility of his talents. He insisted one evening at the Literary Club on competing with Garrick in epigram, and each agreed to write the other's epitaph. The actor exclaimed on the instant that his was ready, and he produced extempore the couplet which is as widely known as the name of Goldsmith himself:—

'Here lies Nolly Goldsmith, for shortness call'd Noll,  
Who wrote like an angel, but talk'd like poor Poll.'

Abashed at the laugh which ensued, 'poor Poll' was unable to produce a retort. The company pursued the idea which had  
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been started, and either then or afterwards several of them wrote epitaphs upon their standing butt in a similar vein. Goldsmith in the interim was not idle. He was carefully preparing his 'Retaliation' in silence; and when he had advanced as far as the character of Reynolds he showed it to Burke. He wished it to be a secret till it was finished; but having allowed copies to be taken, its existence became known to those who were the subjects of it, and he was obliged to read it at the Literary Club in its imperfect state. Garrick mentions that the skirmish on the part of all concerned was conceived and executed in perfect good temper; but we learn from Mr. Cooke that Goldsmith intended that the sting should be felt. From the time that his talent for satire was discovered he was treated with greater respect, and the oddities which had hitherto been a theme for endless jest were spoken of as not entirely destitute of humour. Oliver marked the change, felt his power, and told a friend that he kept the poem 'as a rod in pickle upon any future occasion.' The premature disclosure of his verses took away the stimulus which he derived from anticipating the effect they would produce upon his bantering friends, and seems to have prevented his proceeding any further in a composition which certainly cost him much thought and pains. As far as we can recollect, nothing of the kind had ever been struck out before. His little rhyming piece of pleasantry, 'The Haunch of Venison,' which he sent to Lord Clare about 1771, is in the same easy strain of verse; but the peculiarity of 'Retaliation' is in the happy mixture of gaiety and satire; in the air of smiling good humour with which he has told the most poignant truths; and the dexterity with which he has blended praise and blame. The characters are drawn with uncommon terseness and force, and with such felicity of language that many of the lines have become proverbial.

A few weeks after this game of epitaphs had been played out poor Goldsmith was in his grave. He was subject to strangury, produced or aggravated by fits of sedentary toil; and an attack of the disorder in March, 1774, passed into a nervous fever. On the 25th of the month he sent for an apothecary, and in defiance of his remonstrance persisted in taking James's powder. Yet, much as the medicine reduced his powers, the worst symptoms of the disorder abated, and it was apparent that the sleeplessness which remained was induced by some other cause. 'Your pulse,' said Doctor Turton, 'is in much greater disorder than it should be from the degree of fever which you have. Is your mind at ease?' 'No,' said Goldsmith, 'it is not.' He was paying, in fact, with his life the penalty of his improvidence. He expired, after an illness of ten days, on the 4th of April, 1774;

1774 ; and on the 9th, his remains, followed by a few coffeehouse acquaintances, hastily gathered together, were laid in the burial-ground of the Temple. 'He died,' wrote Johnson, 'of a fever, exasperated, as I believe, by the fear of distress. He had raised money and squandered it by every artifice of acquisition and folly of expense. Sir Joshua is of opinion that he owed not less than two thousand pounds. Was ever poet so trusted before? But let not his faults be remembered. He was a very great man.' It was suggested that he should be buried in Westminster Abbey, with a pomp commensurate with his fame ; and Judge Day conjectured that the proposal was abandoned in consequence of his debts ; but Mr. Cooke expressly states that the reason why the scheme was given up was because the greater part of the eminent persons who were invited to hold the pall, and whose presence could alone have conferred importance on the proceeding, pleaded inability to attend. Yet two at least of the number had a real and deep regard for the man. Burke, when he heard of his death, burst into tears ; and Reynolds, who had never been known to suspend the exercise of his calling for any distress, laid down his brush, and painted no more that day.

Goldsmith was short and thick in stature, his face round and strongly pitted with the smallpox, his forehead low, and his complexion pale. The general cast of his countenance, according to Boswell, was coarse and vulgar ; and Miss Reynolds states that he had the appearance of a low mechanic. He was once relating, with great indignation, that a gentleman in a coffeehouse had mistaken him for a tailor ; and his resemblance to the brethren of the needle was notoriously so strong that an irresistible titter went round the circle. One morning when Mr. Percival Stockdale was remarking to Davies the bookseller on this similarity of appearance, Goldsmith entered, and, with that curious infelicity which seemed always to attend upon him, said to Mr. Stockdale, who had recently published a translation of Tasso's *Aminta*, 'I shall soon take measure of you.' His picture by Sir Joshua presents the face of a man unusually plain, yet Miss Reynolds mentions it as the crowning feat of her brother in portrait-painting that he had imparted dignity of expression without destroying the likeness. What that lady thought of him appears from her naming him for her toast when she was asked to give the ugliest person she knew ; and Mrs. Cholmondeley, with whom she had some little difference at the time, was so delighted with the selection that she shook hands with her across the table. 'Thus the ancients,' said Johnson, 'in the making up of their quarrels, used to sacrifice a beast between them.'

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His address, until he warmed into the good-humour which was natural to him, strengthened the unfavourable impression produced by his appearance. 'His deportment,' says Boswell, 'was that of a scholar awkwardly affecting the easy gentleman.' 'His manner,' says Davies, 'was uncouth, his language unpolished, and his elocution was continually interrupted by disagreeable hesitation.' 'He expressed himself,' says his friend Mr. Cooke, 'upon common subjects with a plainness bordering upon rusticity, and often in words very ill chosen.' Some attempts have been made in recent years to prove that his talk was not unworthy of his fame; but the witnesses to the contrary are so numerous, and there is such a general agreement in their testimony, that it is idle to controvert it. Mr. Rogers asked Mr. Cooke what he really was in conversation, and Cooke replied, emphatically, 'He was a fool. The right word never came to him. If you gave him back a shilling, he 'd say, "Why, it's as good a shilling as ever was *born*." He was a fool, sir.' Mr. Forster observes in extenuation, that 'born' is an Irish mode of speech; but though the particular instance may not support the proposition, it was not from a single example, but from an intimate acquaintance of seven years, that Cooke derived his impression. Dr. Beattie said that the silliness he exhibited was so great that it almost seemed affected; and Sir Joshua Reynolds, who had a peculiar regard for him, adopted the same improbable theory. Chamier, after talking with him, came away, saying, 'Well, I do believe he wrote the *Traveller* himself; and let me tell you that is believing a great deal.' Against Horace Walpole's smart saying, that he was an 'inspired idiot,' Mrs. Piozzi wrote in her old age, 'very true;\*' and the point, we may add, of Garrick's epigram would have had no sort of force unless it had possessed a semblance of truth. It is easy to collect from the book of Boswell, who acknowledges that his folly had been greatly exaggerated, the real state of the case. Johnson, who did the amplest justice to his genius, remarked that he had no settled notions upon any subject; that his ready knowledge was very slight; that he was eager to shine; and discoursed at random upon questions of which he was almost entirely ignorant. 'If he were with two founders,' said the Doctor, 'he would fall a-talking on the method of making cannon, though both of them would soon see that he did not know what metal a cannon is made of.' To this want of fixed opinions and extensive in-

\* Malone, on the other hand, says that he never could assent to Walpole's pointed sentence. 'I always,' he adds, 'made battle against Boswell's representation of him, and often expressed to him my opinion that he rated Goldsmith much too low.'

formation was added what Boswell calls 'a hurry of ideas, producing a laughable confusion in the expressing them;' and what Mr. Cooke terms 'a strange, uncouth, deranged manner' of speaking. With his slender store of facts, his inability to arrange his thoughts on a sudden, his hasty rashness of assertion, his incoherent, provincial style of expression, it is manifest that he would do very slender justice to the better genius which he poured at leisure into his books. But a man of his talents must, in spite of the deficiency of tact and quickness, have often been visited with bright ideas; and Boswell relates that he was sometimes very happy in his wit-combats with Johnson, and records the instances of it. From the specimens which have been preserved of his absurdities it appears that they often consisted in the ludicrous misapplication of a single phrase. The story of his remarking to Lord Shelburne, 'I never could conceive the reason why they call you Malagrida; for Malagrida was a very good sort of man,' was, as Johnson justly remarked, little more than an error of emphasis. Horace Walpole, whose authority, however, is worth nothing on the question, exclaimed that the blunder was a picture of his whole life. Beauchamp called it, ironically, 'a happy turn of expression, peculiar to himself;' and the daughter of his friend Lord Clare, who always spoke of him with the utmost affection, used to say 'that it was *so* like him.' His delight at the pun which was made on the dish of yellow-looking peas at Sir Joshua's table, when one of the company observed that they ought to be sent to Hammersmith, for that was the way to Turn'em Green; his taking the earliest opportunity to repeat the jest as his own, his first exclaiming that that was the way to *make* 'em green, and next, when he found his witticism fall pointless, that that was the *road* to turn 'em green; his starting up, disconcerted at the second failure, and quitting the dinner-table abruptly, all reads like a humorous invention to caricature his failings. In confirmation of his disposition to retire when he was mortified, Hawkins states that he would leave a tavern if his jokes were not rewarded by a roar. Once in particular, having promised the company, if they would call for another bottle, that they should hear one of his *bon mots*, he proceeded to tell, that, on hearing that Sheridan practised stage-gestures in a room with ten mirrors, he replied 'that then there were ten ugly fellows together.' His anecdote was received in silence; and after inquiring, to no purpose, 'Why nobody laughed?' he departed in anger. 'Rochester,' says Mr. Forster, 'observed of Shadwell, that if he had burnt all he wrote, and printed all he spoke, he would have had more wit and humour than any other poet; and measuring Goldsmith by Shadwell, we may



may rest perfectly satisfied with the relative accomplishments and deficiencies of each.

Boswell asserts that he studiously copied Johnson's manner, on a smaller scale; and both Hawkins and Joseph Warton relate that he affected to use the great lexicographer's hard words in conversation. The consequent impression he left upon Warton was, that 'he was of all solemn coxcombs the first; yet,' he adds, 'sensible.' To be solemn was not natural to him; and it is evident that he often forgot to act his part, or deliberately laid it aside. This mimicry of Johnson, which reduced him to a comical miniature of the original, no doubt occasioned, as it renders more piquant, the insolence of Graham, who wrote the 'Masque of Telemachus.' When he had arrived at a point of conviviality to talk to one man and look at another, he said, 'Doctor, I shall be happy to see you at Eton,' where he was one of the masters. 'I shall be glad to wait on you,' said Goldsmith. 'No,' replied Graham, 'tis not you I mean, Dr. *Minor*; 'tis Dr. *Major*, there.' 'Graham,' said Oliver, describing him afterwards, 'is a fellow to make one commit suicide.' Another circumstance which he used to mention with strong indignation was the conduct of Moser, the Swiss, at an Academy dinner, who cut short his conversation with a 'Stay, stay, Doctor Shonson is going to say something.' On such occasions, Johnson tells us, he was as irascible as a hornet; was angry when he was detected in an absurdity; and miserably vexed when he was defeated in an argument. Of the little ebullitions of temper which arose from mortified vanity, Boswell has preserved a single instance. He was about to interpose an observation in a discussion which was going on, and his sentence was drowned by the loud voice of Johnson, who had not heard him speak. Dr. Minor, who was standing restless, in consequence of being excluded from the conversation, hesitating whether to go or to stay, threw down his hat in a passion, and, looking angrily at Dr. Major, ejaculated, 'Take it!' Toplady beginning to say something, and Johnson making a sound, Goldsmith called out, 'Sir, the gentleman has heard you patiently for an hour; pray allow us now to hear him.' 'Sir,' rejoined Johnson, 'I was not interrupting the gentleman. I was only giving him a signal of my attention. Sir, you are impertinent.' When they met in the evening at the club, Johnson asked his pardon, and Goldsmith, who was as placable as he was hasty, placidly replied, 'It must be much, Sir, that I take ill from you.'

Of his vanity he gave many ludicrous examples. 'He would never,' said Garrick, 'allow a superior in any art, from writing poetry down to dancing a hornpipe.' 'How well this postboy drives,'

drives,' said Johnson to Boswell. 'Now, if Goldy were here, he'd say he could drive better.' 'If you were to meet him,' said a journalist of the day, who was satirising his well-known infirmity, 'and boast of your shoes being well blacked, the Doctor would look down at his own and reply, "I think mine are still better done."' In trying to show at Versailles how well he could jump over a piece of water, he tumbled into the midst of it: at the exhibition of puppets he warmly exclaimed, on their dexterously tossing a pike, 'Pshaw! I can do it better myself;' and he broke his shins the same evening, at the house of Mr. Burke, in the attempt to prove that he could surpass them in leaping over a stick. When some of the club were loud in their praise of a speech of Mr. Burke, Goldsmith maintained that oratory was a knack, and that he would undertake to do as well himself. Being dared to the trial, he mounted a chair and was unable to advance beyond one or two sentences. He was compelled to desist, but reiterated his assertion, and imputed his failure to his being 'out of luck' at the moment. He possessed so little of the boasted knack, that when he attempted a speech at the Society of Arts he was obliged to sit down in confusion.

His vanity was coupled with a babbling envy that was laughable, but not malignant. 'Though the type,' says Cooke, 'of his Good-natured Man in every other respect, yet, in point of authorship, and particularly in poetry, he could bear no rival near his throne. This was so deeply rooted in his nature that nothing could cure it. Poverty had no terrors for him; but the applauses paid a brother poet made him poor indeed.' He could not bear, Dr. Beattie said, that so much admiration should be bestowed upon Shakespeare; and though he had a true and hearty regard for Johnson, he exclaimed in a kind of agony, on hearing him vehemently applauded, 'No more, I desire you; you harrow up my soul.'

'Genius is jealous: I have heard of some  
Who, if unnoticed, grew perversely dumb;  
Nay, different talents would their envy raise:  
Poets have sickened at a dancer's praise;  
And one, the happiest writer of his time,  
Grew pale at hearing Reynolds was sublime;  
That Rutland's Duchess wore a heavenly smile—  
"And I," said he, "neglected all the while!"'

Mr. Forster expresses his regret that Crabbe should have invented an illustration of Goldsmith's vanity opposed to all the known records of his intercourse with Reynolds; but the author of the 'Tales,' who had lived with many of Oliver's associates, plainly meant to give real instances; and, as we see from the case



case of Johnson, love for the man did not exclude jealousy of the panegyrics bestowed upon the genius. The work of Crabbe in which the lines occur was dedicated to the Duchess of Rutland, and the second example was doubtless derived from herself or her family. Another ludicrous manifestation of his jealousy occurred at an Academy dinner: when one of the company was uttering some witticisms which excited mirth, Goldsmith begged those who sat near him not to laugh, 'for in truth he thought it would make the man vain.' He openly confessed that he was of an envious disposition; and Boswell maintained that he had no more of it than other people, but only talked of it more freely. All are agreed that it never embittered his heart; that it entirely spent itself in occasional outbreaks; and that he was utterly incapable of a steady rancour, or of doing an action which could hurt any man living. He once proposed to muster a party to damn Home's play 'The Fatal Discovery,' alleging for his reason 'that such fellows ought not to be encouraged;' but this, says Davies, was 'a transient thought, which, upon the least check, he would have immediately renounced, and as heartily joined to support the piece he had before devoted to destruction.' Such were the foibles which shaded the higher qualities of this whimsical being, and which must find the readier belief that most of those who record his eccentricities appear to have felt kindly towards him, and could certainly not have conspired to fasten upon him a fictitious character which was so little in keeping with his genius.

Washington Irving expresses his belief that, far from being displeased that his weaknesses should be remembered, he would be gratified to hear the reader shut the volume which contained his history with the ejaculation POOR GOLDSMITH! In our opinion nothing would be more distasteful to him. He had higher aspirations, a more heroic ambition. But what would have delighted him would have been to hear Johnson pronounce in oracular tones that 'he deserved a place in Westminster Abbey, and every year he lived would have deserved it better;' to read in the epitaph which his great friend prepared for his monument, 'that he was of a genius sublime, lively and versatile, that there was no species of writing that he had left untried, and that he treated nothing which he did not adorn;' to find posterity confirming the sentence and ranking him as the worthy peer of the illustrious men whose fame he emulated, and whom he needlessly envied; to see that his works were among the most popular of British classics, that everything connected with him possessed an undying interest for mankind, that all the minutest incidents of his career had engaged the anxious researches of numerous biographers, and that

that the list was closed by the elaborate volumes of Mr. Forster. 'Tread lightly on his ashes, ye men of genius, for he was your kinsman; weed his grave clean, ye men of goodness, for he was your brother.'

In adding one more to the many sketches of Goldsmith's life we have not done justice to the very able and interesting Biography from which we have drawn our materials. His history is there illustrated with a fulness which may even be thought excessive, for the era in which his lot was cast, and the eminent men with whom he associated in his later years, are largely described in conjunction with himself. In intrinsic interest these episodes are inferior to no other portion of the book, and the very notes are a storehouse of wit and wisdom culled from the writings and sayings of the contemporaries of Goldsmith. The central figure of the piece is drawn with equal ability and truth, and with no more extenuation of his infirmities than is due to the frailties of a common humanity. But Mr. Forster had a wider object than the mere exhibition of the life and adventures of an individual. He wished through the example of Goldsmith to plead the cause of literature with the world, and we are anxious to give currency to the concluding pages in which he sums up the scope and moral of his admirable work:—

'This book has been written to little purpose, if the intention can be attributed to it of claiming for the literary man either more money than is proportioned to the work he does by the appreciation it commands, or immunity from those conditions of prudence, industry, and a knowledge of the multiplication table, which are inseparable from success in all other walks of life. But, with a design far other than that, one object of it has been to show that the very character of the writer's calling, by the thoughts which he creates, by the emotions he is able to inspire, by the happiness he may extend to distant generations, so far places him on a different level from the tradesman, merchant, lawyer, or physician, who has his wares and merchandise or advice to sell, that, whereas in the latter case the service is as indefinite as the reward due to it, in the former a balance must be always left, which only time can adjust fairly. In the vast majority of cases, too, even the attempt at adjustment is not made until the tuneful tongue is silent, and the ear deaf to praise; nor, much as the extension of the public of readers has done to diminish the probabilities of a writer's suffering, are the chances of his lot bettered even yet, in regard to that fair and full reward. Another object of this book has therefore been to point out that literature ought long ago to have received from the state an amount of recognition which would at least have placed its highest cultivators on a level with other and not worthier recipients of its gratitude. \* \* \* The best offices of service to a state are those in which thinkers are required, and, more than many of its lawyers, more than all its soldiers, it is in such offices that the higher class of  
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men of letters and science are competent to assist. Yet, if any one would measure the weight of contempt and neglect that now presses down such service, let him compare the deeds for which an English parliament ordinarily bestows its thanks, its peerages, and its pensions, with the highest grade of honour or reward that it has ever vouchsafed to the loftiest genius, the highest distinction in literature, the greatest moral or mechanical achievement, by which not simply England has been benefited and exalted, but the whole human race.

\* \* Partly because of the sordid ills that attended authorship in such days as have been described in these volumes, partly from the fact that it is a calling daily entered by men whom neither natural gifts nor laborious acquirements entitle to success in it, the belief is still very common that to be an author is to be a kind of vagrant, picking up subsistence as he can, a loaf to-day, a crumb to-morrow, and that to such a man no special signification of respect in social life can possibly be paid. Nor, in marking thus the low account and general disesteem of their calling, are the literary class themselves to be exempted from blame. "It were well," said Goldsmith, on one occasion, with bitter truth, "if none but the dunces of society were combined to render the profession of an author ridiculous or unhappy." The profession themselves have yet to learn the secret of co-operation; they have to put away internal jealousies; they have to claim for themselves, as poor Goldsmith after his fashion very loudly did, that defined position from which greater respect, and more frequent consideration in public life, could not long be withheld; in fine, they have frankly to feel that their vocation, properly regarded, ranks with the worthiest, and that on all occasions to do justice to it, and to each other, is the way to obtain justice from the world. If writers had been thus true to themselves, the subject of copyright might have been equitably settled when attention was first drawn to it, but, while De Foe was urging the author's claim, Swift was calling De Foe a fellow that had been pilloried, and we have still to discuss as in *formâ pauperis* the rights of the English author. Confiscation is a hard word, but it is the word which alone describes fairly the statute of Anne, for the encouragement of literature. That is now superseded by another statute, having the same gorgeous name, and the same inglorious meaning: for even this last enactment, sorely resisted as it was, leaves England behind every other country in the world, in the amount of their own property secured to her authors. In some, to this day, perpetual copyright exists; and though it may be reasonable, as Doctor Johnson argued that it was, to surrender a part for greater efficiency of protection to the rest, yet the commonest dictates of natural justice might at least require that an author's family should not be beggared of their inheritance as soon as his own capacity to provide for them may have ceased. In every continental country this is cared for, the lowest term secured by the most niggardly arrangement being twenty-five years, whereas in England it is the munificent number of seven. Yet the most laborious works, and often the most delightful, are for the most part of a kind which the hereafter only can repay. \* \* No consideration of moral right exists, no prin-

ciple of economical science can be stated, which would justify the seizure of such books by the public before they have had the chance of remunerating the genius and labour of their producers.'

The volumes of Mr. Forster afford many touching proofs of the truth of his positions, and contain, indeed, the most complete and affecting representation with which we are acquainted of the bitter struggles and reverses of men of genius in all the walks of life. No author in this productive and charming department of literature has ever exhibited so wide a range of knowledge and sympathy, and, though his hero had become a hackneyed topic, the originality with which the work is conceived and executed, the vast variety of facts, anecdotes, and letters, which are now produced for the first time, the new and more truthful light in which the old materials are disposed, the introduction into the picture of Burke, Johnson, Garrick, and other celebrated members of the Goldsmith group, render these Memoirs as fresh and novel as though Mr. Forster had been the first biographer of the poet, instead of the last. Much, indeed, of what had been previously done consisted of a loose collection of stories about the man, but here we have depicted the man himself as he moved along his path, and at every turn of the story, which is unfolded with the vivacity and regularity of an actual drama, he stands before us in the vividness of reality, with all the changes which had been wrought in him by each previous stage of his journey. This is real *Biography*.

ART. VI.—1. *The Eclipse of Faith*. 5th Edition. London. 1854.

2. *Phases of Faith*, 3rd Edition, with a *Reply to the Eclipse of Faith*. By F. Newman. London. 1854.

3. *A Defence of the Eclipse of Faith*. 2nd Edition. London. 1854.

THE 'Eclipse of Faith' having gone through five editions in less than two years, is so generally known and appreciated, that it would be superfluous to recommend it to the notice of our readers. Moreover, its subjects are too vast and various to be properly discussed in a single article; and its arguments must lose force and illustration by the condensation needful in a summary abstract. Hence we should probably have passed over this work in silence, in spite of (and partly because of) its great merit, had it not been assailed with an asperity and unfairness that provoke us to give some account of the controversy which originated in its publication.

The author's main design is to apply Butler's great argument  
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to some recent modifications of Deism. He has thrown his reasoning, for the most part, into the form of dialogue; and we think that the Socratic weapons have never, since the time of Plato, been wielded with more grace and spirit. Various talkers are brought upon the stage, who state fairly the opinions of different Deistic schools, and are successively foiled by a sceptical friend who overthrows them in succession by the very objections they have urged against Christianity. This task is accomplished not only with great power of logic, but also with unusual liveliness of illustration, seasoned with a plentiful admixture of sarcastic humour; the latter being never intruded needlessly into the argument, but springing naturally out of it. The principal representative of Deism in the dialogue is a disciple of Mr. Francis Newman, whose writings are made to supply a large contribution to this species of entertainment. Their author has been persuaded by his friends to reply to his critic; and has published his answer in the second edition of his '*Phases of Faith*,' a performance of which we must give a brief account, in order to render the sequel intelligible.

We must premise that Mr. F. Newman, like his more celebrated brother, is a disciple of the logic of difficulties. The former has been led to Deism, the latter to Romanism, by the same bias of understanding, differently modified in the two cases by a different moral constitution. Each brother alike is irresistibly impelled to reject creed after creed, as he discovers in each some difficulty which he cannot solve; but neither of them will acquiesce in the absolute scepticism which is the only logical result of their principles. The elder, finding that the exercise of the understanding plunged him into the depths of Pyrrhonism, fled for refuge to the authority of an infallible church, and renounced his private judgment altogether. The younger, by a similar exercise of arbitrary will, has checked his downward career for a time at the stage of Deism; whereof he has adopted a peculiar modification, which professes to retain the sentiment of religion without the form. He first expounded his present creed in a work upon '*The Soul, and her Aspirations*;' but the difficulties which induced him to abandon Christianity are set forth in the '*Phases of Faith*.'

The form he has chosen for his argument is an autobiography, in which he gives the history of his religious experience, and describes the process by which he was led, year after year, to reject, bit by bit, the articles of his belief, casting away fragment after fragment till he had reduced himself to a state of spiritual nudity. There is something in the personal character of his narrative which gives an impression of reality and truthfulness to the book, and it thus creates a far more lively interest

than could be won by a mere theological treatise. Mr. Newman's objections to Christianity are not original; but the manner in which they are marshalled in detachments, and brought against the successive positions taken up by his retreating faith, gives them an air of freshness and novelty. The principle which he assumes throughout is that his individual consciousness is the standard of religious truth. He agrees with those Greek philosophers who held that 'MAN is the measure of all things;' only that, in practice, he restricts MAN to Newman. His development of this idiosyncrasy for the benefit of the world has produced a pleasant mixture of theological argumentation with personal gossip; the whole being blended and harmonised by a neutral tint of egotistic naïveté which often reminds us of the 'Confessions' of Rousseau. The taste of the performance also not seldom recalls that of the French autobiographer. For instance, it is usual in English writers to shrink from details of their domestic history and family feuds. Mr. Newman by discarding such scruples makes his book far more amusing than those of his predecessors. Thus he describes 'a painful and injurious conflict' in which he was involved with 'a superior kinsman' in his early youth; he gives the particulars of an 'uneasy collision' with his brother at Oxford; he informs us that in consequence of theological differences the same relative at a later period 'separated himself entirely from his private friendship and acquaintance.' The same reference of all truth to the standard of his individual consciousness leads him to require in his critics a profound acquaintance with all his previous writings, before he will allow them to pass judgment on any of his conclusions. Such knowledge, he tells them, is as necessary as it would be for a reader of the 47th proposition of Euclid to be acquainted with the 41st. We cannot but feel this requisition rather severe from an author who has written so many books on such diverse subjects; including a 'Treatise on Logic,' 'Lectures on Political Economy,' 'A History of the Hebrew Monarchy,' 'The Mathematical Theory of Parallels,' 'Lectures on Modern History,' 'The Soul and her Aspirations,' 'Horace in unrhymed Metres,' 'The Phases of Faith,' 'The Crimes of the House of Hapsburg,' and several other works, which, we candidly own, we have not profoundly studied.

The same idiosyncrasy compels him to believe that views which satisfy his own mind must satisfy the minds of others; and that nothing which pleases his own palate ought to shock the taste or jar the feelings of his readers. Hence he unsuspectingly excites their disgust by sentiments and expressions which must appear to every one but himself the extreme of flippant irreverence. Nothing but the desire to show the fright-  
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ful profanation at which those arrive who once enter upon this downward career, and by this means to convey a warning more forcible than any other we could devise, would induce us to quote examples of the offence. The following is the mode in which he thinks it becoming to speak of Saint John's testimony to the miracles of our Lord. 'O that one could have the satisfaction of cross-examining John on this subject! Let me suppose him put into the witness-box, and I will speak to him thus: *O aged sir, we understand that you have two memories, a natural and a miraculous one.*' (*Phases*, 118.) It might have been thought difficult to surpass this specimen of revolting levity; yet the following comparison, by which Mr. Newman designs to prove the impropriety of attributing perfection to our Lord, is even more outrageous. 'If any one were to call my old schoolmaster, or my old parish priest, a perfect and universal model, and were to claim that I would entitle him Lord, and think of him as the only true revelation of God, should I not be at liberty to say, without disrespect, that I most emphatically deprecate such extravagant claims for him?' (*Phases*, 147.) He that could thus write what no one can read without horror, must be so destitute of all moral tact, all delicacy of perception, and all refinement of taste, that we are not surprised to find him equally bereft of the imaginative and poetic faculty. This latter deficiency explains his painful want of appreciation of some of the sublimer portions of Scripture, which might otherwise have been attributed to wanton coarseness.\*

Notwithstanding these drawbacks, however, the 'Phases' is calculated to impose upon a certain class of persons. The mind of its writer, though ingenious and versatile, seems unable to contemplate an object in more lights than one; hence his readers are not troubled with any nice weighing of evidence, nor with any hesitating balance of argument, but are carried smoothly forward to a seemingly inevitable conclusion. This makes the reasoning extremely seductive to shallow understandings, which have never grappled with the difficulties encompassing the great problems of religion. But Mr. Newman, though he has been 'everything by turns,' has been 'nothing long;' and he will soon open his eyes to perceive new stumblingblocks. We believe him too honest to stop short at the point where he has now fixed himself; although the vanity of authorship must naturally make him loth to confess the untenable nature of the ground he has occupied, and must therefore tend to retard the farther development of his opinions. Meanwhile the 'Eclipse' has applied a stimu-

\* To estimate Mr. F. Newman's poetic power, it suffices to look at his version of Horace.

lating fomentation to the imposthume, which must make it burst the sooner.

Such applications, however, are seldom agreeable to the patient; and accordingly Mr. Newman has exhibited symptoms of extreme irritation under the treatment. We regret to add that, notwithstanding the courtesy with which he was personally treated in the 'Eclipse of Faith,' he has vented his spleen by indulging in the most unjustifiable imputations against his critic. No doubt it is mortifying to feel oneself worsted, especially before a large body of lookers-on. And in this case the prostrate gladiator bitterly complains that all the reviewers sided with his antagonist, and cried '*habet*' at each telling blow. In return he vociferates anathemas against them, and replies to his opponent's argument by personal vituperation. Thus he speaks of him as one who '*desires* to be thought a gentleman' (*Phases*, 178); he charges him with 'stealthy misrepresentation' and 'gross garbling' (charges which Mr. Rogers has most triumphantly refuted in his *Defence*); he calls him 'a profane dog' (p. 199); and tells him that 'nothing but his own heart could have suggested the profane insults with which his book abounds;' that he seems to lack 'not only spiritual insight, but honesty;' that he 'wraps a pagan heart in a Christian veil;' that he 'scolds down and mocks at other men's piety;' and much more of the same description. This virulent explosion of wrath is oddly interspersed with exhortations to universal good will, deprecation of 'personal antagonisms,' and an admonition to the person assailed that he should 'open his heart to love' (p. 200). So that, 'as one contrasts,' says the rejoinder, 'Mr. Newman's loving injunctions with his invectives, one seems to be transported into a world where the usual symbols of emotion are all inverted, where men frown in pure benevolence, and gnash their teeth in loving-kindness and charity.'

Mr. Newman also bitterly complains that his atheistical critics have treated him with far more tenderness than his Christian antagonists. He tells us that a Mr. Holyoake, 'a serious atheist,' has lectured on his book, and handled it with remarkable candour and leniency. 'No doubt,' rejoins Mr. Rogers, 'Mr. Holyoake will regard such books with leniency. He well knows whither Mr. Newman's theory will lead, and what sort of converts it will ultimately make. The sportsman does not shoot his own pointer.' We may add that Mr. Newman himself seems to entertain some suspicion that he is tending towards the same goal; for in the '*Phases*' he often speaks of Atheism with a lurking kindness. He has even invented a new application of the 'non-natural sense' for the benefit of 'serious atheists.' He informs us that

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an atheist may say that the universe is 'the work of God,' because he may 'use the word *God* as the unknown power dwelling in and forming the universe' (p. 198). This almost looks like preparing for transition into a new phase of faith—"if faith it can be called which faith is none."

But Mr. Newman's most frequent complaint against his opponent is, that he profanes the sacred topics of discussion by sarcasm and ridicule. Mr. Rogers replies as Pascal replied to the Jesuits, who brought against him the same accusation—"I am far enough from ridiculing sacred things, when I ridicule Mr. Newman's creed." He adds the following defence of the legitimate use of ridicule in the cause of religion.

"But will not the employment of ridicule *against* the opponents of Christianity lead them to use the same weapon?" I imagine some timid Christian to say. I answer,—And have they ever spared it, dear simple soul? Will your *not using* it prevent their *abusing* it? Will your throwing away the arrow prevent their transfixing you with theirs? Is not the shield of Christianity stuck full of those shafts? From Lucian to Voltaire, the whole literature of infidelity shows what sort of "reciprocity" forbearance is likely to meet with. . . . . Though Shaftesbury was wrong in saying that ridicule was the test of truth, it is usually impossible for error long to stand against it. . . . . If you have, as you believe, truth on your side, you will do well and wisely not wholly to cast aside a weapon which has not been, and will not be, used the less against you for your rejecting it, and which truth always, in the nature of things, can wield more powerfully than error. As to the legitimacy of its occasional use against solemn "follies" or would-be sacred "impieties," read Pascal's immortal Eleventh Letter; if that does not convince you, I have nothing more to say.—*Defence*, p. 29.

These remarks are worth weighing by those good men who shrink from every touch of humour, as though it were the mark of a careless spirit or a flippant mind. No fallacy can well be falser. Earnest indignation vents itself in laughter as often as in tears. The true worshipper rudely strips off the robe of motley, which hides and disfigures the object of his adoration. The true Idoloclast, as Archdeacon Hare has said, shatters in pieces the idol which lowers and debases the divinity it pretends to embody; striking the more scornfully in proportion as he is more deeply possessed with a reverent love and homage for the profaned ideal. That this is the case with Mr. Rogers is abundantly evident from his writings. No impartial reader can study the 'Eclipse' without feeling that its writer has himself gone through the trials of faith which he portrays, and he is thus the better qualified for guiding others to the haven which he has reached after contending with  
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the storm. This is the task to which he has devoted himself with an earnestness of conviction that breathes through every word he utters. His whole soul is penetrated with a sense of the awfulness of those problems which man is constrained to contemplate, but which God alone can solve. Witness the following statement of them:—

‘I want to know—whence I came? Whither I am going? Whether there be, in truth, as many say there is, a God—a tremendous Personality, to whose infinite faculties the “great” and the “little” (as we call them) equally vanish—whose universal existence fills all space, in every point of which he exists entire in the amplitude of all his infinite attributes—whose universal government extends even to *me*, and my fellow-atoms called men; within whose sheltering embrace even I am not too mean for protection? Whether, if there be such a Being, he is truly infinite; or whether this vast machine of the universe may not have developed tendencies, or involved consequences, which eluded his forethought, and are *now* beyond even His control? Whether, for this reason, or for some other necessity, such infinite sorrows have been permitted to invade it? Whether, above all, He be propitious or hostile towards a world in which I feel too surely in the profound and various misery of man that His aspects are not *all* benignant? How if He be offended, he is to be reconciled? Whether he is at all accessible, or one to whom the pleasures and the sufferings of the poor child of dust are equally subjects of horrible indifference? Whether, if such Omnipotent Being created the world, he has now abandoned it to be the sport of chance, and I am thus an orphan in the universe? Whether this “universal frame” be indeed without a mind, and we are in fact the only forms of conscious existence? Whether, as the Pantheist declares, the universe itself be God—ever making, never made—the product of an evolution of an infinite series of “antecedents” and “consequents;” a God of *which*—for I cannot say of *whom*—you and I are bits; perishable fragments of a Divinity, itself imperishable only because there will always be *bits* of it to perish? Whether, even upon some such supposition, this conscious existence of ours is to be *renewed*; and if so, under what conditions; or whether, when we have finished our little day, no other dawn is to break upon our night; whether the *vale, vale, in æternum vale*, is really the proper utterance of a broken heart, as it closes the sepulchre on the object of its love?’—*Eclipse*, pp. 59, 60.

The object of the ‘Eclipse’ is to demonstrate the futility of the solution of these awful problems given by modern Deism, whereof Mr. Newman and Mr. Parker are taken as the chief representatives. Both agree in rejecting all external revelation, miraculously attested, as in itself impossible, and useless if it were possible; and they both substitute for Christianity an internal revelation derived from their intuitive consciousness. ‘Being conscious,’ says Mr. Newman, ‘that I have personally a little love and a little goodness, I ask concerning it as concern-  
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ing intelligence, *where did I pick it up?* And I feel an invincible persuasion that, if I have some moral goodness, the great Author of my being has infinitely more. . . . Hence it is *from within* that we know the morality of God.' On which we may remark, in passing, that it is strange the author of this reasoning did not see that he might, by exactly the same process, establish the reverse of his position. For he might equally have said, 'Being conscious in myself of a little hatred and a little evil, I ask concerning it, *where did I pick it up?* And I feel an invincible persuasion that, if I have some moral evil, the great Author of my being has infinitely more. Hence it is from within that we know the immorality of God.' If God is to be made the magnified reflection of man's moral nature, it is quite as philosophical to worship an omnipotent devil as a benevolent deity. In point of fact, mankind has practically adopted the former conclusion much oftener than the latter. The faculty of 'spiritual insight,' which is, according to Mr. Newman, man's only religious guide, has led its votaries into tracks diverging through all the points of the compass. It has created such divinities as Kali, the Goddess of the Thugs, and has seated incarnations of lust, envy, murder, and every conceivable crime, in the miscellaneous crowd of its Pantheon. 'This boasted faculty,' says Mr. Rogers, most truly, 'instead of being a glorious light which renders all external revelation superfluous, is one of the feeblest in our nature, which everywhere and always is seduced and debauched. It is not so with people's eyes; it is not so with people's appetites. No early instruction can make men think that green is blue, or stones and chalk good for food.' Mr. Parker, indeed, says that he can find an '*absolute religion*' which animates every form of worship. Whereon Harrington (the sceptical interlocutor in the 'Eclipse') observes—

'If it be vain to attempt to abstract this absolute religion from all religions (as Mr. Parker admits), though it is truly *in* them—and if I take his definition from his "direct consciousness" (which direct consciousness we can see has been *directly* affected by his abjured Bible), namely, "that it is voluntary obedience to the will of God, outward and inward"—why, what on earth does this vague generality do for us? What *sort* of God? Is *he* or *it* one or many? Of infinite attributes or finite? Of goodness and mercy equal to his power or not? What *is* his will? *How* is he to be worshipped? Have we offended him? Is he placable or not? . . . Is it true that man is immortal, and knows it by immediate "insight," as Mr. Parker contends; or does the said "insight," as Mr. Newman believes, tell us nothing about the matter? Surely the "Absolute Religion," after having removed from it *all* in which different religions differ, is in danger of vanishing into that imperfect susceptibility of *some* religion which I have already conceded,

ceded, and which is certainly *not* such a thing as to render an external revelation very obviously superfluous. It may be summed up in one imperfect article. All men and each may say, "I believe there is *some* Being superior in *some* respects to man, whom it is my duty or my interest to" (*cetera desunt*).—*Eclipse*, p. 107.

Nor need we refer to barbarous nations or uncivilised epochs to prove the fallibility of the 'immutable morality of insight.' In modern times and in civilised countries there is a wide discordance among those who reject Christianity, not only on religious, but also on moral questions. On such points as pride, revenge, chastity, and slavery, there is the strongest diversity of sentiment between Rousseau, Voltaire, Paine, Comte, George Sand, Mr. Parker, Mr. Carlyle, and Mr. Newman. Yet each of these writers has as fair a claim as any of the rest to consider his own 'insight' infallible. Hence most men would conclude, as Socrates did of old from similar phenomena, that an external revelation would be far from useless. Mr. Newman misrepresents this reasoning, and calls it 'a dishonest defence of Christian pretensions to taunt the assailants with diversities in their creed,' whereas the argument was adduced not to prove the truth of Christianity, but to disprove the alleged infallibility of 'spiritual insight,' and to refute Mr. Newman's favourite proposition that a revelation must be useless.

But Mr. Newman had gone far beyond this. He had maintained that a revelation would not merely be useless, but prejudicial; and not merely prejudicial, but impossible. It would be prejudicial, in his opinion, because 'dictatorial' instruction, or an 'authoritative oracle,' would 'paralyze our moral powers' (p. 151), and 'the guidance of a mind from without' would 'benumb conscience by disuse' (p. 138). From this it would seem to follow that the employment of our moral powers (in Mr. Newman's opinion) is the investigation of truth: a strange confusion between the Moral and the Intellectual. It must also strike his readers as inconsistent that Mr. Newman, while thus protesting against 'dictatorial' instruction in morality, contemptuously rejects the moral judgment of all the rest of mankind, whenever it differs from his own. Even those whom he acknowledges as the best specimens of humanity are pronounced 'dishonest,' or 'prejudiced,' if they cannot see through the spectacles of his individual consciousness. As to the alleged 'benumbing of conscience' by submission to the guidance of an external revelation, it may be safely referred to experience. We may appeal from the *à priori* sentence of Mr. Newman to the history of Christendom. Where do we find sensitiveness of conscience—where a rigid rule of obligation—where a devoted sacrifice



sacrifice of interest to duty, except among the disciples of that faith which, according to Mr. Newman, benumbs and paralyzes the moral powers?

But modern Deists, as we have said, hold an external revelation (or, as they are fond of calling it, a *Book-revelation*) to be not merely useless and injurious, but impossible. God *could* not give such a manifestation of his will to man. 'An authoritative external revelation of moral and spiritual truth is essentially impossible to man.\* What God reveals to us he reveals *within*.' (*Newman on the Soul*, p. 59.) From this proposition, by a chain of irresistible reasoning, Mr. Rogers deduces the conclusion that Mr. Newman can do what God cannot do; for Mr. Newman has unquestionably given to his few disciples 'an external revelation of moral and spiritual truth.' In his 'reply' Mr. Newman endeavours to evade the force of this logic by a distinction between the words 'authoritative' and 'instructive.' He never denied, it seems, the possibility of an 'instructive' revelation, but only of an 'authoritative' revelation. To this Mr. Rogers rejoins as follows:—

'It appears that there is a convenient distinction to be made between what is morally and spiritually *instructive*, and what is morally and spiritually *authoritative*. I answer—in sound only, not in meaning. For to convince any one who believes in a God and moral and spiritual truth at all, of any moral and spiritual truth, is, *ipso facto*, to make it authoritative in the sense that it is felt it *ought* to have authority. He who knows what he means when he talks of *God* and his *claims*, *man* and his *duty*, will smile at the paradox of any moral or spiritual truth being proved to him (no matter how or by whom), while yet it is considered optional with him whether he shall regard it as merely "instructive" and not "authoritative." . . . . In admitting that books on spiritual and religious subjects may be instructive, Mr. Newman admits all that is essential to the argument. *Instructive!* yes, but if books be *so* instructive as to teach men who have no scruple in banqueting on their fellow-creatures, in strangling their new-born infants, in exposing their parents, that all these things are "abominations"—then in such *instruction* is shown plainly the possibility of an external revelation; it is to teach men to recognise doctrines which were before unrecognised; to realise truths of which they were before unconscious, and to practise duties which they had never suspected to be duties

\* Sceptics have recourse to sophisms like that of Hume, who denied the possibility of proving a miracle, or like this of Mr. Newman, who denies the possibility of an external revelation, to escape the necessity of meeting in its integrity the mass of direct evidence which proves beyond refutation that miracles were wrought and that an external revelation has been made. That they are compelled to rest their unbelief upon such *à priori* propositions as are rejected, after all, by the common sense of mankind, and upon partial cavils at arguments which they are unable to meet as a whole, is of itself to proclaim how untenable is their cause.

before. If this be so, then the argument returns,—that what man can do, God can surely do.”—*Defence*, p. 89.

A favourite argument of Mr. Newman's to prove an external revelation impossible is, that such a revelation must appeal to the conscience in witness of its truth; and since it appeals to the verdict of man's moral faculties, it cannot authoritatively guide and direct those faculties themselves. The mistake involved in this fallacy is that commonplace metaphysical solecism which confounds *capacities* with *notions*. A reflecting telescope has a rusty, dented mirror; if it had no mirror at all, it would be useless to its owner, and, however correctly pointed to the starry heaven, would leave him ignorant of Jupiter's satellites and Saturn's ring to his dying day. *Therefore*, according to Mr. Newman's reasoning, it is impossible that any external operation should cleanse and polish the reflecting surface. Or, to take the illustration of the rejoinder—

‘There is some savage cannibal who is ready to devour his fellow-men, or a creature who puts his children out of the way with as little remorse as you would drown a kitten, devoutly worshipping at the same time a wooden thing which certainly is *not* the “likeness of anything in heaven above nor in the earth beneath,” and so far does not infringe upon the Second Commandment. Well, you naturally think his “moral and spiritual” perceptions somewhat out of sorts. The missionaries succeed in convincing him of his abominable errors, and in amending his practice. “Ah!” then cries the savage, “it is true that you found me dining upon my neighbour, and quite ready to dine upon you, murdering my children, and living in all sorts of licentiousness and beastliness without compunction. Yet, let me tell you, Mr. Missionary, you could not have given me a ‘revelation’ of all this error unless I had had faculties which could be educated to a perception of it; and I therefore conclude that an authoritative revelation of moral and spiritual truth is impossible!” What, think you, would the missionary reply? I apprehend something like this:—“My good Mr. Savage, just as it is because you are a *reasonable* creature, and not an *idiot*, that I can instruct you in anything, so it is because you had a spiritual faculty (though, as your sentiments and practices too plainly showed, in a very dormant state) that a revelation was *possible*—not impossible—my good friend. It was because your faculties were asleep, not dead, that I could awaken them; had you *not* had those faculties which, you so strangely say, render a revelation impossible, it *would* have been impossible: it was possible only because you had them.”’—*Defence*, p. 83.

Connected with this doctrine of the ‘impossibility of an external revelation’ is that of the ‘impossibility of an historical religion.’ No historical facts, such, for example, as the resurrection of our Lord, can, it seems, be a part of religion, because such facts are received by our understanding, not by our spiritual faculties;  
from



from without, not from within. 'Of our moral and spiritual God,' says Mr. Newman, '*we know nothing without*, everything within. It is in the spirit we meet him, not in the communications of sense.\* Mr. Rogers points out the inconsistency of this with Mr. Newman's admission that we do in fact receive our religion by external instruction. In his reply Mr. Newman attempts to meet the difficulty by a parallel. 'Religion and mathematics,' he says, 'alike come to us by historical transmission, but are not believed *because of* that transmission; and no historical facts concerning that transmission are any part of the science at all. Mathematics is concerned with relations of quantity; religion with the normal relations between divine and human nature; *that is all.*' To which Mr. Rogers rejoins that, even if this parallel were maintainable, it would not support the conclusion; for even in mathematics it would be untrue to say that we know everything within, and nothing from without. And farther, that the analogy is false, because religious truth is received on moral evidence, mathematical truth on demonstrative evidence. We may add, that, even according to Mr. Newman's admission, *some* historical truths are a part of religion; for it is a portion of his creed that 'God created the world,' and this is as strictly *historical* as the proposition that 'Cæsar created the empire.' If Mr. Newman's parallel were tenable, no religious belief could be contradicted without a contradiction in terms. Yet he will scarcely venture to maintain such a paradox as this, in face of the variety of religious sentiment among men. Mr. Rogers comments on the conclusion of the parallel as follows:—

'The close of the paragraph is exquisite: "Mathematics is concerned with relations of quantities; religion with the *normal* relations between divine and human nature. *That is all.*" All, indeed! and enough too. This is just the way in which Mr. Newman slurs over a difficulty with vague language. The moment we ask "What are the relations of quantity?" all mankind are *agreed*. No one supposes that two and two make five. But when we ask what are "the *normal* relations of divine and human nature?" I suppose the hubbub that will arise will distinctly show that the case is very different. Or are we to take Mr. Newman's theory of the said normal relations as infallibly true?"—*Defence*, p. 100.

In truth, this unfortunate parallel labours under a double

\* *Phases*, p. 152 (1st edition). In the 2nd edition of the 'Phases' these sentences are erased, without acknowledgment. On which the rejoinder remarks, 'When an author is about to charge another with having *stealthily misrepresented* him, it is as well to let the world know *what* he has erased, and *why*. He says that my representation of his sentiments is "the reverse of all that he has most carefully written." It certainly is not the reverse of all that he has most carefully *scratched out*.'

defect; it rests on a false analogy, and would not help its author even if it were true. Although mathematical truth is seen by its own light, and submits itself to the human judgment, yet it by no means follows that therefore a 'book-revelation' of mathematics must be useless. On the contrary, the mass of mankind depends, and always must depend, upon such 'book-revelations.' Ninety-nine men out of every hundred believe, and always will believe, mathematical truth on the authority of the few who are capable of its investigation. The Nautical Almanac and the Table of Logarithms are mathematical 'book-revelations' to thousands who receive them on the same kind of evidence which induces Christians to receive the Bible.

This last consideration bears upon another fallacy of Mr. Newman's. 'The poor and half-educated,' he tells us, 'cannot investigate historical and literary questions; therefore these questions cannot constitute an essential part of religion.' How plausible this sounds on first statement; yet how easy to deduce from the same premises a proposition obviously false!—for instance: 'the half-educated navigator cannot investigate astronomical questions; therefore these questions cannot be an essential part of navigation.' The answer in both cases is the same; namely, that the *investigations* are *not* an essential part, either of practical religion or of practical navigation; but that, nevertheless, neither religion nor navigation can be practised, if the *results* of such investigations are discarded. Mr. Rogers, as usual, answers the difficulty by analogy, as follows:—

'I believe that you will not deny you are profoundly ignorant of medicine, nor that, though the most necessary, it is at the same time the most difficult and uncertain of all the sciences. You know that the great bulk of mankind are as ignorant as yourself; nay, some affirm that physicians themselves are about as ignorant as their patients; it is certain that, in reference to many classes of disease, doctors take the most opposite views of the appropriate treatment, and even treat disease in general on principles diametrically opposed. A more miserable condition for an unhappy patient can hardly be imagined. Though our own life, or that of our dearest friend in the world, hangs in the balance, it is impossible for us to tell whether the art of the doctor will save or kill. I doubt, therefore, whether you ought not to conclude, from the principle on which we have already said so much, that God cannot have made it a poor wretch's duty to take any step whatever.

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'The absurdity is in the principle affirmed, viz. that God cannot have constituted it man's duty to *act* in cases of very imperfect knowledge; and yet we see that he has perpetually compelled him to do so; nay, often in a condition next door to stark ignorance. To vindicate the wisdom of such a constitution may be impossible; but the fact cannot be



be denied. The Christian admits the difficulty alike in relation to religion and to the affairs of this world. He believes, with Butler, that "probability is the guide of life;" that man may have sufficient evidence in a thousand cases (varying, however, in different individuals) to warrant his action, though that evidence is very far removed from certitude; that similarly the mass of men are justified in saying that they *know* a thousand facts of History to be true, though they have never had the opportunity or capacity of thoroughly investigating them, and that the great facts of Science are true, though they may know no more of science than of the geology of the moon.—*Eclipse*, p. 283.

But besides *à priori* arguments against the existence of revelation, Deists, both old and new, have objected to its contents. There is nothing original in Mr. Newman's statement of these objections, but he puts them in a plausible form, and gives them additional force by detailing the gradual victory which they won over his own belief. His attacks are directed more especially against the *morality* both of the Old and New Testaments. As to the Old, he contends that it must be at once rejected; because it 'attributes to God what we should call harsh, cruel, or unjust in man.\*' He instances the offering of Isaac, the extermination of the Canaanites, and the 'perfidious murder' of Sisera. Now supposing, for the sake of argument, that Christianity represented all three of these proceedings as agreeable to the perfect will of God, is the Deist consistent in rejecting a creed which 'attributes to God what we should call harsh, cruel, or unjust in man'? Can he apply the same criterion to the universe which he applies to the Bible, without denying it also to be the work of God? Let us hear the answer of the 'Eclipse.'

'Mr. Newman has created a God after his own mind; if he could but have created a universe also after his own mind, we should doubtless have been relieved from all our perplexities. But unhappily we find in it, as I imagine, the very things which so startle Mr. Newman in the scriptural representations of the divine character and proceedings. Is he not peculiarly scandalised that God should have *enjoined* the extermination of the Canaanites; and yet does not God *do* still more startling things every day of our lives, and which appear *less* startling only because we are familiar with them? at least, if we believe that the elements, pestilence, famine (in a word, destruction in all its forms), really fulfil *his* bidding. . . . Does not a pestilence or a

\* Mr. Newman bases this proposition on another, viz. 'No heaven-sent Bible can guarantee the veracity of God to a man who doubts that veracity;' because, he says, we cannot know God's veracity except by discerning that he has virtues like human virtues. To which we may reply by asking Mr. Newman if he seriously believes that any man ever existed so sceptical as to *refuse to believe a miraculous communication* because he doubted the *veracity* of God? Whereas he knows there are thousands who doubt his decisions as to the *morality* of God.

famine

famine send thousands of the guilty and the innocent alike—nay, thousands of those who know not their right hand from their left—to one common destruction? Does not God (if you suppose it his doing) swallow up whole cities by earthquakes, or overwhelm them with volcanic fires? I say, is there any difference between the cases, except that the victims are very rarely so wicked as the Canaanites are said to have been, and that God in the one case *himself* does the very things which he commissions men to do in the other? Now, if the thing be wrong, I, for one, shall never think it less wrong to do it oneself than to do it by proxy.

Applying, therefore, the principles of Mr. Newman, I must refuse to acknowledge such conduct on the part of the Divine Being, and to say, that such things are not done by him. If I may trust my *whisper* of God derived from *analogous* moral qualities in myself, I must believe that an administration which so ruthlessly permits these things is not *his* work, but that his power, wisdom, and goodness have been thwarted, baffled, and overmastered by some “omnipotent devil,” to use Mr. Newman’s expression; if it be his work, then that whisper of him cannot be trusted: the heathen was right, “*Sunt superis sua jura.*” In other words, I feel that I must become an Atheist, a Pantheist, a Manichean, or a sceptic.

If it be said that there *may be reasons* for such apparent violations of rectitude which we cannot fathom, I deny it not; but that is to acknowledge that the supposed maxims derived from the analogies of our own being are most deceptive as applied to the Supreme; it is to remit us to an act of absolute faith, by which, with no greater effort, nor so great, we may be reconciled to similar mysteries of the Bible.

If I am to yield to pretensions of any kind, I would infinitely prefer the yoke of the Bible to that of Messrs. Parker and Newman; for it is to nothing else but their dogmatism I must yield, if I admit that the difficulties which compel me to *doubt* in the one case are less than those which compel me to *doubt* in the other.—*Eclipse*, p. 130.\*

Nothing can be clearer than this reasoning; yet Mr. Newman, in his ‘reply,’ tells his readers that his critic professes ‘an utter disbelief that God had any morality which conscience judging freely can approve;’ and he constantly accuses him of worshipping an ‘*unmoral deity*.’ Had such a misrepresentation of an argument so plain proceeded from any other writer, we must have been compelled to suppose it intentional; but in Mr. Newman’s case we consider it only as a fresh example of that incapacity to see anything but what makes for his own side of an argument, which we have already noticed. We agree, however, with Mr. Rogers, that in the present instance this tendency was ‘aided by the unconscious instinct of self-preservation.’ Nor can we altogether regret a misrepresentation which

\* It must be remembered that it is the sceptic who is presumed to speak in this passage, and who refutes Mr. Newman out of his own mouth.



has called forth the following powerful restatement of the argument:—

‘The evils God permits are as incomprehensible as those he inflicts. He smites a man with madness, and the maniac cuts the throats of his innocent wife and children. He gives a man an idiot for his son, and the idiot with a laugh burns down his father’s dwelling. He permits a poor wretch to have a vicious, intemperate father, and he bears about with him for threescore years the miserable heritage of his father’s vices. He lets some savage tyrant—nay, a succession of them—fill a whole country with groans and tears, and broken hearts, and curses . . . . Is not God good then, even in these things? Yes, I say; yes, with an unfaltering faith; but I *believe* it, and cannot *see* it; these things are what *we* should call “harsh, cruel, and unjust in man,” and are utterly incomprehensible to our “little wisdom” and “little goodness” and “little love;” just as His command to exterminate the Canaanites, though not *so* perplexing, nor a tenth part so perplexing, is also incomprehensible. But I believe that God is good *in spite* of these facts. Mr. Newman, on the other hand, says in effect, “I believe the *last*-mentioned fact incredible, because it contradicts my moral and spiritual convictions of what God would do. It attributes to God what would ‘be harsh, cruel, and unjust in man;’ and *therefore* I must reject it; the *other* facts I can see are quite consistent with all the said convictions.” Try your hand on them, then, I say, and show it. Show that they would not be “harsh, cruel, and unjust in man.” . . . . What! God’s command to Abraham more incomprehensible than many of the things He does and permits? It can only be because the objector does not give himself time to dwell adequately on the things that *are* done and suffered to be done by the Universal Ruler in all parts of the earth in all ages. I have heard one of the most benevolent physicians declare, as he has seen a patient wear out long years of agony in cancer,—agony which it was agony only to witness,—agony which was all remediless and all fruitless (as far as man could conceive), that he would have accepted with rapture a permission to put an end to the scene of sorrow; which it was infinitely more mysterious to him that God should suffer, than that He should have given the command to Abraham. But, at any rate, Mr. Newman must *show* the difference between the cases. If he says, “It is true, God may do such things Himself, but he could not command Abraham to do them, because Abraham had a moral nature, so and so constituted,” let Mr. Newman take heed; this would be a strange proof that God’s *moral* nature was *like that* of Abraham (from which resemblance alone Abraham inferred what God was), that He could and might do the things which for that reason He could not command Abraham to do. The reasons, then, which make certain facts of the universe conformable to Mr. Newman’s intuitions, and certain facts of Scripture *not* conformable, must be given. That is all I ask. Instead of complying, Mr. Newman turns round and says, ‘He perceives that I believe in an *immoral* Deity!’—*Defence*, p. 44.

In another place Mr. Rogers states his creed to be that, while  
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the *prevailing characteristics* of the universe indicate goodness in its author, yet that 'these indications are so chequered as to admit of being blessedly confirmed by an external revelation.' This opinion is stigmatised by Mr. Newman as 'heart-deadening devil-worship.' In the same book Mr. Newman cites Mrs. Beecher Stowe as an authority in matters of intuitive morality. He will therefore probably be surprised by the subjoined extract from a letter of that lady lately published—a letter written to her sister with no controversial object, but giving the natural impressions of her mind as they arose, and reflecting on the shipwreck of the 'Albion' packet, in language far stronger and less guarded than that of Mr. Rogers, as follows:—

'What an infinite deal of misery results from man's helplessness and ignorance, and nature's inflexibility, in this one matter of crossing the ocean! What agonies of prayer there were during all the long hours that this ship was driving straight on to these fatal rocks, all to no purpose! It struck and crushed just the same. Surely, without the revelation of God in Jesus, who could believe in the divine goodness? I do not wonder the old Greeks so often spoke of their gods as cruel, and believed the universe was governed by a remorseless and inexorable Fate. Who would come to any other conclusion, except from the pages of the Bible?'—*Sunny Memories*, by Mrs. Beecher Stowe, p. 12.

All these difficulties may of course be resolved into the permission of evil; that awful mystery which the profoundest intellects have always most humbly acknowledged to be utterly inscrutable. Mr. Newman, however, takes a different view of it, and by his mode of handling the subject reminds us of a provincial preacher whom we once heard delivering a sermon on the same topic. 'The origin of evil,' said this worthy divine, 'is embarrassed by some difficulties; which I hope, in the course of my remarks this morning, to remove.'

Before leaving the subject of the morality of the Old Testament, let us say a few words on the instances selected by Mr. Newman as irreconcilable with the primary intuitions of man's moral nature. First, these intuitions demonstrate to Mr. Newman that God could not possibly have commanded a father to sacrifice a son. In his opinion, the act of a parent who causes the death of his child is necessarily condemned by the human conscience. But is this the fact? Is such the verdict of mankind on the act of Brutus in dooming his sons—the act of Virginius in stabbing his daughter—the act of the martyr Perpetua, who refused to spare the child in her bosom by throwing a few grains of incense on the altar of heathen gods? Have not these acts been pronounced, by the moral sense of many nations in many ages, to be examples of heroic virtue?

Mr.



Mr. Newman compares the obedience of Abraham to the conduct of those Punic parents who sacrificed their sons to Moloch. He forgets that it is the motive which makes the murder. The Punic sacrifice was purely selfish, to extort favours from adverse deities. The compliance of Abraham, on the contrary, is represented in the Scriptural narrative as an act of self-devoted obedience to the will of God. Mr. Newman mixes up with this moral problem the historical question *how* God's will could have been made known to Abraham; whether by 'a voice in the air' (p. 91), or in what other way. This is quite immaterial, and need not trouble us. These narratives in the Old Testament have no other importance to Christians than the instruction which they convey, and the story of the offering of Isaac has impressed deeply on the human mind two lessons: first, the duty of sacrificing our dearest interests to the will of God; secondly, that not the material but the moral sacrifice is acceptable to the 'Almighty. Such doctrines will still be received as authoritative by millions of human consciences long after the cavils of Mr. Newman are forgotten.

Next we must contradict the assertion that Christians believe that 'the Spirit of God pronounced Jael blessed for perfidiously murdering her husband's trusting friend' (p. 166). Christians believe no such thing. In the first place, they do not believe that Jael was praised by the Spirit of God at all. She was praised in a poem of Deborah, of whom we only know that she was a 'prophetess,' and that she 'judged Israel;' but we are never told that her song was 'inspired;' much less that she was 'infallible.' Hence Christians are perfectly willing to let the act of Jael stand or fall by its own merits; and probably most people would allow that it was the savage deed of a barbarous woman. But to call it the 'perfidious murder of a friend' is ridiculous; nor can Mr. Newman make it appear so, except by gross exaggeration. He says, 'Sisera, when beaten in battle, fled to the tent of his friend Heber.' Now the narrative contains not the least intimation that Sisera was a friend of Heber's. It tells us only that Heber's clan was at peace with Jabin, the master of Sisera. Heber, be it remembered, was himself almost an Israelite, being descended from Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses; he dwelt upon the Jewish border; and his wife was probably a Jewess. Sisera was a military tyrant, who had for many years most cruelly oppressed the Israelitish people.\* At length the victims rise

\* 'The children of Israel cried unto the Lord; for Sisera had nine hundred chariots of iron; and twenty years he mightily oppressed the children of Israel.'—(*Judges*, iv. 3.)

against their oppressor, much as the Swiss rose against Gesler. The tyrant is defeated, and flies for refuge to the tent of Jael. She feels towards him much as a matron on the borders of Uri would have felt to the brutal Austrian. Open resistance from a defenceless woman against an armed warrior was impossible; she had no alternative but to entertain him as best she might; but no sooner is the bloodthirsty tyrant asleep than she crushes him with the first weapon that comes to hand, with the same impulse that we should crush a sleeping rattlesnake.

There remains the extermination of the Canaanites,\* which shocks the moral sense of Mr. Newman, who yet can see nothing shocking in the fact that the God of Nature daily permits similar exterminations throughout the world, with reasons far less apparent. As to the question whether this is consistent with man's spiritual insight, we must refer Mr. Newman to the insight of Mr. Carlyle, who loudly advocates the 'sweeping away' of such 'Devil's regiments' as these Canaanites were, and maintains it to be the only proper course of dealing with them; and surely Mr. Newman's moral instinct is not more infallible than Mr. Carlyle's.

But how can we believe, it is asked, that God would reveal an imperfect morality? Why did he not raise the Israelites at once to the standard of Christianity, instead of lowering the standard of Judaism to their moral level? We answer by admitting that the question, like the origin of sin, is incapable of being answered. But this imperfect and gradual progress of mankind in moral light is a fact which the Deists themselves cannot controvert; nay, on which they dwell with peculiar emphasis. Thus Mr. Newman informs us that 'the law of God's moral universe, as known to us, is *progress*. We trace it from old barbarism to the methodised Egyptian idolatry; to the more flexible polytheism of Syria and Greece; the poetical pantheism of philosophers; and the moral monotheism of a few sages.' We are far from subscribing to this universality of progress;

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\* This was one of the objections urged by Lord Rochester in his last illness to Burnet, and the admirable answer of the Bishop, which satisfied the understanding of the dying penitent, will be amply sufficient for every rational inquirer. 'For the destruction of the Canaanites by the Israelites it is to be considered that if God had sent a plague among them, that could not have been found fault with. . . . So all the difficulty is, why were the Israelites commanded to execute a thing of such barbarity? But this will not seem so hard if we consider that this was to be no precedent for future times, since they did not do it but upon special warrant and commission from heaven, evidenced to all the world by such mighty miracles as did plainly show that they were particularly designed by God to be the executioners of his justice. And God by employing them in so severe a service intended to possess them with great horror of idolatry, which was punished in so extreme a manner.'—*Burnet's Life of Rochester*.

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but, at all events, those who hold it testify that the progression, where there has been any, has been gradual, not instantaneous. This involves them in greater difficulties than the Christian; because, according to their theory, as Mr. Rogers observes, the low morality of the world through so many ages and nations 'is not a calamity, not a thing to be deplored, not the shadow of sin thrown across it, but the natural evolution, the spontaneous product, of creative energy and love.' The Bible, far from originating this mystery, gives the only clue to its solution—tells us how it arose, how it is to be remedied—and assures us that all moral inequalities will at last be rectified by the righteous judgment of God.

In connection with this subject we must express our astonishment that Mr. Newman should say that he has found in the writers of the New Testament '*no indication* that they were aware' of the imperfection of the Mosaic dispensation in its moral teaching (p. 166). This assertion is a fresh proof of the incapacity of this writer to see anything beyond the momentary exigencies of his argument. When he wrote it he must have forgotten that the Sermon on the Mount expressly admits the inferiority of the Mosaic morality: 'Ye have heard that it hath been said *An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth* (Exodus xxi. 24); but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil.' He must have lost all recollection of the words wherein our Lord himself specifically declared that the ancient dispensation was adapted to a lower state of moral growth, when He for ever established the indissoluble sanctity of Christian marriage. 'Moses because of the hardness of your hearts suffered you to put away your wives; but from the beginning it was not so; and I say unto you, whosoever shall put away his wife, except it be for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery' (Matt. xix. 8). He must also have forgotten at least twenty passages in St. Paul's writings, together with the whole Epistle to the Hebrews, whereof the burden is the imperfection of the Mosaic covenant.

This leads us to the consideration of Mr. Newman's strictures on the morality of the New Testament. The faults for which he considers the moral teaching of the Apostles to be condemned by the spontaneous action of the immutable moral insight are two, namely, that it permitted slavery and that it encouraged selfishness. As to the first, he contends that the Apostles were blamable, because they did not everywhere proclaim the essential immorality of slavery. The answer is, in the first place, that they did preach those precepts which have been the only instruments of delivering the captive, and letting the oppressed go free. Those simple words, 'Do unto others as ye would they should do

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unto you,' involve ultimate and universal emancipation. 'The great mass of abolitionists,' says Mr. Rogers, 'hate and loathe slavery on the express ground of its inconsistency with the maxims of Christianity. A public clamour against it was never raised in any country not Christian.' Secondly, we reply that, if the Apostles had preached as Mr. Newman would have had them, the direct tendency of their exhortations would have been to promote revolt among the slaves, and bring about another of those servile wars from the horrors of which Italy had scarcely recovered in the time of Paul. Thirdly, we deny that it is, *per se*, an immoral act under all circumstances to keep a slave. In the present day there is far less excuse for slavery than there was in the first century; yet even now it would be absurd to maintain, as Mr. Newman does, that the master of a slave is equally immoral with the violator of the seventh commandment. The *slave-merchant* stands on different grounds, and he is condemned in the New Testament by name, being classed by St. Paul with the foulest criminals (1 Tim. i. 10). Fourthly, we must again beg Mr. Newman to reconcile his infallible moral insight on this subject with the equally infallible moral insight of Mr. Carlyle, who has lately informed us that slavery is a highly laudable institution.

But further, Mr. Newman condemns Christianity as a system of selfishness. It teaches, he says, that man's first business must be to save his soul from future punishment, and to attain future happiness. He congratulates himself that he is now delivered from this selfish bondage. Yet at the same time he acknowledges, with great candour, that, when he was a believer, Christianity 'never really made him selfish—other influences of it were too powerful.' Here he has unconsciously stumbled on the key of the enigma. True it is that the motives of which he speaks are used by Scripture to rouse men from apathy; and it is also true that in cold and unimaginative natures such motives may long remain predominant. But he who has made any progress in the Christian life, and has gained the dispositions of love and holiness, will find that he has insensibly lost in their acquirement the conscious recollection of the motives which may have led him originally to seek them. He can no longer realise the time when he wished to serve God merely for the sake of benefits thence derivable to himself. He feels that he does right because it is right—that he loves duty because it is duty—without reference to the consequences. His conduct would be unaltered even if it could be revealed to him that death would be annihilation, or the future of the sensual and the cruel as happy as that of the pure and good; for those tempers and dispositions, that com-  
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munion with a Master unseen but loved, which once he only valued as a condition of gaining something else, he now prizes for their own sake. This, indeed, is the inevitable result of that law of human nature which metaphysicians describe, whereby the *secondary* are transformed into the *primary* desires. Yet we need not appeal to metaphysics to refute this fallacy of unbelief. The common sense of mankind will tell us who have been the most unselfish men, Christians or heathens, believers or infidels—Paul working with his hands to preach the Gospel freely, or Rousseau abandoning his children at the door of the foundling hospital.

No, it is not Christianity that makes men selfish, Mr. Newman himself being the witness. He tells us, indeed, that when he was a Christian he felt it his first business to save his soul from future punishment. Yet even then, while still under the bondage of the Law, and looking on the Gospel as a system of pains and penalties—even then his faith led him to encounter the perils of a missionary life, that he might carry the light of truth, as he at that time thought it, to the heathen. If he did this solely with a selfish view to his personal salvation, yet at any rate he sought this selfish end by unselfish means, and risked his life for the welfare of his brethren. What worthier end does he accomplish since he has become an unbeliever? Is it not as philanthropic a task to distribute the New Testament in Persia as to translate Horace into unrhymed metre in England?

Not, however, on any individual case, but on universal observation and experience, depends the conclusion that the zeal of men to promote the good of their fellows is directly proportionate to the intensity of their faith in Christ. From the highest aims of philanthropy, no less than from the severest standard of morality, they invariably decline when they forsake the Gospel. Virtues which they had cultivated in their better days are abandoned as needless; vices which they had abhorred, gradually become excusable, indifferent, or pleasing; chastity and meekness are repudiated as ascetic folly; revenge and pride are applauded as the characteristics of manhood.\* One of the ablest

\* The virtuousness of revenge has lately been maintained by the leader of the most popular school of infidelity in England, in his '*latter-day pamphlets*.' Mr. Newman himself celebrates it as one of the results of his emancipation from the Christian yoke, that he can now indulge in pride without compunction.—(*Phases*, 136.) It is true that the pride he vindicates is pride in 'the worldly greatness of England.' But, in itself, this national pride (which is quite distinct from patriotism) has its root in selfish vanity. As Blanco White observed, when men talk proudly of 'we English,' the emphasis is on the 'we,' not on the 'English.' If any one wishes for a farther illustration of the moral deterioration resulting from the rejection of Christianity, let him read Eugene Sue's seven novels on the 'seven deadly sins,' which are written to demonstrate that all these sins are most excellent qualities, only liable to abuse when not well guided.

religious writers of the last century, Mr. Cecil, used to say that, if a serious and moral man were to reject Christianity and publish his reasons for so doing, it would be a trial far more dangerous to the faith of England than all the sneers of Voltaire and the sentimentality of Rousseau. His foreboding has been realized in our own times; yet the sorrow with which he contemplated its possibility would have been mitigated had he foreseen that the moral deterioration of those who forsook the Gospel would neutralise the intellectual influence of their example, and supply a fresh argument in favour of their abandoned faith.

Most persons will probably think that he has unconsciously furnished such an argument by his attack on the character of Christ.\* After transcribing some of the expressions he has applied to the Saviour, we felt that further to illustrate the offence was almost to repeat it, and we forbear to inflict passages upon our readers which cannot even be glanced at without a shudder. Mr. Newman, who once shared the reverential convictions he now insults, ought to be aware what a deep outrage he is committing upon the most cherished sentiments of mankind; and if he has grown callous himself, we might at least demand that he should have some respect for the sacred feelings of others. When we read the language in which he speaks of our Lord, we cannot avoid the conclusion that as he professes to derive his idea of the moral qualities of God from his own virtues, so he has unwittingly clad with his own defects the spotless sanctity which he reviles. Well does his critic remark that 'a man may shoot his arrow with exact perpendicularity over his own head. It smites the impassive air and does no harm to *that*; but the missile, descending, according to the law of gravity, with the exact force wherewith it was projected, may smite full sore the unhappy archer himself.' Mr. Rogers has given a detailed refutation of Mr. Newman's blasphemies. But it was a supererogatory task. There are some weapons which only wound their owner; some blows which strengthen what they are meant to crush. No happier antidote could have been furnished to Mr. Newman's assault on Scripture than his suicidal chapter on the moral imperfection of Christ. Yet the concluding remarks of Mr. Rogers are so beautiful that we cannot forbear to quote them:—

'And now what, after all, does the carping criticism of this chapter amount to? Little as it is in itself, it absolutely vanishes; it is felt that the Christ thus portrayed *cannot* be the right interpretation of the history; in the face of all those glorious scenes with which the evangelical narrative abounds, but of which there is here an entire

\* *Phases*, chap. vii.



oblivion. But humanity will not forget them ; men still wonder at the "gracious words which proceeded out of Christ's mouth," and persist in saying "never man spake like this man." The brightness of the brightest names pales and wanes before the radiance which shines from the person of Christ. The scenes at the tomb of Lazarus, at the gate of Nain, in the happy family at Bethany, in the "upper room" where He instituted the feast which should for ever consecrate His memory, and bequeathed to His disciples the legacy of His love ; the scenes in the garden of Gethsemane, on the summit of Calvary, and at the sepulchre ; the sweet remembrance of the patience with which He bore wrong, the gentleness with which he rebuked it, and the love with which He forgave it ; the thousand acts of benign condescension by which He well earned for Himself, from self-righteous pride and censorious hypocrisy, the name of the "friend of publicans and sinners ;" these, and a hundred things more, which crowd those concise memorials of love and sorrow with such prodigality of beauty and of pathos, will still continue to charm and attract the soul of humanity, and on these the highest genius, as well as the humblest mediocrity, will love to dwell. These things lisp in infancy loves to hear on its mother's knees, and over them age, with its grey locks, bends in devoutest reverence. No ; before the infidel can prevent the influence of these compositions, he must get rid of the Gospels themselves, or he must supplant them by *fictions* yet more wonderful ! Ah ! what bitter irony has involuntarily escaped me ! But if the last be impossible, at least the Gospels must cease to exist before infidelity can succeed. Yes, before infidels can prevent men from thinking as they have ever done of Christ, they must blot out the gentle words with which, in the presence of austere hypocrisy, the Saviour welcomed that timid guilt that could only express its silent love in an agony of tears ; they must blot out the words addressed to the dying penitent, who, softened by the majestic patience of the mighty sufferer, detected at last the monarch under the veil of sorrow, and cast an imploring glance to be "remembered by Him when He came into His kingdom ;" they must blot out the scene in which the demoniacs sat listening at His feet, and "in their right mind ;" they must blot out the remembrance of the tears which He shed at the grave of Lazarus—not surely for him whom He was about to raise, but in pure sympathy with the sorrows of humanity—for the myriad myriads of desolate mourners, who could not, with Mary, fly to him, and say, "Lord, if thou hadst been here, my mother, brother, sister, had not died !" they must blot out the record of those miracles which charm us, not only as the proof of His mission, and guarantees of the truth of His doctrine, but as they illustrate the benevolence of His character and are types of the spiritual cures His Gospel can yet perform ; they must blot out the scenes of the sepulchre, where love and veneration lingered, and saw what was never seen before, but shall henceforth be seen to the end of time—the tomb itself irradiated with angelic forms, and bright with the presence of Him "who brought life and immortality to light ;" they must blot out the scene where deep and grateful love wept so passionately,

passionately, and found Him unbidden at her side, type of ten thousand times ten thousand, who have "sought the grave to weep there," and found joy and consolation in Him "whom, though unseen, they loved;" they must blot out the discourses in which He took leave of His disciples, the majestic accents of which have filled so many departing souls with patience and with triumph; they must blot out the yet sublimer words in which He declares Himself "the resurrection and the life"—words which have led so many millions more to breathe out their spirits with child-like trust, and to believe, as the gate of death closed behind them, that they would see Him who is invested with the "keys of the invisible world," "who opens and no man shuts, and shuts and no man opens," letting in through the portal which leads to immortality the radiance of the skies; they must blot out, they must destroy these and a thousand other such things, before they can prevent Him having the pre-eminence who loved, because He loved *us*, to call Himself the "Son of Man," though angels called him the "Son of God."

'It is in vain to tell men it is an *illusion*. If it be an *illusion*, every variety of experiment proves it to be *inveterate*, and it will not be dissipated by a million of Strausses and Newmans! *Probatum est*. At His feet guilty humanity, of diverse races and nations, for eighteen hundred years, has come to pour forth in faith and love its sorrows, and finds there "the peace which the world can neither give nor take away." Myriads of aching heads and weary hearts have found, and will find, repose there, and have invested Him with veneration, love, and gratitude, which will never, never be paid to any other name than His.—*Defence*, pp. 141-144.

On the points hitherto mentioned, Mr. Rogers overwhelms his antagonist with a vigour and cogency of argument admitting of no reply. But there is one important topic of the 'Phases' which is less successfully met in the 'Eclipse.' Mr. Newman dwells much upon the historical, geological, and exegetical mistakes which he supposes to be found in Scripture, and describes the process by which he was himself led to unbelief through his discovery that, in such points, the Bible was not infallible. He relates how at this period he was stopped in his descent for a time by a conversation with Dr. Arnold, who, while allowing Scripture to be fallible in human science, maintained its infallibility in moral and spiritual truth. Subsequently, however, Mr. Newman found a difficulty in drawing any line which should accurately separate the domain of science from that of religion, and he was thus led to reject the Bible altogether. In the present day this is a very common road to unbelief. The difficulty may be encountered in two ways: either by denying the existence of any mistakes in Scripture; or by maintaining, with Neander, Tholuck, and Arnold, that the occurrence of such mistakes



mistakes does not detract from the religious inspiration of the writers. The former is the view taken by Mr. Rogers. He contends, in entire agreement with Mr. Newman, that a distinction between the Divine and human contents of Scripture is impossible,—that historical inaccuracy cannot coexist with religious infallibility. ‘Men will think it strange,’ he says, ‘that Divine aid should not have gone a little farther, and, since the destined revelation was to be embedded in history, illustrated by imagination, enforced by argument, and expressed in human language, its authors should have been left liable to destroy the substance by perpetual blunders as to the form.’ Hence he concludes that, textual and transcriptional errors excepted, the whole of Scripture is infallibly accurate, and that all its writers were miraculously preserved from the possibility of error, whether physiological, geological, astronomical, historical, or exegetical.

The argument relied on, it must be observed, is here entirely *à priori*. ‘Men would expect that a revelation should be infallible in all respects; it would be *desirable* that it should be so; it would involve us in great perplexities if it were not so.’ Yet surely in a matter of this kind it is our duty to investigate the facts before we lay down so peremptory a conclusion. Having the most cogent reasons for believing the Bible to be a revelation from God, we should carefully examine what its construction and character actually is, and not permit ourselves to decide dogmatically what it ought to have been. If we find that there are historical discrepancies and scientific inaccuracies in the canonical books, it is vain to say that their occurrence is perplexing, and it is worse than vain to explain them away, as some commentators have done, by subterfuge and evasion. We will not venture dogmatically to assert, in contradiction to the opinion of Mr. Rogers, that the apparent mistakes in Scripture are absolutely incapable of such an explanation as would vindicate them from the charge of error; but it is certain that those who have devoted the most patient investigation to exegetical study are the most thoroughly convinced that there are some cases which do not admit of such a possibility. This is now so generally admitted, that it is acknowledged even in the standard educational works of orthodox divinity. For example, in the edition of the Greek Testament published for collegiate use by Mr. Alford, whom no one will accuse of want of reverence for the Bible, or the articles of our most holy faith, there occurs the following sentence: ‘In the last apology of Stephen, which he spoke being full of the Holy Ghost, and with Divine influence beaming from his countenance, we have, *at least, two demon-*  
*strable*

strable historical mistakes; and the occurrence of similar ones in the Gospels does not in any way affect the inspiration or the veracity of the Evangelists.' (*Alford's Testament*, vol. i., *Prolegomena*.) Nor have Mr. Alford's most orthodox reviewers excepted against this statement. Such being the case, it is surely very dangerous to maintain that *historical* infallibility is essential to the inspiration of the Scriptural writers. This belief, if unfounded, exposes the faith of its votaries to tremble at every German commentary, every scientific treatise, and every fresh discovery of Egyptian hieroglyphics, and it is but too likely to bring them to the conclusion which Mr. Newman draws from the same premises.

Moreover the Apostles themselves do not lead us to suppose them infallible in matters of *human* knowledge. They speak of themselves as 'earthen vessels,' though employed to contain a heavenly treasure. They call themselves 'ambassadors' charged with a message from God; and in the case of ambassadors from an earthly sovereign, the credentials would not be invalidated, nor the substantial accuracy of the communication rendered doubtful, by mistakes on details irrelevant to the substance of their commission. Even looking at the question *à priori*, we see no reason why men should have expected a revelation of moral and spiritual truth to supersede the researches of history, or to anticipate the discoveries of science. Nay, as a fact, the heathen philosopher who most earnestly desired such a revelation expressly guards against such expectations. He tells his disciples to expect no revelation from heaven concerning matters open to human investigation, while at the same time he encourages them to hope for Divine communications on subjects beyond the scope of man's discovery.\*

But it is impracticable,† it may be said, to distinguish in Scripture

\* The expressions of Socrates on this subject are very remarkable:—*Δαρμενίων ἔφη τοὺς μαντικαίους ἂν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἴδωκαν οἱ θεοὶ μαθεῖν διακρίνειν· εἰς \* \* \** ἂν ἔξιστιν ἀριθμήσαντας ἢ στήσαντας εἰδέναι· τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα παρὰ τῶν θίων πυνθανόμενος ἀβίωστα ποιεῖν ἡγύτο· ἔφη δὲ διὸ, ἂν μὲν μαθεῖντας ποιεῖν ἴδωκαν οἱ θεοὶ μαθεῖν· ἂν δὲ πῶς ὅληα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἴσθι, πικρᾶσθαι παρὰ τῶν θίων πυνθάνεται.—*Memorabilia Socratis*, i. 1.

† As a proof of this impracticability, Mr. Newman supposes physiological researches to have thrown a doubt on the descent of all men from Adam. And 'if all are not descended from Adam, what becomes of St. Paul's parallel between the first and second Adam, and the doctrine of headship and atonement founded on it?' To which it may be replied, that, even if all mankind had not descended from a single pair, the truths laid down by St. Paul in the passage referred to would be untouched; for when he speaks of all men as *dead in Adam*, he is speaking of Adam as the representative of human nature in its natural and fallen state. Human corruption is a fact, and involves the necessity of an Atonement. It would be well, however, to warn Mr. Newman's readers not to take his scientific assertions



Scripture between spiritual and scientific, between moral and historical truth. It is easy for hostile minds to conjure up hypothetical difficulties, but religion was given for the practical use of man, and no doctrine necessary to salvation, no precept conducive to holiness, will ever be jeopardised by this palpable distinction. Admitting, nevertheless, that wherever we draw the line of demarcation, there will be some doubt as to a few comparatively unimportant positions on the border territories, is not this, we may ask, the necessary condition of all our moral and religious knowledge? Is there not abundant difference of opinion on religious truth, even among those who agree in the universal infallibility of Scripture? The same restless discontent at any shadow of uncertainty which leads men to demand scientific and historical infallibility leads them also to require an infallible interpreter of Scripture. Hence they have set up the Pope as the living voice of God. But even this is insufficient; for a Papal bull is not authoritative without the fulfilment of many complicated conditions, so that no private Romanist can be sure whether any particular bull is valid or not. Thus nothing could satisfy this craving for religious certainty but a perpetual oracle, whose answers should be daily issued and visibly printed in the sky. Such is not the method by which the will of God is made known to man. 'We walk by faith, not by sight;' 'Having not seen, we love;' these are the mottoes of Christian experience. Doubt transmuted into trust is an essential element in the perfection of the soul.

In this, as in other points, to demand absolute certainty must conduct us to absolute scepticism. A Pyrrhonian suspension of belief is the only position tenable by the understanding which demands a creed without a difficulty. Though on the single point of historical infallibility Mr. Rogers has, we venture to think, lost sight of this cardinal truth, yet no one has ever stated it more forcibly or applied it more ably than he. Witness the following passage:—

'At last, after much discussion in this and preceding ages, the world, I think and hope, is beginning to comprehend that it is not sufficient to discredit Christianity, or indeed any other system, to propound plausible or even *insoluble* objections; since it is a sort of weapon by which Atheism, Pantheism, and the half-score systems of Deism may be alike easily foiled. And if there is any theory of religion which is not in the same predicament as Christianity, nay, which is not exposed to yet *greater*

assertions for granted. They are at the least as fallible as he supposes those of the apostles to be. For example, in the present case it is not true that scientific research has led philosophers to disbelieve the descent of mankind from a single stock; it has, on the contrary, established the extreme probability of such a descent.

objections,

objections, I shall be glad to be informed of it; I can only say, it is a perfect novelty to me. Certainly it is not any of the theories of Deism, the varieties of which have sprung out of the very eagerness with which the advocates of each have sought to evade the difficulties which press the abettors of every other.

‘Encompassed on all sides by impassable barriers, in whatever direction we speculate—and in none by loftier or more solid walls of rock than in metaphysical or moral philosophy—we are *not* called upon to answer every objection which may be made to our tenets, for that is impossible, whatever the hypothesis that may be adopted: the only *real* question is, on which side the greatest weight of positive evidence is found, and the least weight of opposing objections.

To any such objections—the *substantial points of the evidence remaining*—the Christian feels himself entitled to say, “Stand by; I cannot stop for you.” In relation to many of them he may boldly say, when called to solve them, “I cannot; time may solve them, as I see it *has* solved many; and these, like those, may then be transferred to the other side of the account; but even now they do not materially affect the columns which give the total.” And, in my judgment, it is in many cases not only wise to say this, but the only honest course. Much mischief has often been done by pretending to give a solution, which neither he who gives, nor he who demands it, feels to be sufficient.”—*Defence*, p. 178.

We may add that to all such objections the Christian possesses an *anti-syllogism*, in the indisputable proposition that Christianity does turn bad men into good, and is the only approximate cure hitherto discovered for the moral pestilence which desolates humanity. If tempted to leave his Master, because of any such stumbling-blocks in his path, the disciple has still the same reason as of old to exclaim ‘Lord, to whom shall we go?’ No other refuge is open to the doubting soul. No other teaching calms the wounded conscience. No other ray of light falls from the clouded heavens to pierce the veil which hides us from the Father of our spirits.

In conclusion we will venture to express our hope that, in another edition, the ‘Defence’ of the ‘Eclipse of Faith’ may be made in some respects more worthy of its predecessor. Its author informs us that it was written in great haste, and it bears the marks of this throughout. Not that it lacks either vigorous argument or keen sarcasm. On the contrary, it is in these respects perhaps even more powerful than the former work; but it bears traces of having been struck off at a single heat, with a conversational carelessness of style, and a colloquial use of derisive epithets, which occasionally overleaps the bounds of good taste. It has too much the air of *chuckling* over a prostrate foe. We earnestly trust that these blemishes will be removed in a future edition, for at present they are likely to create a prejudice  
against



against the substance of a most valuable book by the offence that may be taken at the form.\* In all the higher departments of the argument Mr. Newman writhes in the grasp of his antagonist as helplessly as a pigmy in the gripe of a giant, and for that very reason everything like contortion and grimace should be left by the victorious to the vanquished combatant.

Finally, let us thank Mr. Rogers for the addition he has made to the philosophical literature of England, and to the defensive armoury of Christendom; and still more for his promise to deal with Pantheism as he has already dealt with Deism. We trust that he may be spared to redeem this pledge in the amplest manner, and also to recast his present work by omitting those ephemeral topics which might hinder its permanent appreciation. If he lives to accomplish our expectations, we feel little doubt that his name will share with those of Butler and of Pascal in the gratitude and veneration of posterity.

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ART. VII.—*Papers relative to the Obstruction of Public Business.*

By Arthur Symonds, Esq. Printed for Private Circulation.  
London, 1853.

IN our number of last March (vol. xciv. p. 461) we expressed the regret which, in common with all friends to the judicial system of this country and to the constitution of parliament, we felt at the impediments thrown in the way of the measures sanctioned by the House of Lords during the session before the last for the digesting of the criminal law. It is truly painful to find that the last session has shown how their Lordships have been met by new difficulties and from other quarters. The Report of their Select Committee, recommending that for the present only the digesting of the statute law should be persevered in, indicates pretty plainly what we have reason to know, that the members mainly yielded to the apprehensions of endless discussions being raised by the Commons, rendering hopeless the passing a Bill of many hundreds of clauses, however fully considered by those most capable of satisfactorily dealing with

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\* As a specimen of our meaning, we may mention the frequent occurrence of such epithets (used derisively) as 'pleasant,' 'worthy,' 'queer,' &c. Also such expressions as 'gobble up,' 'artful dodge,' 'I see a thing or two,' 'the missionaries (worthy souls)'; and more especially the application of such terms as 'chucked,' 'bakes, boils, and fries,' and 'crunches like a lion,' to describe the acts of the Deity. These blemishes might all be removed by drawing the pen through a dozen lines. We would suggest also that it would be desirable to incorporate the 'Defence' and the 'Eclipse' into a single volume.

the subject. This leads us to say a few words on the capacity which the lower House has lately shown of performing its legislative functions. In a word, we are led to cast our eye back upon its labours during the last session in the great department, wholly unconnected with party or with politics, of improvement of the law. Our well-known opinions touching the changes effected twenty-two years ago in the representative system may be supposed to bias our opinion upon the question; but we can venture to assert that we only speak the sentiments of the stoutest friends of the Reform Bill when we assert that those things which have fulfilled our predictions have also brought no little disappointment to their hopes, although we do not suppose that they will admit them to be the unavoidable consequences of their favourite measure.

We must begin by stating that they are extremely ill informed who complain of nothing having been done during the session to carry forward the great work of law amendment. Mr. Ad-derly's Act, introducing a most salutary principle into the administration of our Criminal Law, the reformatory course, long and powerfully supported also by the learned Recorder of Birmingham, Mr. Commissioner Hill, was fortunately passed, but with a provision requiring previous imprisonment, much condemned in the Lords, and which we will venture to affirm no one more lamented than the able and excellent author of the Bill. But still more important is the Common Law Procedure Act, a great, an invaluable improvement. Beside making most important changes in the law of evidence, of arbitration, of jury procedure, it arms the courts of common law with large equitable jurisdiction, to the incalculable abridgment of litigation and relief of the suitors, and it remedies some of the evils most complained of in the whole administration of justice in those courts. But this Act was as nearly as possible being prevented from passing, and postponed to another session with two or three great measures universally called for and fully prepared by the House of Lords; and it passed, so to speak, almost by a miracle and almost alone;\* it suffered too very unfortunate mutilations, and nearly as unhappy additions, wholly in consequence of the manner in which the business of the Commons was conducted throughout the session. On the particulars of this it is necessary that we should dwell in some detail.

The Bill prepared by the Commissioners, corrected by the Lords, fully discussed in their Select Committee by all the Law

\* It is not, perhaps, strictly accurate to represent this as a single Act, for it had incorporated Lord Brougham's Arbitration Bill, and his Bills on Evidence and Procedure, so far as the Commissioners agreed with them.



Lords, and reported with material additions, comprising indeed other Bills referred to the same Committee, passed through all its stages without a dissentient voice, except upon three of its provisions, and was sent to the Commons two months before the end of the session; but hardly any progress was made in passing it through that House until on the very eve of the prorogation. At that period every one knows how absolute the power is of any half-dozen members who may band themselves together for the purpose of defeating a measure. Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Denman had both experienced this ten years ago, when certain representatives being resolved to throw out a Bill which affected some local, perhaps we might say personal, interests, remained night after night dividing and counting out, and, that they might get rid of the obnoxious measure, all the business which stood behind it was obstructed, in consequence of which the Lord Chancellor's Bill for establishing county courts, and the Lord Chief Justice's for effecting the greatest improvement of modern times in the law of evidence, that of taking away the objection of interest, were both lost for the session, and these most salutary changes postponed for a year. Fortunately, the opposition, to the credit of the Conservative party, did not last session use their power of throwing out the Procedure Act in this manner, although they objected to one or two of its provisions. But others, of no mark in the House and of no weight in the party, pertinaciously opposed some parts of the measure, and it escaped unexpectedly.

But it was maimed in a most essential provision, that of Jury Trial, although the great majority of the Commons were favourable to that enactment, and although they had passed it a few weeks before for Scotland, and with considerably greater change of the existing law. Availing themselves of the approach of prorogation, a few members succeeded in throwing out the provision by which the Lords and their Select Committee had proposed that, if ten of a jury agree, and only two of the twelve jurors hold out, the verdict of the ten should be taken, instead of the whole proceeding being frustrated, and another trial becoming necessary. The Scotch Bill which had already gone through the House without opposition enabled the court to take the verdict, not of ten, but of nine jurors. Nay, that bill, receiving the assent of the Lords, is now the law of Scotland, while in England the old and most barbarous law remains, at least in theory, by which the jurors may be carted to the borders of the county if they cannot agree, and by which it continually

happens in practice that a jury is discharged and a second trial inflicted on the litigants, if a single juror holds out against the other eleven.

This was the result of the pernicious power possessed by a knot of dissentients at the end of the session. The Government would not, or could not, keep its supporters together, else it might have defied the handful of objectors by announcing that Parliament must sit until the business was disposed of. But not only did the approaching prorogation enable a few members to mutilate the bill,—it enabled others to add a provision of the most objectionable description, and which we will do the Ministers the justice to say we are quite sure would never have been permitted except to avoid the endless discussion of clauses in the House. The power is actually given to the Crown, by order in council, to apply all and every part of the provisions of the Act to all courts of record, or to any one or more such courts, and from time to time to alter or annul such orders. Now, to take an example: one of the provisions extends the new laws of evidence to all civil courts, including the authority given to the judge to dispense with an oath. But this general power enables the Crown to give all or any criminal court of record the same dispensing authority. Nay, the Crown may interpose between a party's commitment and his trial and alter the law of evidence,—for example, that which requires all witnesses to be sworn, or that requiring attesting witnesses in all cases to be called—and afterwards alter it back between his conviction and his sentence, should that have been deferred for a month, so that the notice might be given in the Gazette. Nor is there the ordinary guard, when legislative powers are sometimes conferred upon the courts (that is, upon the whole judges), of requiring the rules they may make to be laid before Parliament, and such rules only to be binding in case neither House shall object within a given time. We will venture very confidently to affirm, that such an unheard-of power never could have been sanctioned had not everything been involved in confusion in consequence of the approaching termination of the session. It is a fact that by one amendment of the Commons the new law of evidence was extended to Ireland; and this, with all the other changes in the bill, only reached the House of Lords so late that the order to print them was made 9th August, and they were agreed to on the 10th, with an exception, which the Commons allowed on the 11th, and the prorogation took place on the 12th!

Men have dwelt upon the many important bills, well considered



sidered in the Lords, and postponed in the Commons, chiefly for the same reason that prevented the supporters of the Procedure Bill from carrying it as the Lords had recommended. But as on some at least of these measures a difference of opinion existed, we shall only refer to one in which there really was no opposition, save that which proceeded from the refractory few who took advantage of the period of the session,—we mean the Bills of Exchange Act, which all the Law Lords had warmly supported, to which not the least objection had ever been made in any stage, until, after six or seven weeks' delay in the Commons, it was cavilled at, but carried by a very great majority. Petitions were presented, earnestly urging the Commons to adopt it, signed by two hundred and fifty of the great City firms—in fact by the whole of that mercantile community, on whose application the measure had been introduced by Lord Brougham. Its object was to give the same remedy to the holders of bills or notes in England which for a century and a half they have had in Scotland, and which they have in every country in the world, England excepted, by providing that whoever has under his own hand admitted himself to be indebted for value received, shall be obliged to pay his debt without dragging his creditor into a court of law. Though the Ministers strongly supported the bill, and all the opposition lawyers and leaders joined heartily in its support, it was found impossible to withstand the threats of a clique, of no weight either in or out of doors, of dividing and adjourning, and the bill was postponed.

We will give another example of a different kind. A bill was brought forward to dispense, in certain cases, with grand juries in the jurisdiction of the Central Criminal Court. There can be little doubt that the measure was highly beneficial, and it was introduced by the learned Recorder of London. But no one can maintain that it was a proposition which ought to pass as a matter of course, and without any discussion or even explanation. It went, however, through all its stages without a word being said either for or against it, and was of course postponed in the Lords when it was found that there were serious objections to some of its details, though none to the principle. But how had it then passed through the Commons? Just as the bill for abolishing in Scotland the requisite of unanimity in juries, and for enabling three-fourths to find a verdict, had passed with hardly any observation; it was because six months had been consumed in endless debating and wrangling upon subjects, the greater number of which were of little moment, and the bulk of the more important required not a twentieth part of the talk lavished upon

them. The House, at the close of the long series of discussions, is invariably emptied in part of its members, and those who remain are far too impatient and exhausted to deal with subjects of real importance.

It would be most unbecoming, and it would be also premature, to conclude that the House of Commons as at present constituted is incapable of transacting the business of the country. But it may be permitted to doubt if, without some change in the course of its procedure, it can so discharge its high duties as to retain for constitutional government that respect and affection which we devoutly hope ever to see it command. Much is said of the superabundance of lawyers, much of the conduct of Irish members; but a good deal must be set down to the general account of the greatly increased proportion of members whose numerous constituents expect them to debate, or who at least expect by debating to secure the favour of their constituents. Whether it may be possible to reconcile this state of things to the power of transacting business, and that regulations may be devised so as not to interrupt the relations between the representative body and the constituent, time only can show. Every effort should be made to bring about so desirable a consummation; and to disappoint the expectations of those in other countries who are fond of pointing at the failures of our system, as showing the impossibility of Parliamentary government. Nor are we at all disposed to admit that a good deal of the evils complained of may not be traced to the conduct of the Government. Our object, however, at present is merely to call the attention of those to the evil who are best fitted to deal with it. Dull as the subject will seem to most persons, and destitute as it is of everything which can excite party passion, there is yet none more important. Upon the manner in which the business part of the legislative functions of Parliament is transacted depends an enormous proportion of the good done, and the evil prevented. Debating is at best a means to an end; but when the end is neglected, and an immensity of benefit lost to the country for no other purpose than that members may talk, it would be well for the House and constituents to consider whether it would not be worth while to exchange bad speeches for better measures.

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- ART. VIII.—1. *Les Excentriques et les] Humoristes Anglais au Dixhuitième Siècle.* Par M. Philarète Chasles. Paris. 1848.  
 2. *The English Humourists of the Eighteenth Century.* By W. M. Thackeray. London. 1853.  
 3. *Satire and Satirists.* By James Hannay. London. 1854.

FEW things are in their nature so fleeting as a joker's reputation. Within a generation it lives and dies. The jest may survive, but the jester is forgotten, and it is wit that flies unclaimed of any man; or, more frequently, jest and jester both have passed away, and darkness has swallowed up the fireworks altogether. And this perhaps is better than to outlive liking, even in so trumpery a matter as a broad-grin. Horace Walpole has told us how much Lord Leicester suffered who had such a run in George the First's reign, when, having retired for a few years, he returned to town with a new generation, recommenced his old routine, and was taken for a driveller; and one would not choose to have been that universally popular wit of the reign of Charles the First, who, according to Sir William Temple, was found to be an intolerable bore at the court of Charles the Second.

But it is not simply that this kind of reputation has small value or duration in itself, but that it lowers any higher claim in its possessor. Laughter runs a losing race against the decencies and decorums; and even Swift, when he would have taken his proper place on the topmost round of the ladder, was tripped up by the *Tale of a Tub*. So much the weaker his chances, whose laughter has dealt with what partakes itself of the transitory; who has turned it against the accidents and follies of life; who has connected it with the obtrusive peculiarities of character, as much as with its substance and realities; and who must therefore look to be himself not always fairly associated with the trivialities he has singled out for scorn. In life, and in books, it is the same. It is wonderful how seldom men of great social repute have been permitted to enjoy any other; and there is written wisdom of old date to this day unappreciated, because of the laughing and light exterior it presents to us. In an age of little wit and perpetual joking, this is a fault which has not much chance of remedy.

Of the three books whose title-pages are transcribed at the head of this article, the reader may candidly be told that it is not our intention to say anything. What we are going to write is suggested by what we have *not* found in them. In the first, an ingenious Frenchman, and noted Anglo-maniac, reveals the discoveries he has made of eccentric Englishmen, from  
 Swift

Swift to Charles Lamb. In the second, a contemporary English humourist, himself of no small distinction, eloquently discourses of his illustrious predecessors from Addison to Goldsmith, and passes upon them some hasty and many subtle sentences. In the third, a young and deserving writer, whose cleverness would be not less relished if a little less familiar and self-satisfied in tone, takes in hand the whole subject of Satire and Satirists, dismisses Q. Horatius Flaccus with the same easy decision as Mr. Punch, and is as much at home with Juvenal and George Buchanan as with Thomas Moore and Theodore Hook. Yet in these three successive volumes-full of English heroes, of eccentricity, humour, and satire, there is One name altogether omitted which might have stood as the type of all; being that of an Englishman as eccentric, humorous, and satirical as any this nation has bred. To the absent figure in the procession, therefore, we are about to turn aside to offer tribute. We propose to speak of that forgotten name; and to show its claims to have been remembered, even though it now be little more than a name.

It was once both a terrible and a delightful reality. It expressed a bitterness of sarcasm and ridicule unexampled in England; and a vivacity, intelligence, and gaiety, a ready and unfailing humour, to which a parallel could scarcely be found among the choicest wits of France. It was the name of a man so popular and diffused, that it would be difficult to say to what class of his countrymen he gave the greatest amount of amusement; it was the name of a man also more dreaded, than any since his who laid the princes of Europe under terror-stricken contribution, and to whom the Great Turk himself offered bush-money. 'Mr. Foote was a man of wonderful abilities,' says Garrick, 'and the most entertaining companion I have ever known.' 'There is hardly a public man in England,' says Davies, 'who has not entered Mr. Foote's theatre with an aching heart, under the apprehension of seeing himself laughed at.' 'Sure if ever one person,' says Tate Wilkinson, 'possessed the talents of pleasing more than another, Mr. Foote was the man.' 'Upon my word,' writes Horace Walpole, 'if Mr. Foote be not check'd, we shall have the army itself, on its return from Boston, besieged in the Haymarket.' Such and so various were the emotions once inspired by him who has now lost command alike over our fears and our enjoyments; and whose name is not thought even worthy of mention, by lecturers aiming to be popular, among the Humourists and Satirists of the eighteenth century.

We have hinted at one reason for such forgetfulness, but that is



is not all. He who merely shoots a folly as it flies, may have no right to outlive the folly he lays low; but Foote's aim was not so limited. He proposed to instruct, as well as to amuse, his countrymen; he wrote what he believed to be comedies, as well as what he knew to be farces; he laughed freely at what he thought ridiculous in others, but he aspired also to produce what should be admirable and enduring of his own. 'My scenes,' he said on one occasion, 'have been collected from general nature, and are applicable to none but those who, through consciousness, are compelled to a self-application. To that mark, if Comedy directs not her aim, her arrows are shot in the air; for by what touches no man, no man will be amended.' This plea has not been admitted, however. Whenever he is now named, it is as a satirist of peculiarities, not as an observer of character; it is as a writer whose reputation has perished, with the personalities that alone gave it zest; it is as a comedian who so exclusively addressed himself to the audience of his theatre, that posterity has been obliged to decline having any business or concern with him.

Smarting from some ridicule poured out at his dinner-table, Boswell complained to Johnson that the host had made fools of his guests, and was met by a sarcasm bitter as Foote's own. 'Why, Sir, when you go to see Foote, you do not go to see a saint: you go to see a man who will be entertained at your house, and then bring you on a public stage; who will entertain you at his house, for the very purpose of bringing you on a public stage. Sir, he does not make fools of his company: they whom he exposes are fools already; he only brings them into action.' The same opinion he expressed more gravely in another conversation, when, admitting Foote's humour, and his singular talent for exhibiting character, he qualified it not as a talent but a vice, such as other men abstain from;\* and described it to be not comedy, which exhibits the character of a species, but farce, which exhibits individuals. Be this hasty or deliberate, false or true, the imputation conveyed by it follows Foote still, and gathers bulk as it rolls. When Sir Walter Scott speaks of him, it is as an unprincipled satirist, who, while he affected to be the terror of vice and folly, was only anxious to extort forbearance-money from the timid, or to fill his theatre at the indiscriminate expense of friends and enemies, virtuous or vicious, who pre-

\* Yet even Johnson could admit that there were cases where he would have relaxed his own rule, and rejoiced to see administered, even upon individuals, the lash which Foote wielded with such effect. 'Sir, I wish he had him,' he said to Boswell, who had named a miserly acquaintance of theirs as a capital subject for Foote. 'I, who have eaten his bread, will not give him to him, but I should be glad he came honestly by him.'

sented foibles capable of being turned into ridicule. When Mr. Macaulay speaks of him, it is as a man whose mimicry was exquisitely ludicrous, but all caricature; and who could take off only some strange peculiarity, a stammer or a lisp, a Northumbrian burr or an Irish brogue, a stoop or a shuffle. If we had absolute faith in any of these judgments, this article would not have been begun.

A careful examination of Foote's writings has satisfied us that they are not unworthy of a very high place in literature, though not perhaps in all respects the place he would have claimed; and it is worth remark that in defending them he has himself anticipated Mr. Macaulay's illustration. He declines to introduce upon the scene a lady from the north, with the true Newcastle burr in her throat; he recognises no subject for ridicule in the accidental unhappiness of a national brogue, for which a man is no more to be held accountable than for the colour of his hair: but he sees the true object and occasion for satire where all true satirists have found it, namely, in all kinds of affectation or pretence; in whatever assumes to be what it is not, or strives to be what it cannot. That he did not uniformly remember this, is with regret to be admitted, seeing the effect it has had upon his reputation; but it is not in his writings that his most marked deviations from it are discoverable. For it is not because real characters are there occasionally introduced, that the verdict is at once to pass against him. Vanbrugh's Miss Jenny, was a certain Derbyshire Miss Lowe; Cibber's Lady Grace, was Lady Betty Cecil; Farquhar's Justice Balance, was a well-known Mr. Beverley; and Molière, who struck the fashions and humours of his age into forms that are immortal, has perpetuated with them the vices and foibles of many a living contemporary. In all these cases, the question still remains whether the individual folly or vice, obtruding itself on the public, may not so far represent a general defect, as to justify public satire for the sake of the warning it more widely conveys. It will not do to confine ridicule exclusively to folly and vice, and to refrain, in case of need, from laying the lash on the knave and the fool. But such reasonable opportunities are extremely rare; and it even more rarely happens that what is thus strictly personal in satire, does not also involve individual injustice and wrong. It is, beyond doubt, no small ground for distrust of its virtues, that the public should be always so eager to welcome it. No one has expressed this more happily than Foote himself, when, levelling his blow at Churchill, he makes his publisher Mr. Puff object to a poem full of praise:

‘Why, who the devil will give money to be told that Mr. Such-a-one



one is a wiser or better man than himself? No, no; 'tis quite and clean out of nature. A good sousing satire, now, well-powdered with personal pepper, and seasoned with the spirit of party, that demolishes a conspicuous character, and sinks him below our own level—*there, there*, we are pleased; there we chuckle and grin, and toss the half-crown on the counter.'

Unhappily this was his own case not less; for he, too, had to provide pleasure for those who went to chuckle, and grin, and toss their half-crowns at the pay-place of the Haymarket. And it was in serving-up the dish for this purpose, rather than in first preparing it; it was in the powdering and peppering for the table, rather than in the composition and cooking; in a word, it was less by the deliberate intention of the writer than by the ready mimicry and humorous impromptu of the actor, that Foote gave mortal offence to so many of his countrymen, did irreparable wrong very often to the least offending, began himself to pay the penalty in suffering before he died, and is paying the penalty still in character and fame.

It is this which explains any difference to be noted between the claims put forth by himself, and the verdict recorded by his contemporaries. The writings we shall shortly introduce to the reader would little avail, in themselves, to account for the mixed emotions they inspired. That which gave them terror, has of course long departed from them; but by reviving so much of it as description may tamely exhibit, and by connecting with Foote's personal career some idea of the overflowing abundance and extravagance of his humour, it is possible that their laughter and wit may win back some part of the appreciation they have lost, and a fair explanation be supplied not only of the genius of this remarkable man, and of the peculiar influence he exerted while he lived, but of the causes which have intercepted his due possession and ungrudged enjoyment of the

'Estate that wits inherit after death.'

The strength and predominance of Foote's humour lay in its readiness. Whatever the call that might be made upon it, there it was. Other men were humorous as the occasion arose to them, but to him the occasion was never wanting. Others might be foiled or disabled by the lucky stroke of an adversary, but he took only the quicker rebound from what would have laid them prostrate. To put him out was not possible. He was talking away one evening, at the dinner-table of a man of rank, when, at the point of one of his best stories, one of the party interrupted him suddenly with an air of most considerate apology, 'I beg your pardon, Mr. Foote, but your handkerchief is half out of your pocket.' 'Thank you, Sir,' said Foote, replacing

placing it; 'you know the company better than I do:' and finished his joke. At one of Macklin's absurd Lectures on the Ancients, the lecturer was solemnly composing himself to begin when a buz of laughter from where Foote stood ran through the room, and Macklin, thinking to throw the laughter off his guard, and effectually for that night disarm his ridicule, turned to him with this question, in his most severe and pompous manner. 'Well, Sir, you seem to be very merry there, but do you know what I am going to say, now?' 'No, Sir,' at once replied Foote; '*pray, do you?*' One night at his friend Delaval's, when the glass had been circulating freely, one of the party would suddenly have fixed a quarrel upon him for his indulgence of personal satire. 'Why, what would you have?' exclaimed Foote, good-humouredly putting it aside; 'of course I take all my friends off, but I use them no worse than myself, I take *myself* off.' 'Gadso!' cried the malcontent, 'that I should like to see:' upon which Foote took up his hat and left the room.

No one could so promptly overthrow an assailant; so quietly rebuke an avarice or meanness; so effectually 'abate and dissolve' any ignorant affectation or pretension. 'Why do you attack my weakest part?' he asked, of one who had raised a laugh against what Johnson calls his *depeditation*: 'did I ever say anything about your head?' Dining when in Paris with Lord Stormont, that thrifty Scotch peer, then ambassador, as usual produced his wine in the smallest of decanters and dispensed it in the smallest of glasses, enlarging all the time on its exquisite growth and enormous age. 'It is very little of its age,' said Foote, holding up his diminutive glass. A stately and silly country squire was regaling a large party with the number of fashionable folk he had visited that morning. 'And among the rest,' he said, 'I called upon my good friend the Earl of Chol-mon-dely, but he was not at home.' 'That is exceedingly surprising,' said Foote; 'what! nor none of his pe-o-ple?' Being in company where Hugh Kelly was mightily boasting of the power he had as a reviewer of distributing literary reputation to any extent, 'Don't be too prodigal of it,' Foote quietly interposed, 'or you may leave none for yourself.' The then Duke of Cumberland (the *foolish* Duke, as he was called) came one night into the green-room at the Haymarket Theatre. 'Well, Foote,' said he, 'here I am, ready, as usual, to swallow all your good things.' 'Really,' replied Foote, 'your royal highness must have an excellent digestion, for you never bring any up again.' 'Why are you for ever humming that air?' he asked a man without a sense of tune in him. 'Because it haunts me.'

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‘No wonder,’ said Foote: ‘you are for ever murdering it.’ One of Mrs. Montagu’s blue-stocking ladies fastened upon him at one of the routs in Portman-square with her views of *Locke on the Understanding*, which she protested she admired above all things; only there was one particular word very often repeated which she could not distinctly make out, and that was the word (pronouncing it very long) ‘*ide-a*’; but I suppose it comes from a Greek derivation.’ ‘You are perfectly right, Madam,’ said Foote; ‘it comes from the word *ideaowski*.’ ‘And pray, Sir, what does that mean?’ ‘The feminine of idiot, Madam.’ Much bored by a pompous physician at Bath, who confided to him as a great secret that he had a mind to publish his own poems, but had so many irons in the fire he really did not well know what to do: ‘Take my advice, Doctor,’ says Foote, ‘and put your poems where your irons are.’ Not less distressed on another occasion by a mercantile man of his acquaintance, who had also not only written a poem but exacted a promise that he would listen to it, and who mercilessly stopped to tax him with inattention even before advancing beyond the first pompous line, ‘*Hear me, O Phœbus, and ye Muses nine!*’ pray, pray be attentive, Mr. Foote.’ ‘I am,’ said Foote; ‘nine and one are ten; go on!’

The only men of his day, putting aside Johnson’s later fame, who had the least pretension to compare with him in social repute, were Quin for wit, and Garrick for powers of conversation. But Quin was restricted to particular walks of humour; and his jokes, though among the most masterly in the language, had undoubtedly a certain strong, morose, surly vein, like the characters he was so great in. Foote’s range, on the other hand, was as universal as society and scholarship could make it; and Davies, who was no great friend of his, says it would have been much more unfashionable not to have laughed at Foote’s jokes, than even at Quin’s. Garrick again, though nothing could be more delightful than the gaiety of his talk, had yet to struggle always with a certain restless misgiving, which made him the sport of men who were much his inferiors. Johnson puts the matter kindly.

‘Garrick, Sir, has some delicacy of feeling; it is possible to put him out; you may get the better of him: but Foote is the most incompressible fellow that I ever knew; when you have driven him into a corner, and think you are sure of him, he runs through between your legs, or jumps over your head, and makes his escape.’

Could familiar language describe Falstaff better than this, which hits off the character of Foote’s humour exactly? It was incompressible. No matter what the truth of any subject might be,

be, or however strong the position of any adversary, he managed to get the laugh on his own side. It was not merely a quickness of fancy, a brilliance of witty resource, a ready and expert audacity of invention; but that there was a fulness and invincibility of *courage* in the man, call it moral or immoral, which unfailingly warded off humiliation. In another form the same remark was made on another occasion by Johnson, when some one in his company insisted that Foote was a mere buffoon and merry-andrew, and the conscientious Samuel interposed of his less conscientious namesake:

‘But he has wit too, and is not deficient in ideas, or in fertility and variety of imagery, and not empty of reading; he has knowledge enough to fill up his part. One species of wit he has in an eminent degree, that of escape. You drive him into a corner with both hands; but he’s gone, Sir, when you think you have got him—like an animal that jumps over your head. Then he has a great range for wit; he never lets truth stand between him and a jest, and he is sometimes mighty coarse.’

A position of greater temptation is hardly conceivable than that of a man gifted with such powers, and free from such restraints; and the outline we now propose to give of his career will best show to what extent he was able to resist the temptation, to what extent he fell. Johnson admits, while certainly he underrates, his scholarship; and detects, though he exaggerates, his chief moral defect; but he also asserts, what the contradictory testimony of too many witnesses forbids us to believe, that he was not a good mimic. He seems on the contrary to have carried mimicry much higher than its ordinary strain, by combining with it a comic genius and invention peculiar to himself. It is seldom a mere mimic is so extraordinarily endowed. This gave him the range of character as well as of manners, in the perception and appropriation of what was ludicrous; and put a surprising vitality into his satire.

It was at the same time that dangerous facility and force of imitation, which, in connexion with the exuberance of his humour, most limited his power of resisting its indulgence. None better than himself knew the disadvantage at which it often placed him, compared with duller men, and there is affecting significance in his remark to young O’Keefe, ‘Take care of your wit,’ he said; ‘bottle up your wit.’ In the sketch we are about to attempt, not a few indications will appear that Foote, often as he subjected himself to the charge of cruelty and inhumanity, had certainly not a malignant disposition. But in his case we shall do well to remember what Halifax said of Bishop Burnet, that our nature scarcely allows us to be well supplied with anything, without

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our having too much of it; and that it is hard for a vessel that is brimful, when in motion not to run over. The habit of jesting and contempt, and of looking always at the ludicrous and sarcastic side, got the mastery over Foote; it became a tyranny from which there was no escape; and its practice was far more frequent, and its application more wide, than even such potency of humour as his could justify, or render other than hurtful and degrading to his own nature.

Perhaps the most startling introduction upon record to a club of wits, is that for which Foote, when a youth of one-and-twenty, had to thank the Mr. Cooke who translated Hesiod. 'This,' said Mr. Cooke, presenting his protégé, 'is the nephew of the gentleman who was lately hung in chains for murdering his brother.' Startling as the statement was, however, it was quite true; and it is probable that Mr. Cooke, who had an ingenious turn for living in idleness by his wits, and was reported to have subsisted for twenty years on a translation of Plautus for which he was always taking subscriptions, thought of nothing in making it but his young friend's luck and advantage, in having come to a considerable fortune by such windfalls as a murder and an execution. Such was actually the case; and the eccentric translator was now helping him to spend his fortune, by making him known at his favourite club.

Samuel Foote, born at Truro in 1720, came of what in courtesy must be called a good family, notwithstanding the alarming fact just mentioned. His father had some time sat in parliament as member for Tiverton; and in 1720 was an active Cornish magistrate and influential country gentleman, receiver of fines for the duchy, and a joint commissioner of the Prize Office. His mother\* was the daughter of a baronet, Sir Edward Goodere, who represented the county of Hereford for many years; and who, by marriage with the granddaughter of the Earl of Rutland, had connected with his own family the not less ancient stock of the Dineleys, of Charlton in Worcestershire. This connection

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\* She survived till she was 84. She lived to see the triumphs of her son, and was spared the knowledge of his suffering. She died shortly before the affair of the Duchess of Kingston, when Foote defended her memory with affection and spirit. 'Her fortune was large,' he said in his famous letter, 'and her morals irreproachable, till your Grace condescended to stain them. She was upwards of fourscore years old when she died; and what will surprise your Grace, was never married but once in her life.' When she was 79 years old, Cooke dined with her in company with her granddaughter, at a barrister's in Gray's Inn, and, though she had sixty steps to ascend to the drawing-room, she did it without the help of a cane, and with the activity of a woman of forty. Her talk, too, surprised every one. It was witty, humorous, and convivial, and made her the heroine of the party. She had the figure and face of her son, with the same continual mirth and humour in the eye.

placed young Sam in the collegiate school at Worcester, from which, as founder's kin, he was in his seventeenth year elected scholar of Worcester College in Oxford. Being a quick, clever lad, he was a favourite with the master, Dr. Miles; but what already drew most attention to him was his mimicry of grown-up people, his talent for making fun of his elders and superiors. Arthur Murphy, on whom Johnson so repeatedly urged the duty of writing some account of him that he began to collect materials for it, found upon inquiry a tradition remaining in the school that the boys often suffered on a Monday for preferring Sam's laughter to their lessons, for, whenever he had dined on the Sunday with any of his relatives, his jokes and imitations next day at the expense of the family entertaining him had all the fascination of a stage play. Murphy adds his belief that he acted Punch in disguise during his student career at Oxford.

He certainly acted, without disguise, many kinds of extravagance there, of which the principal drift was to turn the laugh, when he could, against the provost of his college, with of course the unavoidable result of penalties and impositions, which became themselves however but the occasion for a new and broader laugh. Provost Gower was a pedant of the most uncompromising school, and Foote would present himself to receive his reprimand with great apparent gravity and submission, but with a large dictionary under his arm; when, on the Doctor beginning in his usual pompous manner with a surprisingly long word, he would immediately interrupt him, and, after begging pardon with great formality, would produce his dictionary, and pretending to find the meaning of the word would say 'Very well, sir; now please to go on.' It is clear, however, that under no extent of laxity of discipline could this be expected to go on; and accordingly we find him, in the third year of his under-graduateship, after an interval of gaiety at Bath, flaming suddenly through Oxford in society not very worshipful, attended by two footmen, and with a ridiculous quantity of lace about his clothes; taken to task more gravely than usual for so marked an indecorum; and quitting college in consequence, in 1740, 'but without any public censure.'

That he quitted it, in spite of all these follies, with a very respectable amount of scholarship, there can be no question; and this he now carried up to London, entering himself of the Temple. It had been settled that the law was to be the making of his fortune, ever since a scene of mimicry at his father's dinner-table some four years before this date, long remembered and related by his mother, when he had taken measure of the judicial wit of no less than three justices of quorum in an imaginary affiliation case.



case. Nevertheless it did not prefigure the woolsack, all that ensued to him from a nearer acquaintance with the law being greater facilities for laughing at it. But it is difficult to say what effect the tragedy of his uncles may have had on the outset of his studies. Hardly had he begun residence in the Temple, when this frightful catastrophe became the talk of the town.

A family quarrel of long standing existed between these two brothers of Mrs. Foote (Sir John Dineley Goodere, and Capt. Samuel Goodere, R.N.), and had very recently assumed a character of such bitterness, that the baronet, who was unmarried and somewhat eccentric in his ways, had cut off the entail of the family estate in favour of his sister's issue, to the exclusion of the captain, who nevertheless had seized the occasion of an unexpected visit of his brother to Bristol, in the winter of 1741, somewhat ostentatiously to seek a reconciliation with him; having previously arranged that on the very night of their friendly meeting a pressgang, partly selected from his own ship, the *Ruby* man-of-war, and partly from the *Vernon* privateer, both lying at the time in the King's-road, should seize and hurry Sir John into a boat on the river, and thence secrete him in the purser's cabin of the *Ruby*. The whole thing was wonderfully devised to assume the character of one of the outrages far from uncommon in seaports in those days; but as usual the artifice was overdone. The Captain's publicly-acted reconciliation directed suspicion against him; even among the savage instruments of his dreadful deed, some sparks of feeling and conscience were struck out; and one man who saw through a crevice in the woodwork of the cabin two of the worst ruffians in the ship strangle the poor struggling victim, swore also, in confirmation of the evidence of others who had witnessed their commander's watch outside the door at the supposed time of the murder and his subsequent sudden disappearance inside, that in about a minute after the deed was done he saw an arm stretched out, and a *white hand* on the throat of the deceased.

Captain Goodere would have defended himself by the plea that he had no part in the murder, and that his share in the seizure of his brother was only to withdraw him from improper influences until a settlement of the question whether his eccentricities should not render him incapable of disposing of his property; the friends of the murderer on the other hand would have defended *him* on the plea, that the act, if he had indeed committed it, was not that of a person in his senses. But as occasional eccentricities are no definition of perfect madness, so neither can any murderer be considered so perfectly sane as to be entitled to escape responsibility on proof  
that

that he may sometimes have lost self-command;\* and Capt. Goodere, therefore, was duly and deservedly hanged; and a portion of the family inheritance came to young Sam Foote; and Mr. Hesiod Cooke took him to his club, as already we have faithfully recorded.

Those were great days for clubs and taverns. The Grecian, in Devereux-court, still retained some portion of that fame for Temple wit which made Steele propose to date from it his learned papers in the *Tatler*, and here was Foote's morning lounge; while in the evening he sought the Bedford in Covent-garden, which had succeeded lately to the theatrical glories of Tom's and Will's, and where, to be one of the knot of well-dressed people that met there and modestly called themselves the world, was of course a natural object of youthful aspiration. For the vicinity of the theatre was still the head-quarters of wit; and still the ingenious apophthegm of Steele's passed current, that what the bank was to the credit of the nation the playhouse was to its politeness and good manners. Here accordingly breaks upon us the first clear glimpse of our hero. A well-known physician and theatrical critic of the day, Dr. Barrowby, sketches him for us. One evening, he says, he saw a young man extravagantly dressed out in a frock suit of green and silver lace, bag wig, sword, bouquet, and point-ruffles, enter the room, and immediately join the critical circle at the upper end. Nobody recognised him; but such was the ease of his bearing, and the point and humour of remark with which he at once took part in the conversation, that his presence seemed to disconcert no one; and a sort of pleased buz of '*Who is he?*' was still going round the room unanswered, when a handsome carriage stopped at the door, he rose and quitted the room, and the servants announced that his name was Foote, that he was a young gentleman of family and fortune, a student of the Inner Temple, and that the carriage had called for him on its way to the assembly of a lady of fashion.

Any more definite notion of his pursuits within the next two years we fail to get, but he underwent some startling vicissitudes. For some months of the time he appears to have rented Charlton-house, once the family seat in Worcestershire; and here there is a pleasant story told of his having his former schoolmaster Doctor Miles to dine with him amidst his magnificence, when

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\* This detestable doctrine, which will always have its advocates, nor ever want the sapient sanction of British jurymen, was most offensive to the manly and robust sense of Doctor Johnson. 'He was,' says Sir John Hawkins, 'a great enemy to the present fashionable way of supposing worthless and infamous persons mad.'



the unworldly old pedagogue, amazed at the splendour, innocently asked his quondam pupil how much it might cost, and got for answer that he did not then know how much it might cost, but certainly soon *should* know how much it would bring. And doubtless this anticipation came very suddenly true; for an old schoolfellow told Murphy that he remembered dining with him in the Fleet within the same year, in company with a man named Waite, confined there for a fraudulent debt to the bank; when, Waite having supplied the turbot, venison, and claret for the feast, and young Foote the wit, humour, and jollity, never did he pass so cheerful a day. Murphy adds the surprising fact that his first essay as an author was written at about this time, and that it was 'a pamphlet giving an account of one of his uncles who was executed for murdering his other uncle.'

We have made unavailing search for this pamphlet, any account of which at second hand it is manifestly dangerous to take. But by those who profess to have seen it, it is represented to have been a quasi-defence of the justly-hanged captain; a sort of 'putting the best face' on the family discredit; though in what way this too-partial nephew could possibly prove that the one uncle did not deserve strangling publicly, without at the same time making it clear that the other uncle *did* deserve strangling privately, we are quite at a loss to comprehend. That he wrote some such pamphlet, however, seems certain, urged to it by hunger and the ten pounds of an Old Bailey bookseller; the subject continuing to occupy all the gossips and horror-mongers about town, the nephew being supposed to know more of 'the rights of it' than anybody else, and the condition of the publication being the suppression of his name as its writer. Such certainly was the extremity of his need at the moment, that on the day he took his manuscript to its very proper destination at the Old Bailey, 'he was,' says Cooke, 'actually obliged to wear his boots without stockings, and on his receiving his ten pounds he stopped at a hosier's in Fleet-street to remedy that defect;' but hardly had he issued from the shop when two old Oxford associates, arrived in London on a frolic, recognised him and bore him off to dinner at the Bedford; where, as the glass began to circulate, the state of his wardrobe came within view, and he was asked what the deuce had become of his stockings? 'Why,' said Foote, unembarrassed, 'I never wear any at this time of the year, till I am going to dress for the evening; and you see,' pulling his purchase out of his pocket, and silencing the laugh and the suspicion of his friends, 'I am always provided with a pair for the occasion.'

This anecdote rests on the authority of Mr. William Cooke,  
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commonly called Conversation Cooke, who put together half a century since, for Sir Richard Phillips's book-mart, a memoir of Foote not without many points of merit, though discrimination is not one of them; and who, with Murphy, fixes the date of the pamphlet at the period when its author, 'immersed in all the expensive follies of the times, had just outrun his first fortune.' His second fortune is supposed to have fallen to him on his father's death; but the dates and circumstances are not at all clear, and Mr. Cooke further confuses them by the statement that the worthy old magistrate, shortly before he died, had sanctioned his son's marriage with a young Worcestershire lady, and received them in Cornwall for the honeymoon; when, on their arrival one dreary January night, a serenade was heard which no one next morning could account for, and, the moment being carefully noted by Foote, it turned out afterwards to be exactly that of the consummation of the frightful tragedy at Bristol. 'Foote always asserted the fact of this occurrence,' says Cooke, 'with a most striking gravity of belief, though he could by no means account for it.' It may have been so, but the alleged marriage is equally difficult to account for, and would seem indeed to rest on no sufficient authority. No traces of any such settled connection are discoverable in Foote's career. The two sons that were born to him, were not born in wedlock; and when the maturer part of his life arrived, and the titled and wealthy crowded to his table, his home had never any recognised mistress. Indeed he used wittily to give as his laughing excuse for bachelorhood, that you must count a lady's age as you do a hand at picquet, twenty-five, twenty-six, twenty-seven, twenty-eight, twenty-nine, *sixty*; and he had no ambition to awake one morning, and find himself matched so unequally for the whole length of a life.

But confused as are some of the dates and details at the outset of his career, the main particulars may be given with reasonable confidence; and the second fortune which undoubtedly he inherited, he had as certainly spent before he was twenty-four years old. The thing was then easily to be done by a hand or two at hazard. In 1742 and '43 he topped the part of a fine gentleman upon town; dressing it to such perfection, in morning and evening equipment, and giving such a grace to his bag-wig and solitaire, his sword, muff, and rings, that he received the frequent compliment of being taken for a foreigner. At the opening of 1744, however, the scene had again changed with him, and he was once more to be found among the wits and critics at the Bedford, with as much sore necessity to live by his wits as they. In this second clearly discernible appearance of him, Doctor Barrowby reappears also; and Foote for once has the laugh somewhat



somewhat against him. A remnant of his newly-wasted fortune is clinging to him still in the shape of a gold repeater, in those times something of a rarity, which he ostentatiously parades with the surprised remark, 'Why, my watch does not go!' 'It soon *will* go,' quietly says Doctor Barrowby.

Since we last looked in at the Bedford, the theatres have taken new importance, and the critics found fresh employment, in a stage-success without parallel within living recollection. When Foote went first to that coffee-house, one of its habitués was a lively little man who supplied it with 'red port;' with whom he formed an acquaintance; whom he then described living in Durham-yard with three quarts of vinegar in the cellar, calling himself a wine-merchant; and whom he afterwards knew living in the same locality, when Durham-yard had become the Adelphi, and the little wine-merchant one of the first men in England for princely wealth and popularity. The close of 1741 saw Garrick's triumph at Goodman's-fields; and the two short years since, which had squandered Foote's fortunes, had firmly established Garrick's as the chief English actor and ornament of Drury-lane. But what the public so freely admitted, there were still critics and actors to dispute. There is no end, as Voltaire says, to the secret capacity for factions; and apart altogether from professional jealousy, when the town has nothing better to quarrel about, a success on the stage will set everybody by the ears. Very loud and violent just now, therefore, were the factions at the Bedford; and prominent was the part taken in them by Foote, and by an Irish actor whom some strength of intellect as well as many eccentricities distinguished from his fellows, already by his half-century of years (he was born before the battle of the Boyne) entitled to be called a veteran, and destined to live for more than half a century longer, but never at any time so generally successful as his particular successes might have seemed to warrant, and now not unnaturally impatient of such complete and universal favour as little Garrick had suddenly leaped into. For the truth was, that Garrick's re-introduction of the natural school had already been attempted by this Irish actor, Charles Macklin; who, undaunted by Mr. Rich's dismissal of him from the Lincoln's Inn Theatre twenty years back as far too familiar, and wanting the grand *hoity-toity* vein, had nevertheless since steadily persisted, and at last, eight months before Garrick appeared, got the town with him in Shylock; but there, unhappily, had been stopped by his hard voice and his harsh face, the tones in the one like the strokes of a hammer, the lines in the other like cordage. But for the time at least, heartily as he afterwards laughed at him, Foote's sympathy went without stint to the dis-

appointed veteran; and together they formed a strong third party among the critics, standing between the foes and friends of Garrick; maintaining that his familiarity was right, but was not familiar *enough*, and that he wanted the due amount of spirit and courage to take tragedy completely off the stilts. Of this view Foote became a startling and powerful exponent, and his criticism, which took more of the wide range of the world than of the limited one of books, showed one thing undoubtedly, that, reckless as this young spendthrift's career had been, his quick natural talents had protected him against its most degrading influences; his practice of vice had not obscured his discernment of it, nor his experience of folly made his sense of it less keen; and thus early he was a man of influence in the society of the day, before he had written his first farce, or even set foot upon the stage.

Meanwhile graver matters became importunate with him, from which the only immediate relief seemed to lie in the direction at present most familiar to him. He had to replace the means his extravagance had wasted, and the tendency of his habits and tastes pointed to the stage. From telling shrewdly what should be done, to showing as naturally how to do it, the transition seems easy when the necessity is great; and Foote resolved to make the trial. He consulted with his friends, prominent among whom at this time were the celebrated Delavals—Francis, afterwards the baronet, and his brother, Lord Delaval—they were great lovers of the stage, and the help and co-operation of both confirmed his resolution. The time also peculiarly favoured it: for now occurred the dispute between the leading Drury-lane actors and Fleetwood, which ended in the violent rupture of Garrick and Macklin; when, on the former unexpectedly returning to his allegiance, the latter drew off with the best company he could get together at the moment, went to the little 'wooden theatre' in the Haymarket, and threw defiance at the patentees. The licensing-act prevented his taking money at the doors, but the public were 'admitted by tickets delivered by Mr. Macklin;' and by advertising and beginning with a concert, he evaded its other provisions. Foote joined the secession, and selected Othello for his opening part.

It was the part that Farquhar tried, and failed in; it was his friend Arthur Murphy's part, when *he* failed; it was his friend Delaval's, on the occasion of a grand private play at Lord Moxborough's, his brother-in-law; it was his imitator Tate Wilkinson's part, it was Barry's, it was Mossop's; and whether a man was to fail or succeed, to plant himself on the heights of tragedy, to occupy the lesser ground of comedy, or to fall through altogether, Othello seemed still the first object of approach; though less  
perhaps



perhaps as a main outwork of the citadel, than as offering, in the coloured face, a means of personal disguise often welcome to a debutant;—yet with all this it appears surprising that Foote, with his keen common sense and strong feeling for the ridiculous, should have chosen it. But some degree of gravity and enthusiasm is inseparable from youth, and as the part, moreover, was one that Garrick was held to have failed in, it was a bow remaining still to bend. ‘Here is Pompey,’ cried a wit from among the audience, when the little face-blackened man entered, in a regimental suit of King George the Second’s body-guard, with a flowing Ramilies wig, ‘but where is the tea-tray?’ Foote shares with old Quin in the fame of this celebrated joke, which was probably not without its effect in checking Garrick’s reappearance in a part, the mere colour and costume of which must have made such an object of him. And indeed this last was a point whereon Macklin and Foote had taken special counsel. Ever since Mr. Pope had nodded approval of his Shylock’s red hat, and said ‘it was very laudable,’ Macklin had been a great stickler for costume; and the Haymarket bill, announcing for the 6th February 1744 ‘a concert, after which *Othello*, *Othello* by a gentleman, being his first appearance on any stage,’ was not less careful to announce that ‘the character of *Othello* will be new dressed after the custom of his country.’

But the flowing eastern robe could not hide the actor’s defects. Foote failed in *Othello*, there can be no doubt. ‘Not but one could discover the scholar about the young fellow,’ said Macklin, ‘and that he perfectly knew what the author meant; but’ —. Nevertheless, on a reference to the bills, we find that he repeated it three times; on the 13th, 20th, and 23rd of the same month; and that on the 10th of the following month he again acted it for a benefit at Drury Lane, being there announced as ‘the gentleman who lately performed it in the Haymarket.’ He took the same course exactly with the next part he played, that of Lord Foppington; in which he is said to have been more successful, having had hints from Cibber himself on which he whimsically improved. Nor can it be doubted that in comedy he so far at once made his ground safe, that the public had always a certain welcome for him in parts, which, though leading ones, he seems to have chosen as not absolutely possessed by more successful competitors; and to which therefore, with occasional sallies into such extraneous matter as Shylock, he will be found upon the whole shrewdly to restrict himself. In the winter of 1744-45 he went over to Dublin, and played with some success at the Smock-alley theatre, then just opened by Thomas Sheridan,

Sheridan, the son of Swift's friend; and in the winter of 1745-46 he was installed as one of the regular company at Drury-lane. His venture so far had succeeded, and the course of his future life was marked out.

No account has been kept of his performances in Dublin; for though he is said to have drawn crowded houses, his wit was more remembered than his acting, and one of the jokes he made may therefore here be recorded instead of the parts he played. Being asked what impression was conveyed to him by the condition of the Irish peasantry, he declared that it had settled a question which before had been a constant plague to him, and he now knew what the English beggars did with their cast-off clothes. The comedies he appeared in at Drury-lane, the winter after his return, are in some degree evidence not only of the character of his acceptance with the public, but of what he felt, himself, in regard to his powers. He played, four times, Sir Harry Wildair in Farquhar's *Constant Couple*, with Peg Woffington, herself the once famous Sir Harry, for his Lady Lurewell. He repeated Lord Foppington, in Vanbrugh's *Relapse*, several times; with Mrs. Woffington as Berinthia, and Mrs. Clive as Miss Hoyden. He revived Addison's comedy of the *Drummer*, which had not been presented for some years, that he might perform Tinsel. He played Sir Novelty Fashion in Cibber's *Love's Last Shift*. He played Sir Courtly Nice in Crowne's comedy of that name. He played the Younger Loveless in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*, on the occasion of Mrs. Woffington selecting it for her benefit. He repeated, five or six times, the part of Dick in Vanbrugh's *Confederacy*. And finally, he appeared in the Duke of Buckingham's *Rehearsal*, and gave, to the general surprise and delight of many audiences, and the particular consternation of some individuals among them, his version of the celebrated Bayes.

In this selected list one cannot but recognise something of the personal wit and humorous peculiarity of the man. As the town would not have him in characters that would have carried him out of himself, he darted at once into the other extreme of playing characters closely resembling himself, and took his audiences into confidence with his personal weaknesses and failings. What he now played, he was or had been. He was the graceless son, the adventurer with the handsome leg; he was the flimsy fop and dandy, who had made a god of his tailor and scorned essential for non-essential things; he was the very embodiment of the heedless, light-hearted coxcomb, the type of youthful spirits and recklessness let loose upon the world. But what a man is, he does not always look; and in such plays as these,



these, it was Foote's disadvantage that his appearance told against him. In person he was short, with a tendency to stoutness; his face even in youth was round, fleshy, and flat, and his nose had breadth, without strength or delicacy; though he had a pleasing expression of mouth, more refined than in a man of his temperament might perhaps have been looked for; and he had an eye in whose sparkling depths lay a spring of humour unfailing and perpetual, which would have raised from insignificance or repulsiveness features fifty times as coarse or inelegant. In that dramatic gallery of the Garrick Club which may hereafter, to Horace Walpole's traveller from New York, or Mr. Macaulay's from New Zealand, be as the Nineveh of a delightful art even now lost and past away, there hangs a copy of the portrait by Reynolds in possession of the Duke of Newcastle, in which all this is visible yet; for though years of indulgence have done their work, and you look on the hardened clumsy features, the settled look, the painful stoop and infirmity of his later life, you see through them still what as a young man Foote must have been—a shrewd, keen, observant, mirthful, thoroughly intellectual man, but not exactly Sir Harry Wildair, Dick Amlet, or my Lord Foppington. And so the matter seems to have struck himself, notwithstanding the amount of favour he received in such parts; for the expression is attributed to him, 'If they won't have me in tragedy, and I am not fit for comedy, what the deuce *am* I fit for?' A question which it was possible to answer more satisfactorily when he had once played the character of Bayes. It is not unlikely that this performance shaped entirely his subsequent career.

Garrick introduced imitations into Bayes. The tradition of the part had connected it with Dryden, even to the great old poet's full suit of black velvet; but Garrick took off the black velvet, put on a shabby old-fashioned black coat, and presented a mere quizzable, conceited, solemn ass of a poet, going about reciting his own verses. Cibber condemned the innovation; and Lord Chesterfield said that Bayes had lost dignity by it, and, no longer the burlesque of a great poet, was become no better than a garretteer; but besides that the character is really no higher than this, the hearty enjoyment of his audiences justified Garrick; and when, in the delivery of the verses, he gave a succession of comical pictures of the actors most familiar to them, they laughed and cheered him to the echo. Garrick's idea Foote now seized, and worked out after his own fashion. What was mirthful exaggeration in Garrick, in him became bitter sarcasm; the licence Garrick had confined to the theatre, Foote carried with keener aim beyond it; the bad actors on the

the mimic stage he kept in countenance by worse actors on the real one; he laughed alike at the grave public transactions, and the flying absurdities, of the day; at the debates in parliament, the failures of the rebels, the follies of the quidnuncs; at politicians, play-writers, players; and as, flash upon flash, the merriment arose, Foote must at last have felt where in all respects his real strength lay, and that there was a vacant place in theatres he might of right take possession of, a ground to be occupied without rival or competitor. Davies says, no doubt truly, that what he improvised and added to Bayes was as good as the original, indeed not distinguishable from it but by greater novelty of allusion. Why not strike out, then, another Bayes more strictly suited to himself, equip himself with character and wit provided solely from his own brain, and, with the high claim and double strength of author as well as actor, carry the town by storm?

The last night of his performance at Drury-lane was at the close of April, 1746; the interval he employed in drawing out his scheme, and getting together a small band of actors devoted to him who would help in its accomplishment; and in the *General Advertiser* of the 22nd of April, 1747, appeared the following advertisement:

‘At the Theatre in the Haymarket this day will be performed a Concert of Music, with which will be given *gratis* a new entertainment called the *Diversions of the Morning*, to which will be added a farce taken from the *Old Batchelor* called the *Credulous Husband*, Fondle-wife by Mr. Foote; with an Epilogue to be spoken by the B—d—d Coffee House. To begin at 7.’

The little theatre was crowded; but the *Diversions*, as then given, was never printed, and its character can only be inferred from such casual recollections as have survived, and from the general effect produced. It was such an entertainment as till then had not been attempted. Perhaps the closest resemblance to it was Sir William Davenant’s, of nearly a century earlier; when he evaded the general closure of the theatres, and baffled the stern watch of the puritans, by his entertainment at Rutland-house ‘after the manner of the ancients.’ After the manner of the ancients, too, were Foote’s diversions; yet such as no Englishman had attempted before him. In introducing *himself* upon the scene, it is true, he did only what Ben Jonson had done; in laughing at brother authors and rivals, he had the example of both Decker and old Ben; in satirizing politicians and statesmen, he but followed Fielding and Gay; in ‘taking off’ the peculiarities of actors, Estcourt and Garrick were before him,—but no man, since the old Athenian, had dared to put  
living



living people upon the stage, not simply in their impersonal foibles or vices, but with the very trick of voice that identified them, and with the dress in which they walked the streets. In the epilogue of the Bedford coffee-house, the wits and critics of that celebrated place of resort were shown in ludicrous dispute; a notorious physician, less remarkable for professional eminence than for the oddity of his appearance and the meddling singularity of his projects, was good-humouredly laughed at; a quack oculist, of wide repute and indisputably bad character, was more bitterly ridiculed; and the first performance had not ceased when Foote received the name which always afterwards clung to him, however in some respects strangely misapplied, of the English Aristophanes.

That a second performance should if possible be prevented, would also seem to have been determined before the first was over. The actors at once took up arms against their merciless assailant, and applied the licensing-act against him.\* Even if there could be a doubt as to his own spoken dialogue, the portion of Congreve's *Old Batchelor* he had acted (and where, by the way, Davies, who never admits him any actor's merit out of his own pieces, says that in Fondlewife he merited and gained much applause from the vividness of his reproduction of the acting of Colley Cibber) brought him clearly within its provisions. On the second night, accordingly, some time before the hour of admission, a strong posse of constables from Bow-street were seen stationed at the doors, who duly drove away the audience as they approached, and 'left the laughing Aristophanes,' as Mr. Cooke observes, 'to consider of new ways and means for his support.'

The consideration did not occupy him long. The first night was the 22nd April; on the 23rd the constables put the law in force; and the *General Advertiser* of Friday the 24th April, 1747, contained an advertisement to this effect:

'On Saturday noon, exactly at 12 o'clock, at the new Theatre in the Haymarket, Mr. Foote begs the favour of his friends to come and

\* The virulence of the feeling aroused may be estimated by some lines which the Drury-lane prompter, Chetwood, thinks worth preserving in that curious little volume about the stage which he published so early as 1749.

Thou mimic of Cibber—of Garrick thou ape!

Thou Fop in Othello! thou Cypher in shape! &c.

Thou mummer in action! thou coffee-house jester!

Thou mimic *sans* sense! mock hero in gesture!

Can the squeak of a puppet present us a Quin?

Or a pigmy, or dwarf, shew a giant's design? &c.

Can a *Foot* represent us the length of a *yard*?

Where, then, shall such insolence meet its reward?

&c. &c. &c.

drink

drink a dish of Chocolate with him ; and 'tis hoped there will be a great deal of Comedy and some joyous spirits ; he will endeavour to make the Morning as Diverting as possible. Tickets for this entertainment to be had at George's Coffee-House, Temple-Bar, without which no person will be admitted. N.B. *Sir Dilbury Diddle will be there, and Lady Betty Frisk has absolutely promised.*

Against a spirit that thus laughed defiance at its adversaries, turned injuries to commodities, and rose more mirthful and buoyant from what to any other had been hopeless depression and defeat, the clauses of Acts of Parliament and the staffs of constables were uplifted in vain. The magistrates of London never issued another warrant against Foote.

But would he really give chocolate, as he promised ? A great many seem to have gone to the theatre expecting it ; and Sir Dilbury Diddle and Lady Betty Frisk (or in other words, according to a paper of the day, 'many among the nobility and lovers of the drama in high life, who dreaded and were attracted by the personality of his satire') were particularly early in their attendance. All was intense expectation in the small densely-crowded theatre, when Foote came forward, and with a respectful bow acquainted them 'that as he was training some young performers for the stage, he would, with their permission, whilst chocolate was getting ready, proceed with his instructions before them.' That was all his secret. The constables had not dispersed even his little company of actors ; there they were still, crouching concealed under the service of chocolate ; gathered from obscure corners of theatres or streets, wherever his quick sure eye could detect them ; the ragged regiment Churchill afterwards laughed at, as

' — the legion which our summer Bayes  
From alleys here and there contrived to raise ;'

but in perfect drill and fitness for his purpose ; and among them an actor of small parts, Castallo, whom he thought comparable to Nokes for a quiet humour and strict propriety ; and a youth, afterwards known as Ned Shuter, whom he picked up marking at a billiard-table, and made one of the first low comedians of the day. With these his Diversions began, and were repeated no less than forty times. Now, as his pupils, he taught them how to act ; now, as old actors, he rehearsed the finest scenes of the stage with them ; now, as critics, wits, authors, or politicians, he improvised with them dialogues of passing allusion to the time ; not an object passed at the moment on which his eye could rest, that he did not turn, like Biron, to a mirth-moving jest, nor were his hearers less ravished at the 'voluble discourse' than those of the noble of Navarre. The

actors



actors sounded a retreat; and further opposition was not offered to even the more direct competition with the theatres implied in Foote's change of his entertainment from morning to evening. It was accordingly announced, in June, that

'At the request of several persons who are desirous of spending an hour with Mr. Foote, but find the time inconvenient, instead of Chocolate in the morning Mr. Foote's friends are desired to drink a dish of Tea with him at half an hour past 6 in the evening.'

And from this time *Mr. Foote's Tea* became an admitted theatrical attraction.

It brought him an offer from Covent-garden in the winter of this year, where he not only gave it several times, but repeated Bayes and Fondlewife; put new strength into it, in the following January, by a new prologue; for his benefit, in February, ushered it in by his performance of Cibber's favourite Sir Novelty Fashion; and, in the following month, opened with it again at the Haymarket, where he soon after varied it with what he called an *Auction of Pictures*, the advertisements announcing that 'This evening At his Auction Room, late the little theatre in the Haymarket, Mr. Foote will exhibit a choice Collection of Pictures, &c,' which proved, indeed, a collection so choice, that, before the summer season closed, it was repeated nearly fifty times, and in the winter was again resumed. Ready wit and shrewd observation were as usual manifest in this seizure of the great weakness of the day as a new vehicle of entertainment and satire. Auctions were at this time, and much later, the favourite morning occupation of the fashionable and idle, and agencies for all kinds of deception; they encouraged the cheat and impostor, degraded public taste, and, with a knock-down of the hammer, brought the worst and the best things to the same level. For, to your truly great auctioneer, everything was alike, as he was himself, with that inimitably fine manner of his, alike in everything. He had as much to say upon a Ribbon as upon a Raffaele.

Nor was it only this legitimate game for satire that Foote ran down in his *Auction*, but, in the lots exposed for sale, his wit again took the range of town, and made its quarry of whatever invited attack most prominently, whether in law or in medicine, in parliament or on the stage. He who would now derive any adequate notion of this from his writings, will nevertheless search them in vain. Neither the *Diversions* nor the *Auction* was printed; and though portions of both reappeared in the little comedy called *Taste*, it is manifest that in this, as in every similar piece of direct satire (the *Orators* for example), what we now read as Foote's is but the faint reflection of what he actually uttered.

The

The allusions in the correspondence of the time, the singular personal hostility he had already provoked, the mixed deference, fear, and popularity which thus early attended him, are not to be explained simply by the accident of a coarse personality here and there in his imitations, but by the fact that he undisguisedly appeared before the public as a Satirist, that the entire groundwork of his entertainment was Satire, and that his confessed aim from the first was the ridicule of what was ridiculous, in whatever walk of society he might find it. No doubt a distinction existed between his regular published pieces, and these earlier ones which he never sent to the press; for though living characters were hit off in both, the context which has preserved the one was such as to render the other perishable. When you can only read through the help of allusions which have all passed away, the attempt to read would be useless labour. In this *Auction of Pictures*, he laughed at the Westminster justice, Sir Thomas de Veil, who had made himself the too ready instrument of the actors in opposing his first entertainment; he ridiculed Mr. Cock the fashionable auctioneer, and he satirized the extravagances of Orator Henley; but all this was as temporary in itself as the witty and versatile comment that set it forth, and both have descended to oblivion. When, however, in his more regular productions, he took higher aim; when he ridiculed the cant of methodism, denounced the mischiefs of quackery, or exposed the impostures of law; when, himself the companion of men of rank and large possessions, he attacked the vulgarity of rank-and-money-worship, and did not spare the knavery or false pretensions of either birth or wealth,—his satire, even when applied to persons, had the claim to become impersonal through time; and to remain as a warning to vice and folly, long after the vicious and the fool should be forgotten.

Yet in this we would not assume any decision of a question beset with delicate and difficult considerations. In the most apparently justifiable instances of individual satire, there is at best a violation involved which perhaps no individual amendment, or even general benefit, may compensate; and the question must always remain whether he who assumes, is entitled to exert, a censorship over morals and manners. But in Foote's case, as in every other, it is right to state the matter fairly; and however mistaken the belief may have been in him (as he had afterwards bitter reason to feel), he seems clearly to have believed himself within the just limits of Comedy, even in 'taking off' mere folly and absurdities without vice, as long as his imitations of them should be faithful, as long as the singularities themselves should be sufficiently prominent and  
known,



known, and, where caused by natural infirmities, should have been thrust forward with an indecent obtrusiveness which the very sense of infirmity ought to have restrained. To this, we shall perhaps do no injustice to him if we add, what once fell from the lips of even so great a genius as Molière. 'I am manager of a theatre as well as author. I must make some money, as well as correct and instruct; and I am necessarily sometimes induced to consult the profit and interest of my company, at the expense of my own fame as an author.'

As an author, however, Foote's first published piece now awaits us. It was played, with the title of *The Knights*, when the run of the *Auction* had somewhat abated; and lives still among his writings, as it deserves to do. It is the first sprightly running of a wit, which to the last retained its sparkle and clearness. Its flow of dialogue is exquisitely neat, natural, and easy; in expression terse and characteristic always, and in tone exactly suited to its purpose. With neither the flippancy and pertness of mere farce, nor yet the elaboration and refinement of comedy, it hits with happy effect the medium between the two. It is just the writing that develops character, and is there content to stop. There is a story, but extremely slight, and only cared for till the characters are completely shown. For these exclusively, you perceive at once, the piece has been written; and nothing is added that can possibly be spared. One knight, a country quidnunc, has the most insatiable thirst for news, and not the remotest comprehension of politics; and the other, a wealthy miser, has a taste as insatiable for stale stories, and no other entertainment for his friends. And though confined within the compass of two acts, of which the scene is laid in a little inn in Herefordshire, with such elaborate skill in the dialogue is the full-length of each presented, and with an effect so thoroughly real, that it is as easy to believe both characters to have had living prototypes in Foote's day, as it would be difficult to believe that either has quite ceased to have his living representative in our own. The peculiarities are so true to the respective foibles and vices exhibited, the colouring so rich, the humorous extravagance of detail so racy and effective. He tells us, himself, that he had copied them from life, having met with them in a summer's expedition; and in that sense he challenges for them the merit, as one by no means common in his day, of being neither vamped from antiquated plays nor pilfered from French farces. The part of the miser, we should add, was played by Foote himself, who dressed it after a certain gentleman in the West of England, whose manners, Mr. Cooke tells us, he took off with uncommon humour and perspicuity.

But

But while thus engaged, a somewhat startling announcement in the *General Advertiser* greeted him. It came from the comedian Woodward, now one of the company at Drury-lane under Garrick's new lesseeship; and its purport was, that on a certain evening, by particular desire, Mr. Woodward would present his very good friend the Auctioneer with *Tit for Tat*, or one dish of his own Chocolate. He was to imitate him in Bayes and Othello, laugh at him as a tragic actor, and dress at him in a character of Otway's. Now Foote was no exception to the rule which makes the mimic intensely sensitive to mimicry, and he wrote at once to warn the Drury-lane manager that as it seems they are to be in a state of nature, he may as well mention that he has a plan for a short farce which will be wormwood to some, entertaining to many, and very beneficial to Samuel Foote. 'If your boxkeeper,' he added, 'for the future returns my name, he will cheat you of a sum not very contemptible to you, namely, five shillings.' Garrick had a pen, however, only less neat than his antagonist's; and though he retorted about the five shillings almost as poorly as Foote had introduced it, there was wit and point in what he added as to Woodward. 'Should he dress at you in the play, how can you be alarmed at it, or take it ill? The character, exclusive of some little immoralities which can never be applied to you, is that of a very smart, pleasant, conceited fellow, and a good mimic.' It was the character of Malagene in Otway's *Friendship in Fashion*; but as the play, and Woodward too, excellent comedian as he was, were hissed off the stage together for the mixed dullness and indecency of the entertainment they presented, nothing more on the subject need here be said. Its only interest for us is, that it shows us something thus early of that fitful intercourse of Garrick and Foote, which, while they lived, interfered not a little with the comfort of both, and cannot be omitted from any view of the character of either.

From the first they were marked out for rivalry. Distinguished by their superior intellectual qualities from all competitors in the profession to which they belonged, they had only each other to carry on a competition with; and if, as Pope says, war is necessary to the life of a wit upon earth, what are we to expect when the wit has another in the same line to make war upon, who is not only jester and player like himself, but rival manager too? The virtue must be more than human that refrains; and the 'state of nature' at which Foote hints in his letter, was accordingly very often renewed. No doubt also, Foote was almost always the aggressor. His wit was ever at its best with a victim wincing under it, and Garrick's too obvious weaknesses



weaknesses were a temptation difficult to be resisted. Gravely to dispute the genius of such a man would have been in Foote himself a weakness less pardonable, but in Garrick's own restless distrust of it, in his perpetual fidget of *self*-doubt and suspicion, in his abundance of small social defects, the occasion for laughter was incessant. Foote came into the Bedford one night and kept him on the rack for an hour with the account of a most wonderful actor whom he had that instant seen. He had been so moved by spoken words, he declared, as he could not till then have thought possible. Nothing like it had occurred in his experience. It was an effect to make itself felt far and wide. The manifest suffering of his listener at last became so pitiful that Foote good-naturedly brought it to a close by asking him what he thought of the histrionic talents of Mr. Pitt? when Garrick's glad surprise broke out into unaffected enthusiasm, and he declared, as he seems truly to have felt, that if Pitt had chosen the stage he might have been immeasurably the first actor upon it.

There was also in Garrick another kind of weakness or suffering which Foote's jokes never spared, and of which we have heard many whimsical examples from the poet and wit who is happily still the living link between that age and our own. 'Garrick lately invited Hurd,' said Foote to a friend of Mr. Rogers's, 'to dine with him in the Adelphi; and after dinner, the evening being very warm, they walked up and down in front of the house. As they passed and repassed the dining-room windows, Garrick was in a perfect agony; for he saw that there was a thief in one of the candles which were burning on the table, and yet Hurd was a person of such consequence that he could not turn away from him to prevent the waste of his tallow.' Another, Mr. Rogers was fond of relating, and told with infinite humour. At the Chapter coffee-house, Foote and his friends were making a contribution for the relief of a poor fellow, a decayed player, who was nick-named the Captain of the Four Winds because his hat was worn into four spouts. Each person of the company dropped his mite into the hat, as it was held out to him. 'If Garrick hears of this,' exclaimed Foote, 'he will certainly send us *his* hat.'

That Garrick was not absolutely a mean or illiberal man, there is nevertheless abundant proof; but he began the world, as Johnson expresses it, with a great hunger for money, and what at the outset of life was a commendable feeling in him, became in later life a habit of which he could not always divest himself, and which exposed very often to undeserved derision a really kind and open nature. In the main, however, the

the impression derived from the great run of Foote's jokes on this subject is rather friendly and even cordial than otherwise. 'There is a witty satirical story of Foote,' says Johnson. 'He had a small bust of Garrick placed upon his bureau. "You may be surprised," said he, "that I allow him to be so near my gold;—but you will observe he has no hands?"' The joke is a good one, but a man would hardly so place an object displeasing to him that his eye would have to rest upon it daily and hourly, for the sake of making fifty jokes infinitely better; and the sarcasm is less worth remembering than the friendly good-will lurking under it. Another story is told of a somewhat pompous announcement, at one of Foote's dinner-parties when the Drury-lane manager was among the guests, of the arrival of '*Mr. Garrick's servants*;' 'Oh, let them wait,' cried the wit, adding, in an affected under-tone to his own servant, but sufficiently loud to be generally heard; 'but, James, be sure you lock up the pantry.' A third, which continues to exhibit them in cordial intercourse, is of their leaving the Bedford together one night when Foote had been the entertainer, and on his pulling out his purse to pay the bill, a guinea dropped. Impatient at not immediately finding it, 'Where on earth can it be gone to?' he said. 'Gone to the devil, I think,' rejoined Garrick, who had sought for it everywhere. 'Well said, David,' cried Foote, 'let you alone for making a guinea go farther than anybody else.'

The friendly feeling may often be imperilled by a laugh, but the laugh is never without a friendly feeling. It is the same when he insinuates a skilful compliment to Garrick into his comedy of the *Devil on Two Sticks*, and is careful to qualify it with the hint that the Devil himself could not match him at a bargain; or when, in the great scene of the Society of Antiquaries in the *Nabob*, he couples his veneration for Shakespeare with a 'Queen Anne's farthing.' The bane and the antidote are still found together. Nor could Garrick himself help laughing at his friend's dry mention of his Hampton temple to Shakespeare, when, replying to one of the attacks upon his theatre in which all the authorities of the Fathers had been quoted to show the Heathen tendency of such entertainments, Foote took occasion to say: 'I never heard that Mr. Garrick sacrificed to Pan, or Mr. Rich danced a jig in honour of Cybele. The former gentleman has, indeed, it is said, dedicated a temple to a certain divinity called Σχαιοπαις, before whose shrine frequent libations are made, and on whose altar the fat of venison (a viand grateful to the deity) is seen often to smoke; but these profanations never entered the theatre, nor do I believe that any of the  
players



players ever assisted at the sacrifices ; so this must be considered as a mere piece of personal superstition, for which the man, and not the profession, is accountable.' Garrick could no more have resented gravely this comical hit at his imperfect hospitalities, than Shakespeare the pleasant allusion to his deer-stealing propensities. In a word, we think it clear that Garrick came within the limitation of a celebrated principle first laid down by Foote, that you ought not to run the chance of losing your friend for your joke unless your joke happens to be better than your friend. It was never worth while in this case quite to put the friendship in peril.

The always ready scholarship of Foote, let us add, appears to have given him an advantage over Garrick even where otherwise Garrick might have held himself supreme, namely, in ordinary conversation. Cooke says that it yielded him an astonishing command of topics ; that while Garrick's manner was more pleasing, he had nothing of the give and take of the other, or his exhaustless variety of resource ; and that in reality it was out of the abundance of his knowledge Foote dared to give his wit the reckless privilege it took, and to display always so little fear of the consequences. Nor was it only in scholarship, or the widest ordinary range of a man of wit, that he made so ready and great a figure. Charles James Fox told Mr. Rogers that Lord William Bentinck once invited Foote to meet him and some others at dinner in St. James's-street, and that they were rather angry at Lord William for having done so, expecting that Foote would prove only a bore, and a check on their conversation. 'But,' said Fox, 'we soon found that we were mistaken. Whatever we talked about,—whether fox-hunting, the turf, or any other subject,—Foote instantly took the lead, and delighted us all.'

The scholarship, as we have seen, is frankly admitted by Johnson himself, no partial witness, who also gives Foote the superiority over every one he had heard in what he calls humorous narrative. Such was the happiness of his manner in that kind of relation, he says, that he never saw the stupidity it could not rouse or the arrogance it could not subdue. Pointing out on another occasion the superior gaiety, delicacy, and elegance of Garrick's conversation, he added that Foote nevertheless provoked much more laughter ; and though he might have the air of a buffoon paid for entertaining the company, it was that of one who well deserved his hire. Thus encouraged, Boswell ventured one day to remark how superior a tragic actor must always be to those who only make us laugh. 'If Betterton and Foote were to walk into this room, you would respect Betterton

much more than Foote.' 'Sir,' said Johnson, 'if Betterton were to walk into this room with Foote, Foote would soon drive him out of it. Foote, Sir, *quatenus* Foote, has powers superior to them all.'

We shall perhaps amuse the reader by putting this remark to proof. Garrick and Foote were among the company one day at the dinner-table of Lord Mansfield. Many grave people were there, and the manager of Drury-lane was on his best good-company behaviour. Every one listened deferentially to him as he enlarged on the necessity of prudence in all the relations of life, and drew his illustration from Churchill's death, which was then the talk of the town. No one would have supposed it possible to dislodge him from such vantage-ground as this, surrounded by all the decorums of life, and with a Lord Chief Justice at the head of the table. But Foote suddenly struck in. He said that every question had two sides, and he had long made up his mind on the advantages implied in the fact of *not* paying one's debts. In the first place it presupposed some time or other the possession of fortune to be able to *get* credit. Then, living on credit was the art of living without the most troublesome thing in the whole world, which was money. It saved the expense and annoyance of keeping accounts, and made over all the responsibility to other people. It was the panacea for the cares and embarrassments of wealth. It checked and discountenanced avarice; while, people being always more liberal of others' goods than their own, it extended every sort of encouragement to generosity. And would any one venture to say that paying one's debts could possibly draw to us such anxious attention from our own part of the world while we live, or such sincere regrets when we die, as *not* paying them? All which, Foote put with such whimsical gravity, and supported with such a surprising abundance of sarcastic illustration, that in the general laughter against Garrick no laugh was heartier than Lord Mansfield's.

That Foote was able to pay his own debts at the time, and so far was independent of his argument, may perhaps be inferred from his resort to it in this dignified company; and as we have anticipated thus far, his introduction to Johnson, which dated many years before the Chief Justice's dinner, and indeed followed soon after Garrick's production of *Irene* at Drury-lane, may here most fitly be added. It took place at the house of Fitzherbert, one of Johnson's earliest London friends, and whose steady friendship for Foote (which descended to his family, for his eldest son, the brother of Lord St. Helens, was Foote's executor) is no mean evidence to character. 'Having no good opinion of the fellow,' he said, describing the incident  
long



long afterwards to Boswell, 'I was resolved not to be pleased; and it is very difficult to please a man against his will. I went on eating my dinner pretty sullenly, affecting not to mind him. But the dog was so very comical, that I was obliged to lay down my knife and fork, throw myself back in my chair, and fairly laugh it out. No, Sir, he was irresistible.' After this we find more frequent traces of intercourse between them than might be inferred from that tone of Johnson's later life; but he never completely forgave even the threat to bring him on the stage in connection with the Cock-lane ghost, though this was only a retort for a contemptuous allusion of his own, and was at once abandoned if ever seriously entertained, as Murphy expressly tells us with 'no ill-will on either side.\*' At unexpected times and in unlooked-for places we meet them together. It was at Foote's dinner-table Johnson made the memorable disclosure of having written, in a garret in Exeter-street, one of the most admired of the speeches of Mr. Pitt; it is Foote who tells the story of Johnson's Jacobite sympathies breaking out so strangely, on their visiting Bedlam together, when he again and again returned to the cell of the poor furious madman, who, while beating his straw, supposed he was beating the Duke of Cumberland; it is from Foote he quotes the rebuke to Lord Loughborough for his ill-judged ambition to associate with the wits, 'What can he mean by coming among us? He is not only dull himself, but the cause of dullness in others;' and they were still on familiar terms when Johnson visited Paris more than twenty years later, and even Boswell could not but indulge a laugh at the wit's description of the travelling philosopher. But our subject calls us back to the time at which the retrospect of Foote's career may be resumed, nor could anything restore us to it more appropriately than one of Johnson's most amusing reminiscences.

After running through one of his fortunes Foote was in difficult straits for money, and was induced to listen to the overtures of a small-beer brewer, who, in consideration of his large social acquaintance and unbounded popularity, offered him a sleeping-partner's share in the profits of the concern if he would but recommend the beer among his friends. Fitzherbert was one of the friends who took it in consequence; but it became so bad that the servants resolved not to drink it, though they found themselves at some loss in what way to notify their resolution. Knowing Foote's connection with the beer, they were afraid of offending

\* Something of the earlier feeling seems to have returned when he heard of Foote's death. 'Did you think he would so soon be gone?' he wrote to Mrs. Thrale, his thoughts instinctively turning to Falstaff. 'Life, says Falstaff, is a shuttle. He was a fine fellow in his way, and the world is really impoverished by his sinking glories. I would have his life written with diligence.'

their master, by whom they also knew Foote to be much cherished as a companion. At last they fixed upon a little black boy, who was rather a favourite, to be their deputy, and deliver their remonstrance; and having invested him with the whole authority of the kitchen, he was to inform Mr. Fitzherbert, in all their names, upon a certain day, that they would drink Foote's small beer no longer. As fortune would have it, however, on that day Foote happened to dine at Fitzherbert's, and this boy served at table; when he was so delighted with Foote's stories, and merriment, and grimace, that when he went down stairs he told them, 'This is the finest man I have ever seen. I will not deliver your message. I will drink his small beer.'

The fortune he had just spent, we grieve to say, was the third. It fell to him from the death of a relation of his mother's, immediately after the success of the *Knights*; and on the strength of it, if Mr. Cooke is to be believed, he set up a dashing carriage with *iterum, iterum, iterumque* painted on the panel; contributed largely for some time, in companionship with his friends the Delavals, to the splendours and extravagance of London dissipation; and then 'moved off' to the Continent to add one more dupe to the intrigues and fripperies of the French nation.' It is certain that he was absent from London between 1749 and 1752, in which latter year he presented to Garrick the little comedy of *Taste*, for which the manager of Drury-lane, again on the best possible terms with him, both wrote and spoke the prologue. This piece was little more than a selection from the characters in his *Auction* and *Diversions*, with a thread of story sufficient to connect them for dramatic purposes; but it shows of what genuine stuff those early entertainments must have been composed, and it fairly justifies the claim he makes in its dedication to his friend Delaval, that the critics are not to call him presumptuous for dignifying so short a performance with the name of a comedy until they can prove that its scenes and persons are burlesqued or untrue to nature. He also reminds his friend how often their conversations had turned to the distinctions between comedy and farce, 'for in whatever dissipation the world may suppose our days to have been consumed, many, many hours have been consecrated to other subjects than generally employ the giddy and gay.' Nor is this the only intimation which now went out to the public that Foote was returning to their service from far different associations and employments. The little comedy was not acted for his own emolument, but was a gift to an ingenious and humorous man, James Worsdale (the Jemmy Worsdale who carried Pope's letters to Curll), an English painter whose misfortunes had driven him to the stage, whose treatment by Sir Godfrey Kneller induced



induced Walpole and others to befriend him, and whose personal history made the offering to him not inappropriate of a little comedy whose design was to satirize the ignorant affectation with which the fashion of the day gave eager welcome to anything with the appearance of age upon it, and turned away scornfully from modern art however meritorious. The stage cannot boast of more exquisite satire than Mr. Puff and Mr. Carmine, nor of any more legitimate comedy.

As an actor Foote himself did not re-enter it until the close of the following year, when, compelled to it doubtless by demands he could not longer supply in any other way, he played at Drury-lane the character of Sir Charles Buck in his *Englishman in Paris*, a little comedy written for Macklin and his daughter six months before, and in which they had singular success at Covent-garden. But before this re-appearance he had occupied more than usual of town-talk and gossip, of which Garrick makes jesting mention in a prologue on his return to Drury-lane. This prologue, it would seem, was encored every night; and the comedy itself had a success which, notwithstanding many clever and telling scenes, appears somewhat disproportioned to its merit, and to the more moderate success achieved by the better comedy of *Taste*. But he did not confine himself to his own pieces on this resumption of his place as an actor. Though the *Englishman in Paris* was played a surprising number of times, his *Tea* had often to be repeated, and the *Knights* was successfully revived with a new prologue by himself,—he also appeared many times in Fondlewife and Sir Courtly Nice, and added to his list of parts Ben in Congreve's *Love for Love*, and Captain Brazen in Farquhar's *Recruiting Officer*, both which he gave repeatedly. In the following year he went to the Hay-market, and in a summer entertainment laughed at Macklin's lecturing extravagances, and at some amusing quarrels of the ladies of the theatre, green-room squabbles of Mrs. Bellamy and Mrs. Woffington wherein certain public men were involved, that had been much the talk of the town. Then, early in the succeeding year (1756) he took an engagement at Covent-garden, where he produced, with a success far exceeding even the *Englishman in Paris*, a sequel to it with the title of the *Englishman Returned from Paris*, the object of which, as that of its predecessor had been to exhibit a sturdy young Briton in his first contact with effeminate French fripperies and fashion, was to show him now completely subdued by the same, and an object of scorn and pity to English beholders. Referring to the bills of the theatre we find that this Covent-garden engagement occupied him from February to May, and that in the course of it he repeated many times

times Fondlewife, Captain Brazen, and Sir Penurious Trifle; that he added to his new parts the Lady Pentweazel of his own little comedy, and the Sir Paul Plyant of Congreve's *Double Dealer* (a character in which Wilkes, who liked his acting, thought him particularly admirable); and that he advertised himself for Polonius in *Hamlet*, but before the night of performance came lost courage and withdrew. It is manifest, however, that the grand attraction of the year was his performance of Sir Charles Buck in the two pieces satirizing French morals and manners.

Meanwhile he had not been neglecting British fashions and foibles, pretenders, politicians, or players. He has taken his former place at the Bedford, and in his critical and satirical corner is again supreme. All who know him come early in the hope of being admitted of his party at supper, the less fortunate engage boxes near him, and wherever the sound of his voice is heard the table is in a roar. Since last we saw the place some new faces are there, but some familiar ones are gone. Old Macklin, weary of his doubtful successes on the stage, has actually set up a tavern of his own near the Bedford, on the present site of the Tavistock, where, by the alternation of a three-shilling ordinary with a shilling lecture, at both of which he is presiding deity, he supplies at once the bodily wants and what he conceives to be the mental deficiencies of the day. He is to make everybody orators, by teaching them *how* to speak; by way of teaching them also *what* to speak, he presents himself every other night with a discourse on some subject wherein he thinks the popular mind insufficiently informed; and whatever his subject, the harvest of ridicule for Foote is unfailing. The result was that people went to hear *him* rather than the lecturer, for, it being part of the plan to invite the audience to offer hints on the subject-matter and so exhibit their progress in oratory, the witty sallies and questionings of Foote became at last the leading attraction.

His topic one evening was the employment of memory in connection with the oratorical art, in the course of which, as he enlarged on the importance of exercising memory as a habit, he took occasion to say that to such perfection he had brought his own he could learn anything by rote on once hearing it. Foote waited till the conclusion of the lecture, and then, handing up the subjoined sentences, desired that Mr. Macklin would be good enough to read and afterwards repeat them from memory. More amazing nonsense never was written. 'So she went into the garden to cut a cabbage-leaf, to make an apple-pie; and at the same time a great she-bear, coming up the street, pops its head into the shop. "What! no soap?" So he died,



died, and she very imprudently married the barber; and there were present the Picinnies, and the Joblillies, and the Garyulies, and the Grand Panjandrum himself, with the little round button at top; and they all fell to playing the game of catch as catch can, till the gunpowder ran out at the heels of their boots.' It is needless to say that the laugh turned against old Macklin, as it has turned against many younger and livelier people since who have read these droll sentences in *Harry and Lucy*, and who, like Miss Edgeworth's little hero and heroine, after mastering the great she-bear and the no-soap, for want of knowing *who* died have never arrived at the marriage with the barber, or perhaps, even after proceeding so far, have been tripped up by the Grand Panjandrum with the little round button at top.

Such at last became the vogue of Foote's fun at these lectures that it ended, as we have said, in his establishing a summer lecture of his own for a few weeks at the Haymarket; where, through many a summer evening, Macklin's absurdities supplied him theme for laughter. The Haymarket was crowded nightly; the Piazza coffee-house was shut up; poor Macklin, as 'vintner, coffeeman, and chapman,' made his next appearance in the London Gazette; and there is a letter of Murphy's to his brother dated April 1755, in which he says that Foote had made 500*l.* in five nights by his counter-oratory to Macklin.

Arthur Murphy was among those new faces at the Bedford who had sought and obtained Foote's notice, and their acquaintance was now of some standing. No figure appears in Murphy's early letters to his friends with such sprightly and enlivening effect as that of the famous wit Mr. Foote. For example, Arthur is at Bristol in the lowest possible spirits, when there drives up to the hotel a splendid equipage, out of it springs Foote very handsomely dressed, and 'while I am writing this, he is grinning at me from a corner of the room, we have had Mr. Punch already, and his company has lifted my spirits, and that is what makes me go on at this rate.' Or they are holiday-making together in a country-house, and Murphy is sadly preparing himself for London to get ready a number of the *Gray's Inn Journal* for press, when Foote says he need not go on that account, and, producing a French magazine, tells him he will find in it one of the prettiest oriental tales imaginable which he has but to translate and send to the printer, and Murphy takes his advice, and so gets promoted to the notice and friendship of Johnson, whose tale it turns out to be that the French magazine had itself translated from a number of the *Rambler*. Or it may be, that, tired of Macklin's talk about oratory, they have betaken themselves to enjoyment of the real thing, and are together in the gallery

gallery of the House of Commons when Pitt is putting forth all his powers in an attack upon Murray. 'Shall we go home now?' says Murphy, as he afterwards told the story to Mr. Rogers. 'No,' replies Foote; 'let us wait till he has made the little man' (Murray) 'vanish entirely.'

Thus cordially an acquaintance began which seems to have continued with but slight intermissions; one of which, however, dates at the production of the *Englishman Returned from Paris*, when Murphy unreasonably complained of Foote's having founded it upon a suggestion of his, as though the original suggestion of the *Englishman in Paris* did not entitle its author to the unquestioned right of himself working out and completing any hint proceeding from it. Nevertheless, Murphy persisted in putting forward a Sir Charles Buck of his own; and, when the public would have nothing to say to him, revenged himself by enlivening his future comedies, whenever he could, by pilfering as many as possible of those witticisms of which the public thus showed their preference. Indeed he put Foote himself, and not a few of his good things, bodily into a play not many months after he died, and even then had not forgotten his contemptible supposed grievance. 'He has wit to ridicule you,' says Bygrove to Dashwould in *Know Your Own Mind*, 'invention to frame a story of you, humour to help it about; and when he has set the town a laughing, he puts on a familiar air, and shakes you by the hand.' After his own death, too, his executor found among his papers this outline of an imaginary scene in which he proposed to have introduced the failings of his old friend. 'Foote gives a dinner—large company—characters come one by one:—sketches them as they come:—each enters—he glad to see each. At dinner, his wit, affectation, pride; his expense, his plate, his jokes, his stories;—all laugh;—all go, one by one—all abused, one by one;—his toadeaters stay;—he praises himself—in a passion against all the world.' We have here perhaps the very worst, to set against the best, that was to be said against Foote by those who most intimately knew him.

It may remind us that what has been held to be one of his most grave offences dates at this time. He began an engagement with Garrick at Drury-lane in September 1756, and, after playing several of his own characters and of Congreve's, produced on the 5th February 1757 his little comedy of the *Author*. It was admirably written, contained the outline of a story which would have tasked only a little more patience than Foote's to give a masterly completeness to (the father's return in disguise to test the honour of his son was a hint for Sheridan), and was rich

in



in character. Very creditable also was the spirit in which it dealt with the claims of Authorship to higher esteem, and a better kind of patronage, than it was the fashion of those days to award to it; and perhaps many an author whom its title attracted to Drury-lane crept back to his garret not ungrateful to the laughing comedian.

And here, before describing the offence just hinted at, we may interpose the remark that this feeling in Foote was an honest one, and that in his writings there is never any disguise of the man, where such disclosure may properly be made. Indeed of all their characteristics there is none so marked as the absence of any sort of pretence either in language or sentiment. When serious you perceive that he means to be so, just as when he laughs he leaves you in no doubt as to that. There is no mere face-making in either case. He is an avowed satirist, and this must always detract from the pleasure he might otherwise give; more especially as the subjects of his satire for the most part necessitate the treatment implied in the remark of the French wit, that to give a Muscovite a sensation you must flay him alive. But we repeat our conviction that in the main it is honest satire, and that its force with his contemporaries lay precisely in that truth and reality of it. In this direction he is always strong. His scenes and subjects are often trivial in the extreme, but are yet held together by the vividness and bustle of something actual going on in them. No one who now carefully reads them can have any surprise at their success, or any feeling but regret that they dealt so much with what is transitory. As mere examples of comic dialogue they are perfect. Within a more limited range they have not much less than the wit and they have more than the character of Congreve. His people are not to be mistaken when you have once made their acquaintance; for they retain always so perfectly the trick of talk by which you knew them first, that perhaps no dramatic writings might be read aloud so easily without repetition of the speakers' names. Their great fault is the haste and impatience which has left them often a mere succession of witty scenes, when with a little more labour and no more invention a developed plot would have given more consistency and completeness even to the characters. But when he had once had his laugh, he was too easily satisfied; and, partly because of the restriction of his theatre to a summer fare lighter than that of the winter houses, partly because of his own careless temperament, he was too ready to throw away upon a farcical sketch what would have supplied, to his friend Murphy for example, matter for elaborate comedies. The comparison of him with Aristophanes is absurd, because he had nothing of the  
imagination

imagination or wealth of poetry of the Greek; but he was like him in wit, whim, ready humour, practical jokes, keen sarcasm, vivid personation, and above all in the unflinching audacity with which he employed all these in scorn and ridicule of living vices and hypocrisies. As it was said of the Greek satirist that he exercised a censorship more formidable than the archon's, hardly less is to be said of the English wit who took a range of jurisdiction wider than Sir John Fielding's or Sir Thomas de Veil's; and for all the vast difference that remains, it is little less or more perhaps than between Athens in the age of Pericles and London in the time of Bubb Dodington. To find ourselves again in the thick of a not very dignified age, we have but to read Foote's comedies and farces; and though it was a grander thing no doubt to have such subjects for satire as a cowardly Bacchus or a gormandizing Hercules, veritable Gods to pull to pieces, yet among the sham divinities who received the Londoner's worship, or had the disposition of his fortunes, there was food enough for laughter and exposure. 'Virgil had his Pollio,' says Foote's poor author, 'Horace his Mæcenas, Martial his Pliny; but my protector is Mr. Vamp.'

But notwithstanding his work for old Vamp, Foote's author is a gentleman. He refuses to defend a colonial government which had proved highly profitable to its governor in everything but good name, and yet to his pen he owes all his subsistence. I am sure my heart bleeds for him, says an honest fellow in the play. Consider to what temptations he is exposed. Lack-a-day, learning, learning, Sir, is no commodity for this market; nothing makes money here, Sir, *but* money, or some certain fashionable qualities that a good man would not wish to possess. Patron! The word has lost its use; a guinea subscription at the request of a lady, whose chambermaid is acquainted with the author, is all that may now and then be picked up. Protectors! why, one dares believe there's more money laid out upon Islington turnpike-road in a month, than upon all the learned men in Great Britain in seven years. Where now are the Oxfords and Halifaxes?

And then Foote introduced Mr. Cadwallader, the part which he played himself. Here was something in default of an Oxford or Halifax. Next to a peer Mr. Cadwallader honours a poet, though Mr. Cape was the first he ever had in his house except the bellman for a Christmas-box. His ruling passion is to know any notable body, but otherwise he is made up of contradictions. Pride and meanness contend for him one minute, folly and archness the next. In one breath he tells you that he'd have made an immense figure in the learned world but for his cursed fool of a guardian's neglect of his education, and in the next that the only



only use of a school is, hey! egad! for children to make acquaintances that may hereafter be useful to them, 'for between you and me what they learn there does not signify twopence.' When, on the first night of the comedy, Foote entered in this character, a great shout of surprise broke forth at the completeness with which he had dropped his own identity. He had dressed himself out very large, and he came on with a broad unmeaning stare and an awkward step, looking less encumbered with even corpulence than conceit, talking boisterously yet indistinctly, his voice loud but incoherent, his head always in a restless fidget to his left shoulder, his mouth constantly open as if to recall some shrewdness or some folly he had not meant to say, and with a trick every now and then of sucking his wrist with a sort of *supping* noise. But the laughing cry of doubt whether it could be Foote took a more extravagant turn as the audience became unexpectedly conscious of a figure looking on from the boxes at what seemed a double of itself, and shaking with hearty fun at Mr. Cadwallader's introduction of his wife. The living original of the character, Mr. Ap-Rice, a Welshman of large fortune with whom Foote had been on terms of intimacy, had actually and in sober truth gone to see himself produced upon the stage by his quondam guest; and, says Davies, 'while loud bursts of laughter from the boxes repeatedly acknowledged the writer's and the actor's skill, the best of it was that the gentleman himself made one of the audience, enjoyed the jest very heartily, and applauded Mr. Foote for drawing his portrait so admirably well.'

This Socratic state of mind, however, did not to the last remain Mr. Ap-Rice's friend. The *Author* ran through the rest of Garrick's season, and became greatly popular. Kitty Clive's Becky was a companion picture to Foote's Cadwallader which in its kind, Horace Walpole says, the stage had never equalled; and both took the piece for their benefit at the end of the season, Foote reviving on the same night Dryden's *Spanish Fryar* and playing the part of Gomez. Thus far Mr. Ap-Rice's philosophy had not worn out. But when he found that the closing of the theatre did not close the laugh against him, but that, while Foote had carried his other self to Dublin, he could never show his proper self in any public place, park, assembly, or coffee-house, without loud whispers of '*Cadwallader*' and secret laughter and pointing, he laid aside the philosopher, took counsel with his friends, and, on the wit's return and resumption of the part at Drury-lane, after consulting Garrick whether or not he should fight him,\* finally resolved to move the powers of the Lord Chamberlain

\* Garrick's advice gives us at once a laughable idea of Mr. Ap-Rice's size and eccentricity,

Chamberlain against him. He was a man whose influence corresponded to his wealth, and he succeeded. It is curious enough that the prohibition of any future performance of the comedy, by the Duke of Devonshire, reached Drury-lane on the morning of the night appointed for Foote's benefit, when he and Kitty Clive were to have appeared in *Cadwallader* and *Becky*, after acting *Shylock* and *Portia*; and though, in accounting for the enforced change, he addressed the audience with great spirit against the edict of the Chamberlain, of course it prevailed, and the *Author* was suppressed.

The suppression was made the most of by Foote's enemies, but that even those who enforced the law took no very grave view of the offence appeared in the same Lord Chamberlain's concession to him soon after of a licence for the Haymarket, and in the marked acknowledgment he made for that service in the dedication of his comedy of the *Minor*. Here he describes the many gloomy apprehensions inspired by the Stage-licensing Act; hints at the wrongs the poor players expected from it; says that when 'its direction was lodged in the hands of a nobleman, whose ancestors had so successfully struggled for national liberty, they ceased to fear for their own;' and then thanks the Duke of Devonshire for having thrown open, on the borders of Parnassus, a cottage for those who had no ambition to enter its palaces. The first use he made of this cottage was to furnish it with the *Minor*, the original draft of which had already been played in Dublin with a reception so doubtful, that all his friends warned him against persisting in a satire that trenched on such delicate ground. But he was not the man to run away in fright at a hiss which on that occasion told him nothing more than that his blow was hitting hard and its aim was true; and making use of the failure, therefore, but as a means to greater success, he strengthened the plot, introduced new characters, and, on his return to London to open his newly-licensed Haymarket, produced fearlessly this masterpiece of wit.

But before describing it, some account of that visit to Dublin should have mention, because Tate Wilkinson first publicly appeared there with Foote. The son of a preacher who had made himself very popular at the chapel of the Savoy, and who, presuming on the supposed privilege of the place, granted licences in defiance of the Marriage-act, was transported for the offence, and had to leave his wife and son to what charity they

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eccentricity, and of Foote's quickness. Lord Holland told Mr. Moore that when the propriety of challenging Foote was submitted to Garrick, all he said was, 'My dear Sir, don't think of doing any such thing; why, he would shoot you through the guts before you had supped two oysters off your wrist.'

could



could find,—the lad had long been oscillating between the play-house and the meeting-house, before Shuter picked him up one day at Whitfield's tabernacle, and took him to Garrick. At the interview he imitated Foote so cleverly that the result was an engagement of thirty shillings a week for small business at Drury-lane; but, by the same introduction, on a day not long after, he imitated Garrick to Foote with so much greater effect, that it produced an offer to accompany the latter to Dublin and take part in his own engagement. And when, long years afterward, the old man wrote his memoirs, he remembered with what eager joy, when the time to go to Dublin came, he waited on Mr. Foote at the Bedford; and how, in one hour after, they set off in a post-chaise, with Mr. Foote's servant on horseback; and how they only travelled that night to his little cottage at Elstree in Hertfordshire, though they afterwards travelled together post to Holyhead; and how, when Mr. Foote met upon the road great people that he knew, and who would have had him join them, he always declined, and managed instead to be half a day before or behind ('for,' says he, 'with all their politeness, they expect the best accommodation, or, if they offer you preference, you cannot in policy or good manners accept it'); and how, finally, when they had embarked at Holyhead, there was a great storm, and the cabin was crowded, and poor young Tate was very ill, yet 'Mr. Foote was well, and walking most of the night from place to place.'

Truth to say, indeed, that little glimpse back into the Dublin journey is one of the few passages in Tate Wilkinson's *Memoirs* or *Wandering Patentee*, full as they are of allusion to the great wit and mimic, where we find anything characteristic or real. In the rest of the nine volumes little more is discoverable than the egregious self-flattery of a vain old actor, who, even while his every page bears unconscious admission that but for Foote his name could not have been heard of, is yet so bewildered with conceit and uncontrolled managerial ways, that in the man who had thus made him wholly what he was, and on whose brains he lived all his life, he would but querulously show you the mimic who could not endure himself to be mimicked, and the author who never felt grateful enough to the actor who helped him by his personations. It would be almost incredible that these books should exhibit so few entertaining traces of long years of intimate connection with such a humourist as Foote, but that it is with men of intellect as with the world itself—they contain what you can find in them, neither less nor more; and a man who carries nothing of the gentleman or wit in himself, will quite vainly attempt to hit off a wit's or a gentleman's likeness.

Wilkinson

Wilkinson never saw anything in Foote but the sharp high voice, the quick look and laugh, the comical strut and scrape, the whimsical twitch of the chin, which he found it so advantageous to imitate; and Churchill, impatient always of his brother satirist, struck at him behind his shadow.

'Strange to relate, but wonderfully true,  
That even shadows have their shadows too!  
With not a single comic power endued,  
This man a mere mere mimic's mimic stood.'

But to see a mimic mimicked proved a great attraction in Dublin; for though Foote played Bayes, Sir Penurious, Fondlewife, Buck, and Cadwallader, he was in nothing more successful than in his *Tea* with Wilkinson for his pupil; and when the latter unexpectedly threw in his imitation of the imitator, the audience insisted on its repetition, and more than once, notwithstanding Foote's well-understood dislike, compelled *Tea* to be substituted for the entertainment offered in the bills. The same popularity attended it at Drury-lane in the brief season which closed with the prohibition of Mr. Cadwallader; and when, after a successful trip to Edinburgh, Foote returned with Wilkinson to the Irish capital in the winter of 1759-60, he played the round of all his parts with the addition of Shylock and Don Lewis (in *Love makes a Man*), and still found the *Tea* and the *Diversions* most followed. But by this time his pupil's head had been a little turned, and Mr. Wilkinson no longer conceals his surprise that Mr. Foote should pass his time so exclusively with great people while he is himself in a garret. The reception Foote enjoyed both at the Castle and at the first private tables is enlarged upon by Cooke also; but besides his wit he had other claims, for the Duke of Bedford was now Lord-Lieutenant, and the Duke's jovial Mr. Rigby was Foote's old friend, and to him were rehearsed the chief scenes of the *Minor* before the attempt at its representation was made. It failed, as we have said, and Foote came over to London in some ill-humour; and at the Bedford soon after, Murphy saw him, 'dashing away at everybody and everything,' and so describes him to Garrick in a letter which hits off perhaps even something of the manner of his conversational ridicule. 'Have you had good success in Dublin, Mr. Foote?' 'Pooh! There was not a shilling in the country, except what the Duke of Bedford, and I, and Mr. Rigby, have brought away. Woodward is caterwauling there, and Barry like a wounded snake, and Mossop sprawling about his broken arms with the rising of the lights, &c.'

But his spirits returned with the triumphant reception given at the Haymarket to his re-written comedy. Terrible and unsparing



sparing was the satire embodied in Mrs. Cole, and not content with giving the character all the force it could derive from his own acting, though with it he doubled Mr. Smirk, he also spoke an Epilogue in the character of Whitfield, whom he dressed at and imitated to the life. The instant success was unexampled. After the first night further opposition was quelled, and it ran that season continuously through more than forty performances. 'I went two or three nights,' says Tate Wilkinson, 'but with great difficulty got admittance, the crowds to see it were so numerous.' The season having closed, it was carried to Drury-lane, though not without a determined effort there to intercept it by authority. 'Did I tell you,' writes Walpole to Montague, 'that the Archbishop' (Thomas Secker was then the primate) 'tried to hinder the *Minor* from being played at Drury-lane? For once the Duke of Devonshire was firm, and would only let him correct some passages, and even of those the Duke has restored some. Foote says he will take out a licence to preach Tam Cant against Tom Cant.' An existing letter of the Lord Chamberlain's confirms this, but shows that the Archbishop declined to correct or alter any specific passages. 'His Grace,' writes the Duke from Chatsworth to Garrick, 'would have authorized me to use his name to stop the *Minor*, but I got off from it.' Then, after stating that he had sent to Foote, through Mr. Pelham, a recommendation to alter some passages liable to objection, he adds, 'His Grace would not point them out, so I think very little alteration may do. This to yourself: let me hear what has passed.' The real truth was, not only that the satire was generally felt to be of a kind that under decorous protest might be expected to do far more good than harm, but that the most dignified and decorous of the protesters were afraid of meddling with the satirist. When the good-natured Secker was afterwards asked why he had not taken the Lord Chamberlain's suggestion of altering any passages he disapproved, he quietly replied that he had no wish to see an edition of the *Minor* announced by the author as 'corrected and prepared for the press by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.'

Certain it is that such friends of Whitfield's as had the courage to risk encounter with Foote came off worsted from the conflict. His *Letter to the Reverend Author of Remarks Critical and Christian on the Minor* is a masterpiece of controversial writing, which, if all his other works had perished, would conclusively have established his wit, scholarship, and sense, as of the rarest order. Every line tells. Actors will find nowhere in the language a happier defence of the stage, and all scholars may admire the learning and modesty with which, rejecting for himself

himself any comparison with Aristophanes, he rebukes the insolent ignorance which can find only malice and barbarity in such a writer and such an age. 'That was the time when the Attic genius triumphed; when its liberty was pure and virtuous; when a citizen would have gone from a conference with Socrates to an oration by Demosthenes, and have closed his evening with the *Electra* of Sophocles, the *Phædra* of Euripides, the moral scenes of Menander, or the sprightly comic muse of Aristophanes.' And whatever our modes of life or measure of learning, we should read still, with an interest practically appealing to us all, the argument of this admirable pamphlet in favour of public amusements and against the zeal that would abolish them on the ground of occasional excess. 'What institution, human or divine,' asks Foote, 'has not been perverted by bad men to bad purposes? I wish we had not a notorious instance before us. Men have been drunk with wine: must then every vine be destroyed? Religion has been made a cloak for debauchery and fraud: must we then extirpate all religion? While there are such cities in the world as London, amusements must be found out, as occupation for the idle, and relaxation for the active. All that sound policy can do is, to take care that such only shall be established, as are, if not useful in their tendency, at least harmless in their consequence.' He then retorts upon his assailant for calling the *Minor* a farce, and vindicates it from the contemptuous designation. Comedy he defines to be an exact representation of the peculiar manners of that people among whom it happens to be performed; and he declares its province to be to punish folly as the state punishes crime, by making its faithful ridicule of particular offenders an example to the entire community. This, he continues, he had aimed at in the *Minor*; and believing its characters to be not strained above the modesty of nature, nor the treatment of them unsuitable or inconsistent, 'it is not,' he adds, 'the extent, but the objects of a piece, that must establish its title: a poem of one act may prove an excellent comedy, and a play of five a most execrable farce.'

Foote was thoroughly justified in thus manfully speaking of his work. Its three acts are worth almost any five we know. Overflowing with wit and good writing, there is also a serious and pathetic interest in them, as Holcroft found when they supplied him with his plot for the *Deserted Daughter*; and there is character in such wonderful variety, that Sheridan was able to carry quietly off from it (a liberty he often took with Foote) what was never missed in its abundance. For who, notwithstanding differences of appearance and race, can fail to see hints of Little Moses and his friend Premium in little Transfer the broker, whom



whom you may know in a minute by his shamble, his withered face, his bit of purple nose, his cautionary stammer, and sleek, silver head? He will dine and sup to any extent with you, and after all not lend you a stiver. But he has a friend that can lend, 'a hard man, Master Loader,' an unconscionable dog, wanting so much for interest, and so much for premium, and so much for insuring your life, and so much for risk; and when all's done you must take part of the money in money's worth. And besides little Transfer, there is the brisk Mr. Smirk, successor to that truly great man Mr. Prig, introduced into *Taste* ('I remember they took him off at the playhouse some time ago; *pleasant but wrong*.\* Public characters should not be sported with—they are sacred'), whom the Duchess of Dupe and all the great people so condescendingly encouraged on his praiseworthy attempt to fill the place of his jewel of a predecessor. 'Her Grace indeed gave me great encouragement. I overheard her whisper to Lady Dy, Upon my word, Mr. Smirk does it very well. Very well, indeed, Mr. Smirk, addressing herself to me.' Excellently worthy of mention, too, is Sam Shift the mimic, who was indebted for his rise in life to a greater mimic, a whimsical man who took him into his service, and with whom he remained till, thinking himself nearly equal to his master, he made him one of his own bows and set up for himself. Foote designed this for a laugh at Tate Wilkinson, who just before had set up for himself at Covent-garden on an engagement expressly to imitate him; and in Shift's querulous complaining of the insufficiency of his rewards, Foote's keen knowledge of character exactly anticipated by some half-century or so the old man's revelations of himself. 'And what shall I get for my pains? The old fellow here talks of making me easy for life. Easy! And what does he mean by easy? He'll make me an exciseman, I suppose, and so, with an ink-horn at my button-hole, and a taper switch in my hand, I shall run about gauging of beer-barrels. No, that will never do.' Alas that precisely what never would have done for Mr. Shift, had to do, something less than thirty years later, for the greatest poet of that century!

To depict the present life of the time, to catch the living manners as they rose, was the uniform aim in all these various characters, for in what thus might be called local or temporary we have seen that Foote held the entertainment and uses of Comedy to consist; and though he did not always

\* Foote, as we have said, played Smirk as well as Mrs. Cole, and Lord Holland used to say that, according to the report of those who heard it, nothing could equal the whimsical humour with which he gave these words. It was as if he were pointing the comment on his own life.

see quite clearly enough the distinction between a portrait of which you must know the features before you are interested in the likeness, and one of which the features at once reveal their affinity to what constitutes our interest in the whole family of man, it is yet surprising with what skill he can sketch general characteristics in particular forms, and show you the passing society and manners of a period in seeming simply to fix upon his canvas one or two of its isolated figures. Nothing in this respect can be more admirable or true than the family of the Wealthys in this little comedy. You look at them as you would at a picture by Hogarth.

It was natural that after the *Minor* Foote should take higher rank as a writer, as well as a position of greater influence with the public, and by this Murphy did his best to profit in the following year by inducing him to become joint-manager with himself for a summer season at Drury-lane, where the principal incidents were his production of the *Liar*, and, by way of a civil service to some of his fashionable friends, his consenting to play for a fine and very fastidious gentleman, son of the great Bentley, a comedy called the *Wishes*, only noticeable now for the vast fuss that was made about it. There was a sort of private rehearsal of it at Bubb Dodington's grand villa on the Thames, which Foote superintended, and where the Parnassus was composed of Bubb himself, the two Chief Justices, the author, his nephew Richard Cumberland, and Lord Bute; on which occasion, apparently not a little to Foote's amazement, the author produced a most prodigious prologue, wherein the flattery of the young king and his favourite so egregiously transcended all safe bounds, that not even the favourite's presence prevented Foote's quiet remark, This is too strong. Horace Walpole, a great friend of Bentley's, describes the scene. 'The prologue concludes with Young Augustus, and how much he excels the ancient one by the choice of his friend. Foote refused to act this prologue, and said it was too strong. *Indeed*, said Augustus's friend, *I think it is.*'

Another description of what passed we have from Richard Cumberland, who, after a laughable detail of Bubb's lace, fatness, grandeur, and absurdity, says he saw Foote's wicked wit indulging itself at the expense of his entertainers all the evening, as he afterwards indulged the public in the *Patron*. In this excellent comedy he had indeed turned to admirable use the experience thus acquired of what he called the ignorance of pretenders to learning and the parade and vanity of their affected protectors. He thought it the best he had written up to the time of its production, and undoubtedly it belongs, with the *Minor*,



*Minor*, to the higher order of his pieces. Its leading notion, that to patronize bad poets is to the full as pernicious as to neglect good ones, is happily expressed in its hero, Sir Thomas Lofty, who, also the hero of fifty dedications, is yet a tedious, insipid, insufferable coxcomb, and, without genius, judgment, or generosity, has been set up for his wealth alone, by underling bards that he feeds and broken booksellers that he bribes, as a sharp-judging Adriel, the muse's friend, himself a muse. The plot chiefly turns on Sir Thomas's having secretly written a play, the entire credit of the authorship whereof, with all its chances of success or damnation, he presents to an enthusiastic young friend. As the young gentleman's the play is accordingly produced, and damned; whereupon Sir Thomas, with more than the unruffled temper and equability of a Sir Fretful, encourages his friend under the disaster which he affects to consider wholly his. The public are blockheads; a tasteless, stupid, ignorant tribe; a man of genius deserves to be damned who writes anything for them; but courage, dear Dick, the principals will give you what the people refuse; the closet, the critics, the real judges, will do you that justice the stage has denied. Print your play—'My play! Zounds, Sir, 'tis your own!' 'Speak lower, dear Dick; be moderate, my good, dear lad!'

All the details of this comedy are equally rich and effective. In the entire acting drama we do not know a succession of more telling points for a true actor than the three scenes that deal with the failure of the play: the first, in which Sir Thomas receives, act by act, the account of its cold reception and gradual damnation, from his footman, his coachman, and his tailor, whom he had stationed in the theatre to witness it; the second, in which a chorus of egregious flatterers who had most fulsomely praised his trashy epigrams, as extravagantly to his face abuse his luckless comedy in the same hope of currying favour with him; and the third, in which his agony of fear under the threat of exposure compels him at last to purchase silence from Dick by the bribe of his niece's hand. Compared with these, even Sheridan's *Sir Fretful* is weak; and Foote himself not only acted the part every night, but also a characteristic little sketch of an irascible West Indian, Sir Peter Pepperpot, which he had brought in for the mere sake of an individual portraiture it enabled him to give.

We cannot stop to do justice to the bitter sarcasm with which the underling bards and broken booksellers spawned from such patronage as Lofty's are also handled, but the extraordinary frequency with which Foote introduces matter of this kind into his comedies leaves us at least not doubtful of the view he

took in regard to the relations of literature and publishing in his day; and, we may add, the distinction he is careful to mark between the hack and the gentleman in authorship, he more rarely recognises in the bookselling branch of the trade. Only a couple of summers before the *Patron* was acted he had introduced into his *Orators*, from which the threat of an oak-stick was alone thought to have saved Johnson, a publisher and printer of much consideration and dignity; an alderman in Ireland, and though with but one leg a pompous person everywhere; who had corresponded with Swift, who still corresponded with Chesterfield, who was understood to have advised privately sundry Lords Lieutenant, and who had a *Journal* of his own through which he continued to give advice publicly to Lords and Commoners in both kingdoms; whose numerous foibles had mightily amused Foote in all his visits to Dublin, and who on a recent visit to London had shown them off in such flourishing exuberance, that the temptation to put him in a farce was no longer resistible. Yet opinions differ still as to George Faulkner, and one cannot quite make out whether or not his self-satisfied and sleek exterior covered anything that fairly provoked and justified satire. Cooke says that his peculiarities were but trifling, and his manners unoffending; on the other hand, Cumberland says that so extravagant were they, and such his solemn intrepidity of egotism and daring contempt of absurdity, that they fairly outfaced even Foote's imitation, and set caricature at defiance. This also is borne out by what Isaac Reed remarks of his ludicrous affectation of wit and fine society, and his perpetual boastings, in the teeth of every disadvantage of age, person, address, and his deficient leg, of lavish favours from the fair sex; nor can there be a doubt, we think, especially since Lord Mahon's publication of suppressed passages in the letters, that what in Lord Chesterfield had been taken for an honest admiration of his sense, was after all but a humorous liking for his absurdity. He makes him his pleasant butt, and is always laughing in his face, for the enjoyment of his grave reception of it.

But granting so much, the mere corporal infirmity should have restrained the mimicry of Foote, who now bodily transferred to the Haymarket, wooden leg and all, Alderman George Faulkner by the title of Mr. Peter Paragraph. That he had thus selected for derision a man with such a defect, the satirist too soon had cause to lament; but for the rest we fear we must even say with Mr. Smirk that it is pleasant if wrong, and certainly we cannot wonder that Foote's Peter, a caricature of a caricature, should largely have attracted crowds to laugh at him. Hardly had the *Orators* exhibited Mr. Paragraph, however, when  
Lord



Lord Chesterfield hastened to tell George Faulkner that Mr. Foote, who he believed had been one of George's symposion in London, was 'taking him off' in his new farce, and hadn't he better bring an action against him? for, says his Lordship, with the humour he always passed off upon Faulkner for gravity, though *scribere est agere* was looked upon as too hard in the case of Algernon Sydney, yet my Lord Coke in his incomparable Notes upon Littleton, my Lord Chief Justice Hales in his Pleas of the Crown, my Lord Vaughan, Salkeld, and in short all the greatest men of the law, do, with their usual perspicuity and precision, lay it down for law that *agere est agere*; and this being exactly Mr. Foote's case, he shall hold himself in readiness to receive any orders in the affair, for retaining counsel, filing a bill of Faulkner *versus* Foote, or bringing a common action upon the case. Nothing can be greater fun than the letter, all through; and the mischievous old wit must have been amazed indeed when his advice was taken seriously, when the case of Faulkner *v.* Foote did actually appear in the Dublin law-courts, and Faulkner absolutely triumphed in a verdict, though he obtained but nominal damages. However, he got himself compared to the Greek philosopher whom the Greek wit ridiculed, which was a feather in his cap; and he made a great deal of money, first to last, by printing and selling large numbers not only of the original libel, but of the counsels' speeches at the trial; and he received congratulations from Lord Chesterfield for a victory which the divine Socrates had not influence enough to obtain at Athens over Aristophanes, nor the Great Pompey at Rome over the actor who had the insolence to abuse him: though, to be sure, the post of the very next day took a letter, only recently published, from the old peer to the Bishop of Waterford, rejoicing at George having made his enemy his footstool, but professing amazement that their philosophical friend should not have practised a noble contempt, instead of being so irascible as to go to law!

'Fear of Foote' had suppressed this passage when the letters to the Bishop were published, and it was a feeling, prevalent through society, not even temporarily abated by Faulkner's unexpected legal success. Opportunity and leisure for reflection, doubtless for unavoidable reproach, were soon perforce to visit him; but his position was never so strong, his influence never so much dreaded, as after the verdict of the Dublin jury against him. A couple of months later he put jury, counsel, judge, and all into a comic scene, and played it at the Haymarket; and in the same summer he gibbeted the Duke of Newcastle, ex-premier of England, by the side of Justice Lamb, fish-salesman and ex-militia-major of Acton, in Matthew Mug and Major Sturgeon of the  
glorious

glorious *Mayor of Garrett*. Who has not enjoyed this farce more than half the comedies he has seen?

Its writer now stood at the highest point of his worldly fortune. It seemed impossible that in the career he had chosen there could open to him anything beyond it. Never had such splendid seasons rewarded him at the Haymarket as those in which the *Patron* and the *Mayor of Garrett* were produced, and never did his personal position appear more enviable. In Paris the preceding year he had been not the least prominent figure in the group of celebrated Englishmen who thronged there at the declaration of peace; on his return his popularity with various classes of his countrymen could hardly be exceeded; and in the company of men of high rank and superior fortune, says the elder Colman, he preserved always an easy and noble independence. He had now enlarged both his town and his country house, he drove as good horses as any in the Mall, his dinners and wines were famous, and he had lately spent fifteen hundred pounds on a service of plate, which he justified by remarking truly enough that the money was more likely to continue with him in that form than in one he could more conveniently melt down. Perhaps no man's celebrity took so familiar as well as wide a range. The very boys at Eton had him down to show him about the college, and their Captain asked him by way of reward to repeat to them the best of his sayings.\* It is to his credit to add that he always remembered literature as his calling, and that its place should be first in his regard. One night of the run of the *Minor*, when peers had been sent away from the overcrowded theatre, he put himself to grave inconvenience that he might get Gray and Mason into a side-box; when a flippant fine lady of his theatre complained of the humdrum man Doctor Goldsmith was in the green-room compared with the figure he made in his poetry, he explained to her with delicate wit that the reason of it was that the Muses were better companions than the Players; yet at the same time, at his dinners, Cooke tells us, where his guests of rank and fashion were sure always to find themselves among writers and actors, he never busied himself less for the comfort of a poor player than for the entertainment of a royal highness. Gilly Williams describes at this very time

\* Mr. Selwyn mentioned that Foote, having received much attention from the Eton boys, in showing him about the College, collected them round him in the quadrangle, and said, 'Now, young gentlemen, what can I do for you to show you how much I am obliged to you?' 'Tell us, Mr. Foote,' said the leader, 'the best thing you ever said.' 'Why,' says Foote, 'I once saw a little black-guard imp of a chimney-sweeper mounted on a noble steed, prancing and curvetting in all the pride and magnificence of nature,—There, said I, goes Warburton on Shakespeare.'—*Diary of a Lover of Literature*, by Thomas Green.



the return of the King's brother from the continent. 'The Duke of York on his arrival went first to his mother, then to his Majesty, and directly from them to Mr. Foote.'

Better for Mr. Foote that he had not gone to him, for together they afterwards went on a visit to Lord Mexborough's, and here, in hunting, he rode a too spirited horse, was thrown, and received so severe a hurt that his left leg had to be amputated. The story went that he had his jest nevertheless, even under the knife of the surgeon; but his letters to Garrick tell a different tale. He feels in all its bitterness the calamity that has fallen upon him, the blow which has struck him in that height of his prosperity. It is several weeks after the accident, yet he is still at Cannon-park, and, notwithstanding some flattery of appearances, looking upon his hold in life to depend on a very slender tenure. Yet he can rejoice to hear of his friend's success in the *Clandestine Marriage*, which Lady Stanhope had told him of the night before, and one can see that his heart is touched with a gratitude to Garrick which he finds it difficult to give adequate expression to. He falls to praising his wife, and says from what he has seen, and all he has heard, Garrick will have more to regret when either of them dies than any man in the kingdom. And then, poor fellow, he fears he has explained himself imperfectly. 'I do not know whether the expression be clear in the last period but one, but I mean your separation, whichever occasions it—but in truth,' he adds, 'I am very weak, in pain, and can procure no sleep but by the aid of opiates. Oh! it is incredible all that I have suffered.' Yet he hopes he may still be spared to express in person some part of his thankfulness to dear Mr. Garrick for all his attention and goodness.

While these letters thus display the real kindness of heart that existed between these celebrated men, old Lord Chesterfield was telling Faulkner with eager satisfaction that Heaven had avenged his cause by punishing his adversary in the part offending. The same thought had of course occurred to the satirist himself. 'Now I shall take off old Faulkner indeed to the life!' was the first remark he made when what he had to suffer was announced to him.

Such compensation for the suffering as the Duke of York's influence with his brother could obtain awaited him when he left his sick-room. The King had granted exclusively to him for life, at the Duke's instance, a royal patent for performances at the Haymarket from the 14th of May to the 14th of September in every year. It enabled him to do what he had long desired. He almost entirely rebuilt the theatre, erected a handsome new front to it, and opened it, a year and a half after his accident,

in May 1767, with a *Prelude* of infinite humour and wit, and with cheerfulness to all seeming undiminished. He played during the season, too, several of his favourite parts, as well as that capital tragedy for warm weather which reached him anonymously from Dodsley's shop with the title of *The Tailors*. Yet it took no very piercing glance to discover the change the man had undergone. With all his high comic humour, says an actor who watched him nightly, one could not help pitying him as he stood upon his one leg, leaning against the wall, while his servant was putting on his stage false leg, with shoe and stocking, and fastening it to the stump:—*he looked very sorrowful*:—but, instantly resuming all his fun and mirth, he hobbled forward, entered the scene, and gave the audience what they expected, their plenty of laugh and delight.

And without intermission he supplied this, replenished yearly from his own stores of invention, until 1776. There are few such examples on record. Nine original dramas, of which eight were three-act comedies, formed the produce of his literary labour in the same number of years, interrupted as these were by visits to Dublin and Edinburgh, and occupied as they always were with the anxieties of management, with the toil of acting almost every other night, and with many intervals of sickness and pain, of which they bear no trace. In character they are to the full as admirable as any we have described, in wit as lively, as hasty in the management of plot, but as prompt and pointed in their keen and rapid satire, and with all the perfection of unsuperfluous dialogue, the natural minutiae of expression, the quick clear talk of real life, in which we hold Foote's writings to be incomparable. Among them were the *Devil on Two Sticks*, the *Lame Lover*, the *Maid of Bath*, the *Nabob*, the *Bankrupt*, the *Cozeners*, and the *Capuchin*.

Not the least successful was that with which he resumed his pen, the *Devil on Two Sticks*, in which, too, the satire was unusually genial. It was fair game to laugh as he did, and as Molière had already done, at the disputes and malpractices of doctors; to make fun of even the good Doctor Brocklesby's eagerness for high-seasoned political news; and to hit at Mrs. Macaulay through her disciple Mrs. Margaret Maxwell, who threatens to niche her brother into the great republican history of the day, wherein she promises him, though perhaps too late for the historical text, that he shall be soundly swung in the marginal notes. His last comedy before his illness was the *Commissary*, also partly borrowed from Molière, but in which he had indulged a bitterness of personal ridicule against Doctor Arne which makes the contrast of this more striking. One hears



hears with no surprise that every one took it good-humouredly; that Mrs. Macaulay sat side by side with Horace Walpole when, after unsuccessful attempts to get places for himself, he was fain to be content with admittance to his niece Cholmondely's box; and that from another full-length figure in the piece, Sir William Browne of the College of Physicians, Foote received pleasant intimation that his portrait was inexact in only one particular, and as he had omitted the President's muff he begged to forward his own. Zoffany, who had already painted a fine Major Sturgeon, produced one of his masterpieces in a scene of this play. Foote bequeathed it to Mr. Fitzherbert, and it is now in the collection of Lord Carlisle.

The *Lame Lover* followed, and was not inferior in wit, in success, or in the propriety of its satire. In Sir Luke Limp he laughed at Prince Boothby, so called for his love of rank, whose mother, believed to have been Fielding's Sophia Western, was one of his own greatest admirers; and it was here he put what cheerful face he could on his misfortune, represented his own stump as he had represented Faulkner's, and played off a grand battery against the law.\* Less allowable was the satire of the *Maid of Bath* in ridicule of the miser Long (Miss Tylney's Mr. Long), and his alleged conduct to Miss Linley. For though Mr. Moore's account of the affair is upon the face of it ridiculous, and it is understood that the reparation made was greatly induced by Foote's exposure, which Garrick would surely not have countenanced by a prologue if he had not known it in no small degree provoked,† the subject was of too private a nature for this kind of public handling, and the piece illustrates nothing now so forcibly as the grave mistake its writer too often made in giving such direction to his wit.

Next came the *Nabob*, and who needs to describe him after

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\* Foote's jokes against attorneys would fill a volume, but space may be spared for the grave communication he made to a simple country farmer who had just buried a rich relation, an attorney, and who was complaining to him of the very great expenses of a country funeral, in respect to carriages, hatbands, scarves, &c. 'Why, do you bury your attorneys here?' asked Foote. 'Yes, to be sure we do: how else?'—'Oh! we never do that in London.' 'No!' said the other, much surprised; 'how do you manage?'—'Why, when the patient happens to die, we lay him out in a room over night by himself, lock the door, throw open the sash, and in the morning he is entirely off.'—'Indeed!' said the other, in amazement, 'what becomes of him?' 'Why, that we cannot exactly tell; all we know is, there's a strong smell of brimstone in the room the next morning.'

† Richard Cumberland and Garrick visited him together on the eve of the production of this comedy, walked with him in his garden, heard him read some of its roughly-sketched scenes, enjoyed a good dinner with him, to which he had pressed them to stay, and had superlative wine. Foote lived at this time at Parson's Green, where Theodore Hook afterwards lived; but the country-house he was most partial to, and occupied the greater part of his life, was at North End.

Mr. Macaulay's sketch, dissolute, ungenerous, tyrannical, ashamed of the humble friends of his youth, hating the aristocracy yet childishly eager to be numbered amongst them, squandering his wealth on panders and flatterers, tricking out his chairmen with the most costly hot-house flowers, and astounding the ignorant with jargon about rupees, lacs, and jaghires? Most deservedly did this comedy attract crowds to the Haymarket, and among them Nabobs themselves not a few. Indeed a pleasant story is told of two East Indians of high rank and influence calling in Suffolk-street to chastise the author of the satire and staying there to dine and make merry with him. 'Each cries that's not levell'd at me!' It is certain that two persons were supposed to be chiefly aimed at, Sir Matthew White and General Smith, the latter being, like Foote's Sir Matthew Mite, the son of a cheesemonger; and the Suffolk-street story appears to be confirmed by a curious passage in a letter of George Garrick's to his brother written after the comedy was played, in which he mentions it as an extraordinary fact that Foote was going to dine with General Smith at Sir Matthew White's, and likewise lie all night there, and this by strong invitation. 'Foote is afraid,' he adds, 'that they will put him in the coalhole.'

The assault upon sentimental comedy in his celebrated *Puppet-show* succeeded the *Nabob*; but the piece written for the puppets, *Piety in Pattens*, of which you were to learn by the moral how maidens of low degree might become rich from the mere effects of morality and virtue, and by the literature how thoughts the most common-place might be concealed under cover of words the most highflown, was never printed. All that remains of it is a lively exordium spoken by Foote himself, lavish of learning and pleasantry, and in which, among other things, there is a laugh at Garrick for his Stratford Jubilee. For this affair unhappily had brought a coolness again between the friends. Garrick's stewards, and wands, and mulberry medallions, and white-topped gloves, and fireworks that would not go off, and rain and dirt-draggled masquerading, and above all William Whitehead's silly lines to him—

'A nation's taste depends on you,  
Perhaps a nation's virtue too'—

so utterly overthrew the wit's patience that he proposed to have a pasteboard imitation,\* and to cap the couplet with 'Cock-

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\* 'Pray, Sir, are your puppets to be as large as life?' asked a lady of fashion. 'Oh dear, Madam, no,' replied Foote; 'not much above the size of Garrick.' Horace Walpole describes to one of his correspondents the interference of Lord Stafford mentioned in the text. 'Garrick,' he says, 'by the negotiation of a Secretary of State, has made peace with Foote, and by the secret article of the treaty is to be left out of the puppet-show.'

a-doodle-do !'



a-doodle-do!' But the Marquis of Stafford interposed, and unexpectedly at his door the two managers met. It was the genial dinner-hour, and as they alighted from their chariots significant looks were exchanged. Garrick broke the silence. 'What is it, war or peace?' 'Oh, peace by all means!' said Foote, with frank good will. And he kept his word.

The laugh in the Puppet-show exordium was good-natured, the interchange of hospitalities between Hampton and North-End was resumed, and each became again the other's affectionate servant. A dinner is proposed by Foote, at which the guests are to be common friends, and to the invitation Garrick pleasantly responds that, whether himself inclined to North-End or not, a small attention to his honour would have to take him, as Mrs. Garrick was resolved, in case of any prudery on his part, to go alone. Nor does Foote's gallantry fail him in return. We have before us an unpublished letter\* in which he describes a compliment he had ventured to pay Mrs. Garrick in a new piece, and, as the compliment is not now to be found in his published writings, the reader may not object to see it here. The superiority of female government is asserted from the flourishing state of Spain, France, and England, governed at the same period by the Princess des Ursins, Madame de Maintenon, and the Duchess of Marlborough, when, an objection being made from the success of Drury-lane theatre under the acknowledged direction of a man, to weaken the plea he too is said to have the good fortune to be assisted in his councils by a Madame de Maintenon. Whereupon Garrick's delight reveals itself by a message of cordial congratulation on the success of the *Bankrupt*, which he has heard, from a gentleman who loves and understands alike the stage and the law, is Foote's best performance. Among the best it certainly is, for its high and legitimate aim. There was no mere personal bitterness in it. Indeed he struck out of it many allusions that might have given pain to Sir George Fordyce, whose failure from unwise speculation in that year, though it spread wonder and dismay over London, left his character unimpeached; and he levelled it exclusively at knavish manufacturers of bankruptcies on 'Change, and not less wicked inventors of calumnies in the low and prurient press.

\* Another of this date, which has not yet seen the light, is sufficiently brief and characteristic to be appended here:—'You and I are a couple of buckets; whilst you are raising the reputation of Shakespeare, I am endeavouring to sink it, and for this purpose I shall give next Monday the tragedy of *Hamlet*, the Prince by *ôc*, but even in this situation we shall want your assistance to pull our poet above ground—the Ghost's armour, which if you will give your housekeeper orders to deliver, you will be extremely kind to your affectionate servant, S. FOOTE.'

It was after the production of this comedy Foote went to Ireland for the last time. In the preceding year he had bid Scotland farewell. Such journeys involved fatigue and endurance in those days, and, though he is now little more than fifty years old, we may see that age is stealing on him. In that journey to Edinburgh,\* he wrote to Tate Wilkinson, he had encountered more perils than in a voyage to the Indies; for, not to mention mountains, precipices, savage cataracts, and more savage men, he had been locked up for near a week in a village, dirty, dismal, and desolate, by a fall of snow. But he turned with pleasanter thoughts to Ireland. Friends were there who had always welcome for him; the place was associated with his earliest success; and never had warmer greeting been given him than on his visit soon after his accident, the first after Faulkner's verdict. Lord Townshend was then Lord-lieutenant, and the Bedford and Rigby hospitalities were redoubled. His plays were commanded more than once, and the result of the engagement was to reimburse a great loss he had undergone at play in passing through Bath to Holyhead, and to restore him to the Haymarket a richer man than he left it. Lord Harcourt was now Lord-lieutenant, and he knew the same kindness awaited him.

Yet there was a touch of sadness in the occasional prologue he had written for his opening night, when he appeared in the *Nabob*. He reminds the Irish that they first had acknowledged his humour as an actor ('you gave, at least discovered first, the vein'), and, contrasting his youthful outset five-and-twenty years back with what he was then to present to them, can find but this subject for self-congratulation in it, that—

'If age contracts my muscles, shrills my tone,  
No man will claim *those* foibles as his own.'

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\* It was said of him on the occasion of this visit that he gave entertainments unusually extravagant as a rebuke to Scotch parsimony, and used to send his cook to market in a sedan-chair. An anecdote of the visit, which we have from Boswell, ought not to be omitted. Foote was at a large dinner-party, where Boswell also was present, and the conversation turned upon Johnson. The wit instantly made merry at Johnson's expense. And it was very coarse jocularly, says Boswell, and made the company laugh so much that he felt it was not civil to himself. So, as a Roland for Foote's Oliver, he tells them that he at least had lately heard a capital thing from Johnson, whatever other people's experience of him had been. 'Ah! my old friend Sam,' says Foote, 'no man says better things; do let us have it.' 'Why, he said,' rejoins Boswell, 'when I asked him if you were not an infidel, that if you were, you were an infidel as a dog is an infidel; that is to say, you had never thought upon the subject.' There was a loud laugh at this coarseness, which of course Foote did not relish; and Boswell declares, with much self-admiration for the disagreeable thing he had been delivered of, he never saw Foote so disconcerted, grave, and angry. 'What, Sir!' said he, 'talk thus of a man of liberal education—a man who for years was at the University of Oxford—a man who has added sixteen new characters to the drama of his country!' And he proceeded earnestly to resent the gross imputation.

But



But with his brother actors, before and behind the scene, all was with him as of old. O'Keefe was a hanger about the Dublin theatre in those days, and more than half a century afterwards recalled with a kindly and vivid impression the celebrated wit, with his humorous twinkle of the eye, his smile so irresistible with one corner of his mouth, and his voice rather harsh except when imitating others. People wondered at him in Dublin, according to O'Keefe, for the dinners and wine he gave, and for what seemed something of a parade of affluence; but this made part of the man. He never saw him, he adds, that he was not surrounded by laughers, for none that came near him could help it; and nothing struck him so much as the effect produced upon him one night, when, sitting in the green-room as usual amid a crowded circle of the performers, all in full laugh at and with him, he was suddenly disconcerted by observing one young actor, who had fixed himself right before the centre of attraction, maintain steadily a calm, grave, quiet face, unmoved by the roar around. It was an actor whom O'Keefe had that very morning seen drilled by Foote in one of his comedies, when he mispronounced a word. 'Ha, ha!' cried Foote: 'What's that, *sarcophagus*? the word is *sarcophagus*; it's derived from the Greek, you know; I wonder that did not strike you!' But the youth had some wit, it would seem, if he had little Greek, and he punished Foote in the manner just related.

It was not, however, simply as a jester he had such vogue with his brother performers. They are a kindly, genial race, and Foote was always generous to them. In this respect, certainly, he took the lead of the Drury-lane manager. He seems to have had less of the common vice of the profession than almost any actor on record, for it was assuredly not jealousy of Garrick that made him laugh at the attempt to set Powell above him, and, this case excepted, he was remarkable for his encouragement of debutants. Shuter, Weston, Tate Wilkinson, Castallo, Baddely, Edwin, all these men he brought forward himself, made known, assisted in every way; and it was not alone actors of merit, but the *hoi polloi* of the scene, who experienced his goodwill. Old actors were now with him at the Haymarket, who had been with him since he first went there, whom he had kept till they had long outlived their work, and whose presence on the salary-list he still justified to his economical friend Jewel, by the remark that 'he kept them on purpose to show the superior gentlemanly manners of the old school.' During this very winter in Dublin he was taken so ill one day at rehearsal that he was obliged to announce upon the stage his inability to play. 'Ah, Sir,' said a poor actor who overheard him, 'if  
you

you will not play, we shall have no Christmas dinner.' 'Ha!' said he at once, 'if my playing gives you a Christmas dinner, play I will!' and, O'Keefe adds, ill as he was he kept his word.

Not many days later his life was endangered by an accident which has not till now been publicly described. He relates it himself in a letter to Garrick, dated on the last day of December 1773, which has not before been printed, and which leaves as vivid and characteristic an impression of Foote as perhaps any single letter has ever been able to convey of any writer. It requires little explanation. Jewel is his treasurer and secretary, and always faithful friend. The allusion to Macklin is to his recent authorship of plays. Little Jephson, whom he here so happily mimics on the page, is the same who afterwards wrote plays that Horace Walpole protested were superior to Beaumont and Fletcher, and would live for all ages. Faulkner needs no description from us, but the reader will compare what he is made to say so sleekly with what we have formerly said of him. Little Dot is the elder Colman. Nor is the allusion to the Literary Club the least curious point of this various and interesting letter. The Club had been in existence ten years, yet Foote, a man to whom the best society of his time was accessible, has only now heard of it!

'MY DEAR SIR,—Had it not been for the coolness and resolution of my old friend, and your great admirer, Jewel, your humble servant would last night have been reduced to ashes by reading in bed, that cursed custom! The candles set fire to the curtains, and the bed was instantly set in a blaze. He rushed in, hauled me out of the room, tore down and trampled the paper and curtains, and so extinguished the flames. The bed was burnt, and poor Jewel's hands most miserably scorched. So you see, my dear Sir, no man can foresee the great ends for which he was born. Macklin, though a blockhead in his manhood and youth, turns out a wit and a writer on the brink of the grave; and Foote, never very remarkable for his personal graces, in the decline of his life was very near becoming a toast.

'I never saw the *Monitor* you allude to. It is a paper stigmatized here for its virulence. However, it has had no apparent effect upon the public, as it would have been impossible for them to have paid more attention to the nights I have played.

'Little Jephson, who owes his establishment on this side the water to me, is (by being smuggled into Parliament) become in his own idea a man of importance. He has been delivered, in a senate frequent and full, of a false conception or two; and is unanimously declared by his colleagues incapable of either facundity or fecundity.

'The first time I met with my gentleman was about a month after my landing, at the Parliament-house. He had fixed himself on the lowest bench next the floor, his arms folded and legs across, the right eye covered by his hat, and the left occasionally thrown on me with an unmarking



unmarking transitory glance. However, the very polite attention paid to me by the Speaker, the Duke of Leinster, Mr. Conolly, and, indeed, all the men of consequence there, roused the Captain's recollection. He approached me with a cold compliment, and dropped a scarce audible apology for not having called at my door; but public-a-a-affairs had-a-so entirely engrossed him, that he had really no leisure to-a-a-a. I own I was ready to laugh in his face; but recollecting a gravity equal to his own, I applauded his zeal for the commonwealth. Begged that no consideration of me should for the future divert his thoughts one moment from the cause of his country. Was afraid I had already taken up too much of his time. Made him a most profound bow. And the Copper Captain in politics with great gravity retired to his seat. I find he has been left by Lord Townshend as a kind of incumbrance upon his successors; but I have some reason to believe that they would be glad to get rid of the mortgage. He has since the interview been very frequent and free with my knocker, but the servants had received proper instructions.

'I have often met here a Mr. Vesey, who tells me that he belongs to a Club with you and some other gentlemen of eminent talents. I could not conceive upon what motive *he* had procured admittance; but I find he is the Accomptant-General here, so I suppose you have him to cast up the reckoning.

'I have not seen Alderman Fawkener. I thought myself obliged to take some little notice of him in an occasional prologue. The following is an original letter of his:

\* To — Tickle, Esq.

'My most dear and esteemed Friend,—Your concurring in opinion with me the last day we spent so agreeably together, that it would be prudent in me forthwith to call in my *debts*, hath induced me to advertize you that I have commissioned our common friend, Mr. Thomas Croaker, attorney-at-law, to sue you to an outlawry for one hundred pounds, as per bond, with all possible speed. The steady and firm friendship we have ever maintained, and the great esteem and respect I entertain for the valuable memory of your very worthy deceased and ingenious father, Mr. Secretary Tickle, compels me to send you this notice, being, my dearest friend,

'Your most faithful, affectionate, and obedient

'Humble servant till death,

'GEORGE FAWKENER.

'I sincerely rejoice in your success, and feel no compassion for Macklin, Kenrick, Covent-garden, nor that little *Dot*, its dirty director. At this season the winds are so variable, that I may possibly see you before you can acquaint me with this reaching your hands. You may assure Mrs. Garrick that flattering is not one of my failings, and that she has the merit of making me constant and uniform in perhaps the only part of my life—my esteem and veneration for her. Adieu, my dear Sir. A good night, and God bless you. Take care of the candle.

'SAMUEL FOOTE.'

He soon followed his letter, and not long after his re-appearance in London produced his *Cozeners*. Here again was legitimate satire. It exposed traffickers in vice, laughed at a money-borrowing

borrowing adventure of Charles Fox's, and held up to reprobation macaroni preachers, and traders in simony. Here Mrs. Rudd rehearsed what she soon after acted with the Perreaus, and a gibbet was set up for Doctor Dodd three years before Lord Chesterfield hanged him. A clown was also introduced to be perpetually reminded of the Graces, in ridicule of the Chesterfield Letters then just given to the world. Foote had so strong an aversion to these Letters, indeed, that he contemplated also a more elaborate burlesque of them. Lord Eliot told the Boswell party that he intended to bring on the stage a father who had so tutored his son, and to show the son an honest man to every one else, but practising upon his father his father's maxims, and always cheating him. Johnson was greatly pleased with the design, but wished the son to be an out-and-out rogue, providing only that, for poetical justice, the father should be the sole sufferer. Perhaps Johnson's view was the more true, and Foote's the more dramatic.

But an illness intercepted this purpose, which was not renewed, and it was at this time Boswell heard of Foote's having said that he was not afraid to die. Of course it was repeated to Johnson, and was met by the remark that it was not true. Yet the good old man more truly felt, in another conversation, that it might have been true; that the act of dying is not really of importance, that it matters far less how a man dies than how he lives, and that it will at any rate do him no good to whine. But though Foote was not of the whining sort, he could now hardly fail to mix up, with wearying and depressing thoughts of sickness and approaching age, some sense of life misspent, of opportunities lost, of resources not husbanded, of powers imperfectly used if not misapplied; and accordingly, when he had mastered this illness, at the close of 1774 he wrote to Garrick in contemplation of passing some time on the Continent, and ridding himself of managerial cares. He would go there, he says, not for pleasure but prudence, for he is tired with racking his brain, tired of toiling like a horse, and crossing seas and mountains in the dreariest seasons, merely to pay servants' wages and tradesmen's bills. He has therefore resolved to let his theatre if he can meet with a proper tenant, and he asks Garrick to help him to one, and kisses Mrs. Garrick's hands.

Such thoughts and purposes, however, were still in abeyance when the idea of a new comedy occurred to him, and brought on suddenly the last and most terrible trial of his life. He was now to have a bitter test unexpectedly applied to the principle on which throughout all his life he had based his habit of personal caricature, and to find it woefully fail him. \*There was at this time  
prominent



prominent before the world a woman of such notorious vice and such conspicuous station, that it might have been thought, if ever its application should be warrantable, it would be here; yet when he struck at her, she struck again, and her blow proved heavier than his. He had hereafter to reflect that whatever might be the supposed advantages of personal satire it had this enormous disadvantage, that it is the very vice which most invites its exercise that is most able to bear up against and defy its consequences. The sensitive will sink under injustice which the coarse need only laugh at.

The Duchess of Kingston obtained information that he had satirized her in a piece, the *Trip to Calais*, then in the licenser's hands. Through the Chamberlain's office the secret had oozed. She instantly brought all her influence to bear on Lord Hertford. Foote heard of her intention, and wrote a masterly letter to him. An interview with the Duchess herself in the presence of witnesses followed, but equally against offers of money and threatnings of law Foote stood firm.\* It is clear that he believed himself right, felt his case to be so strong that he *must* triumph, and perceived that if conquered in this instance his vocation as a satirist was gone.

He told Lord Hertford, therefore, that if he saw good to enforce the law against him, it would decide his fate for the future. After such a defeat, it would be impossible for him to muster up courage enough to face folly again. Yet even with this grave forecast of a life made profitless, he would not shrink from claiming the addition of a *Plaudite* to the *Valeat res ludiera!* During his continuance in the service of the public, he had never sought to profit by flattering their passions or falling in with their humours. On all occasions he had exerted his little powers, as indeed he thought it his duty, in exposing

\* He took it lightly enough at this time. 'The Duchess offered to buy it off,' says Walpole, 'but Foote would not take her money, and swears he will act her in Lady Brumpton' (a character in Steele's *Funeral*), 'which to be sure is very applicable.' He would not even hold the Duchess as of any account in the business. 'Why has Lord Hertford refused to license my piece?' he repeated, to one who asked that question of him. 'Oh, that's intelligible enough. He asked me to make his youngest son a boxkeeper, and because I would not he stopped my play.' To those who heard it this had a double meaning. Garrick also thus wrote to Colman (June 25, 1775):—'We wanted you much at the election to-day. Foote was in great spirits, but bitter against the Lord Chamberlain. He will bully them into a licence. The Duchess has had him in her closet and offered to bribe him; but Cato himself, though he had one more leg than our friend, was not more stoically virtuous than he has been. You shall know all when I see you.' A letter of Horace Walpole's is worth adding:—'The dame,' he writes to Mason (August 5, 1775), 'as if he had been a member of parliament, offered to buy him off. Aristophanes's Grecian virtue was not to be corrupted; but he offered to read the piece, and blot out whatever passages she would mark that she thought applicable to her case. She was too cunning to bite at this; and they parted.'

foibles however much the favourites of the day, and condemning prejudices however protected or popular. Sometimes he believed he had done this with success. At any rate, he had never lost his credit with the public, because they knew, whatever errors of judgment he might have committed, he proceeded on principle. They knew that he had disdained being either the echo or the instrument of any man however exalted his station, and that he had never consented to receive reward or protection from any other hands than their own.

Lord Hertford felt the difficulty, and seems to have done his best to act fairly in the circumstances. He saw Foote and suggested a compromise. Foote at once conceded that he would remove any particular passages pointed out as overstepping the fair limits of public satire, but to this the Duchess flatly refused consent. Nothing would satisfy her but entire suppression. For this she would even remunerate him, but no other condition would she tolerate. In a second interview at Kingston-house, in the presence of Lord Mountstuart, he rejected 'splendid offers' to this effect then made to him. He still held himself safe. He could not believe, as he wrote to Lord Hertford, that because a capricious woman conceived that he had pinned her ruffle awry, he should be punished by a poniard struck deep in his heart.

But he did not know the antagonist with whom he had to deal, or that the wound was indeed to be mortal. She had now called to her aid a man as devoid of principle as herself, and with even more abundant means of giving effect to his reckless audacity of wickedness. This fellow, one Jackson, an Irish parson who afterwards became involved in treasonable practices before the outbreak of the Irish rebellion, and poisoned himself in prison on the eve of the day appointed for his execution, at once opened all the batteries of most unscrupulous libel against Foote. The effect may be imagined of the use of money without stint, in the execution without remorse of such a scheme. It is appalling even yet to turn to the newspapers and pamphlets of that day, and see the cold and cruel persistence in the attacks against the great humourist, into whose vortex even journals calling themselves respectable were drawn.

Foote at last showed a certain sign of quailing under it. A cry of pain was wrung from him. He offered to suppress the scenes which had given offence, if the Duchess would give directions that the newspaper attacks should not continue. This, it is true, was after the visit of one of her friends, a member of the Privy Council, who had eagerly interceded for her: but in whatever way elicited, it presented itself as a triumph, and so she



she treated it. She rejected his offer with contempt, and called him not only a base coward and a slanderous buffoon, a merryandrew and a theatrical assassin, but struck at him with even fouler and more terrible imputations. Walpole has described her letter and its sequel. 'Drunk with triumph she would give the mortal blow with her own hand, but, as the instrument she chose was a *goose-quill*, the stroke recoiled on herself. She wrote a letter in the *Evening Post* which not the lowest of her class, who tramp in pattens, would have set her mark to. Billingsgate from a Ducal coronet was inviting; however, Foote, with all the delicacy she ought to have used, replied only with wit, irony, and confounding satire. The Pope will not be able to wash out the spots with all the holy water in the Tiber. I imagine she will escape a trial, but Foote has given her the *coup de grace*.' Soon after he wrote to Mason, 'What a chef-d'œuvre is Foote's answer!' to which Mason responds, 'I agree with you in thinking Foote's answer one of the very best things in the English language, and prefer it in its kind: Mr. Pope's letter to Lord Hervey is nothing to it.' 'The Duchess is a clever sort of woman,' said a country squire who had received some services from her, 'but she was never so much out in her life as when she ventured to write a letter to Mr. Foote.'

Masterly and complete as the answer was, however, it was written with an aching heart. Openly Foote would not now shrink, but her stab was rankling in him. She did *not* escape her trial. She was arraigned for bigamy before her peers, was convicted, stripped of her title of Duchess, and, as Dunning threatened her, might have been burnt in the hand, but that meanwhile the death of her first husband's brother, Lord Bristol, had given her still the right to that privilege of peerage she claimed, and which, enabling her to leave the court punished only by a lower step in the rank of nobility, left the record of those portentous proceedings, partly a State Trial and partly a History of Moll Flanders, to carry its traits of dignified morality and justice down to succeeding generations. But though her trial was thus over, Foote's was but to begin. He resolved to drag forth the secret libeller and fight the matter out with him. He recast the *Trip to Calais*; struck out Lady Kitty Crocodile; put in, under the guise of a low Irish pimp and pander whom he called Dr. Viper, his hidden slanderer Dr. Jackson; and announced the first night of the *Capuchin*.

The comedy was played at the Haymarket a few months after the Kingston trial, when Foote played Dr. Viper and threw into it his bitterest pungency of manner as well as words. It was successful, yet with a difference from old successes. The house

was packed with enemies, and, though the friends were strong enough to carry it against opposition, the opposition was also strong enough still to make itself heard. Jackson's libels had not been without their effect even within the walls of the Haymarket. 'There was great applause, but rather more disapprobation,' says Miss Wilkes, when she saw it, some nights after the first. Nevertheless it was acted until the theatre closed. Jackson had meanwhile resolved that if possible the theatre never should reopen, and he took his measures accordingly.

Such was the character of the libels against Foote, and their inveterate frequency between the closing of that season and the opening of the next, that it soon became obvious the matter could not rest where it was. The impression became general that, without first applying authorised means to arrest the calumny, the Haymarket must remain shut. Notices to this effect appeared in respectable journals. But, whatever Foote may have felt, his attitude betrayed no discomposure. He took no public notice of the rumours. His advertisements appeared as usual, only a little later; and at the close of May he opened his season of 1776 with the *Bankrupt*. The house was crammed, men of rank and men of letters were in all parts of the theatre, and something too evidently was expected. It broke out as soon as Foote appeared, when such was the reception given him by a small knot of people stationed in the gallery that all the ladies present in the boxes immediately withdrew. But even then he showed no lack of courage, and the spirit and feeling with which he at once stepped forward and addressed the audience produced a sudden revulsion in his favour among those who before had shown indifference. He appealed to their humanity and justice. He had summoned his libeller into the Court of King's Bench, and that very day the rule had been made absolute. Were they not too noble and too just to discard an old servant without giving him time to prove that he had never been unworthy of their favour, and would never disgrace their protection? The comedy was permitted to proceed, and a riot was not again attempted.

But Jackson had not yet thrown his last stake. He had hardly been convicted as a libeller in the highest common-law court, and publicly dismissed from the paper which had to make a formal apology for his libel, when there appeared suddenly at Bow-street a discarded coachman of Foote's, a fellow of the worst character, whom the subsequent proceedings branded with unspeakable infamy, who preferred a charge against his late master giving open, confessed, and distinct form to all the unspeakable rumours for which Jackson had been convicted. We spare the reader the miserable detail. For months Foote



was kept with an accusation hanging over him, of such a kind as to embitter the most unsullied life against which it might be breathed. Every artifice was used to prolong the time of trial. But meanwhile he proved his friends. There was not a step in the preparation of his defence which was not solicitously watched by Garrick. 'I have been most cruelly used,' Foote at last writes to him, 'but I have, thank God, got to the bottom of this infernal contrivance. God for ever bless you.' 'My dear, kind friend,' he writes the following day, 'ten thousand thanks for your note. I shall make the proper use of it directly. I am to swear to an information this evening. My spirits are much better, but I am fatigued to death with such a crowd of comforters; I have this instant got rid of a room-full. May nothing but halcyon days and nights crown the rest of your life! is the sincere prayer of S. FOOTE.'

With such crowds of comforters flocking round him, he was able to play his various comedies as usual, and is said never to have played better. So far from being abandoned, so far from any one doubting or turning from him, Cooke says that 'his theatre, from the first moment of the charge to the close of the trial, exhibited a continual assemblage of rank, learning, fashion, and friendship. Among the two former classes particularly are to be numbered two royal Dukes, the late Duke of Roxburghe, the Marquis of Townshend, Mr. Dunning, Mr. Burke, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr. Fitzherbert, many foreign noblemen, and a group of others of the first respectability.\* Mr. Dunning was his counsel, and, the case having been moved into the King's Bench, Lord Mansfield was his judge. The charge had scarcely been stated before it was demolished, and the special jury, even refusing to turn round in the box, at once cried out together, Not guilty. But hardly could it have been guessed, until this issue was known, what a deep and sensitive suffering Foote's manliness and spirit had concealed. Murphy hastened from the court to Suffolk-street to be messenger of the glad tidings, when his old friend, instead of manifesting joy, fell to the ground in strong hysterics.

His theatre was soon let to Colman, and under the new management he played but thrice. A few months before that final appearance we get our last near glimpse of him, and see one of

\* Cooke does not mention, but it is well worth recording here, that the King also took occasion during the interval to command the Haymarket performances, when perhaps the solitary instance occurred of a play damned in the presence of royalty. It was the *Contract*, taken by Doctor Thomas Franklin from the *Triple Marriage* of Destouches, and was played after one of Foote's comedies. When Foote lighted the King to his chair, his Majesty asked who the piece was written by? 'By one of your Majesty's chaplains,' said Foote, unable even then to suppress his wit; 'and dull enough to have been written by a bishop.'

the last flashes of his humour. It is at the Queen's drawing-room in January, 1777. Greeted heartily by all around him, made to feel that his infamous persecutors had not been able to sully his name, singled out for recognition by his sovereign, the old spirit for a while reasserts its sway. 'Sir George Warren,' says Cumberland, who also was present, 'had his Order snatched off his ribbon, encircled with diamonds to the value of 700*l*. Foote was there and lays it upon the parsons, having secured, as he says, his gold snuff-box in his waistcoat pocket upon seeing so many black gowns in the room.'

In May, 1777, he played at the Haymarket for the last time, in the *Devil on Two Sticks*. Cooke saw him, and says his cheeks were lank and withered, his eyes had lost their fire, and his person was sunk and emaciated. Five months later he left town for Dover, not without the presentiment that he would never return. He had a choice collection of pictures in Suffolk-street, among them a fine portrait of the incomparable comedian, Weston, who had died the preceding year; and on the day before his journey, after examining them all in a way wholly unusual with him, he suddenly stopped as he was leaving the room, went up again to Weston's picture, and, after a steady and silent gaze at it for some minutes, exclaimed with tears in his voice, 'Poor Weston!' and then turning to Jewel, with what sounded as a tone of sad reproach for his own fancied security, 'it will very soon be *poor Foote*, or the intelligence of my spirits deceives me.'

He reached Dover on his way to France on the 20th October, 1777, attended by one servant. He had suffered much fatigue on the journey, and next morning at breakfast was seized with a shivering fit, under which he sank in three hours. Jewel had at once been sent for, and arrived only to take charge of the body for removal to London. But before he left Dover he wished to leave some memorial there of the death of a man so celebrated, and this faithful servant and treasurer, who had been for years in attendance on him, who knew all his weakness, all his foibles, all that most intimately reveals a man's nature in the hard money business of the world, could think of nothing more appropriate for his epitaph in the church of St. Mary than to express how liberal he was in spending what too many men use all their care to keep, and he therefore ordered to be cut upon the marble nothing about his humour or his genius, about his writing or his acting, but that he had a 'hand open as day to melting charity.' And so we may leave him. He lies in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, without any memorial either in stone or marble.



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## ERRATA IN No. CXC.

The last sentence of the first paragraph at p. 362 should have been applied to the house of Mr. Holford in Regent's Park instead of to that of Mr. Holford in Park Lane.

Page 470, line 11, for *he* read *Mr. Newman*.

## END OF THE NINETY-FIFTH VOLUME.





